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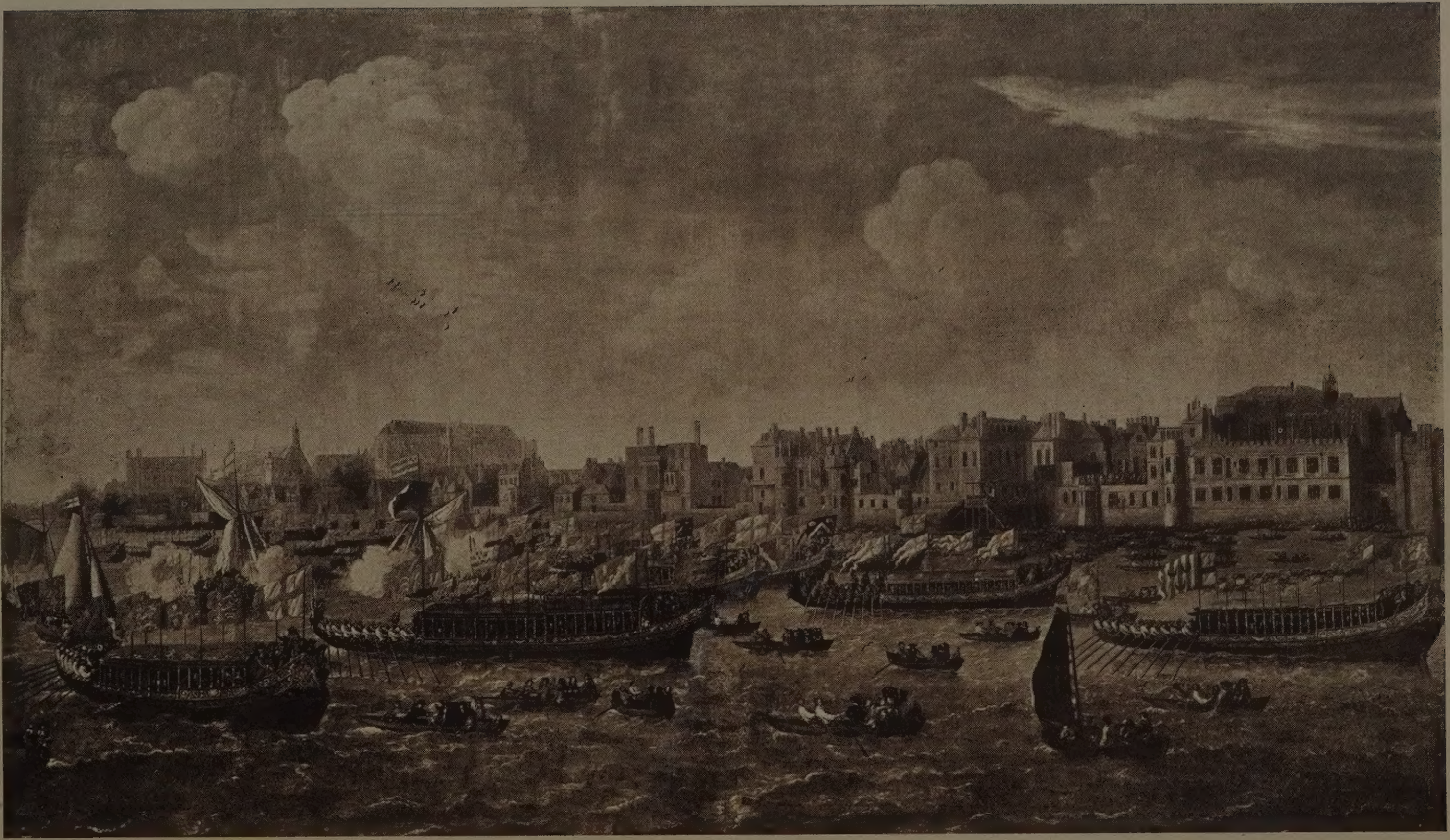

WHITEHALL PALACE IN 1683. REPRODUCED BY GRACIOUS PERMISSION OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL

SURVEY OF LONDON

ISSUED BY THE JOINT PUBLISHING COMMITTEE
REPRESENTING THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL
AND THE LONDON SURVEY COMMITTEE

UNDER THE GENERAL EDITORSHIP OF

MONTAGU H. COX (*for the Council*)
PHILIP NORMAN (*for the Survey Committee*)

VOLUME XIII

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET, WESTMINSTER.—PART II (NEIGHBOURHOOD OF WHITEHALL, VOL. I)

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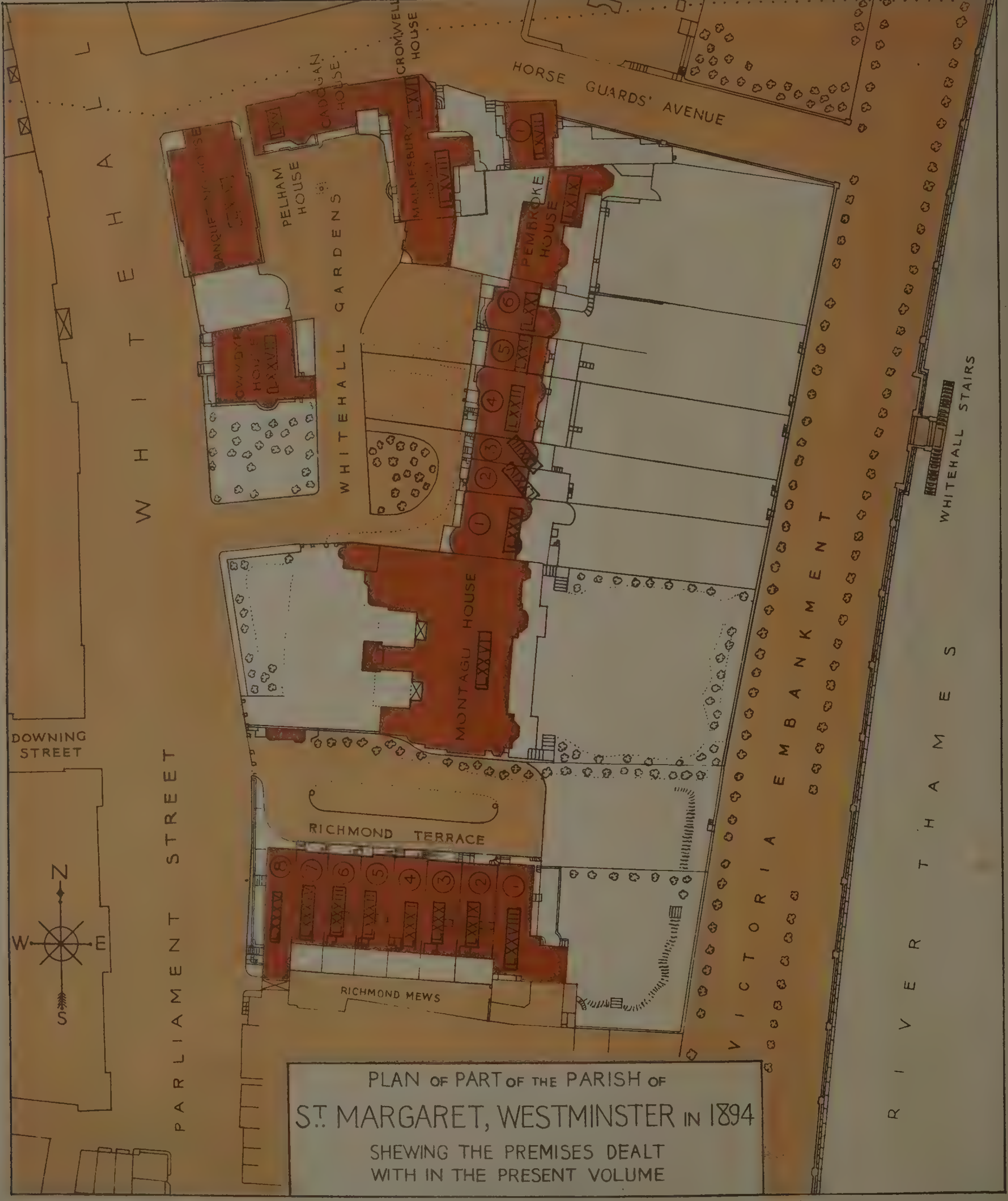
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PLAN OF PART OF THE PARISH OF

ST. MARGARET, WESTMINSTER IN 1894

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18. SCOTT OF BUCCLEUCH. *Or a bend azure charged with a molet of six points between two crescents or.*

19. BURRELL. *Vert three scutcheons argent each with a border engrailed or.*

20. CHARLES STUART, DUKE OF RICHMOND. *Quarterly:* 1 *and* 4, *Azure three fleur de lis within a border engrailed or* (AUBIGNY); 2 *and* 3, *Or a fess checky azure and argent within a border gules charged with eight buckles or* (STUART); *over all a scutcheon of pretence Argent a saltire between four roses gules* (LENNOX).

21. CHARLES LENNOX, DUKE OF RICHMOND. *The arms of Charles II differenced with a border gobony argent and gules the argent pieces charged with roses gules and over all a scutcheon Gules three buckles or.*

PREFACE

THIS volume of the *Survey of London* is the second of those dealing with the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, and is devoted to that part of the ancient Palace of Whitehall (and the buildings erected on the site) which lay in the parish of St. Margaret, between the road and the river. It does not deal, therefore, with that portion of the Palace which lay to the north of the present Horse Guards Avenue, which was in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. The loss is not considerable, as that part of the Palace consisted of offices and other relatively unimportant buildings. The portion of the Palace which lay in the parish of St. Margaret, but on the other (western) side of the road will, together with Downing Street, form the subject of the next volume.

Although the scope of the survey is generally limited to buildings erected before 1800, it has been considered advisable in the present volume, for the sake of completeness, and in view of the possibility of the demolition of some of the houses in the near future, to include such buildings as Montagu House, Nos. 1–6 Whitehall Gardens, and Richmond Terrace, which would otherwise have been omitted.

For similar reasons it has been thought desirable in the present volume to carry the lists of occupants down to the present period or to the time when private occupation gave way to official use.

I gladly take this opportunity of placing on record the valuable assistance which the Council has received in the preparation of this volume.

His Majesty the King graciously allowed the Council to reproduce the picture in the Royal Collection, now at Buckingham Palace, showing the Lord Mayor's Procession in 1683 passing the riverfront of Whitehall Palace. The reproduction forms the frontispiece of the volume.

His Grace the Duke of Richmond and Gordon very kindly granted permission for the reproduction of two paintings by Canaletto representing different portions of Whitehall in 1746. These views add very greatly to the interest and value of the volume. The Westminster City Council placed its very complete and excellently arranged series of rate-books and other sources of information at the Council's service. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster allowed the fullest use to be made of their fine collection of early monastic deeds. Thanks are also due to the Royal Institute of British Architects for permission to reproduce several of the records in their possession, to the Pepysian Librarian for allowing the reproduction of Hollar's original drawing of the Banqueting House and the Holbein Gate, and to the Librarian of All Souls' College, Oxford, for the facilities afforded to the Council's officers for inspecting, and selecting for reproduction, drawings in the Wren Collection.

The records of H.M. Office of Works and of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands have been unreservedly placed at the Council's service. The assistance freely rendered by the officials in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and the Middlesex Registry is also much appreciated. The Architect to the Council desires to record his appreciation of the work done in connection with the preparation of the volume by Mr. C. J. T. Dadd, F.S.I., and other assistants in his department.

The kindness of the Rev. E. E. Dorling M.A., F.S.A., in advising on the heraldic descriptions and the drawings for the marginal shields is gratefully acknowledged.

The historical information contained in the volume has been prepared by Mr. W. W. Braines, B.A. (Lond.), a principal assistant in my department.

MONTAGU H. COX,
Clerk of the London County Council.

THE COUNTY HALL,
WESTMINSTER BRIDGE, S.E.,
28th May, 1930.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET, WESTMINSTER.—PART II

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER I

YORK PLACE

Towards the end of the twelfth century Richard of Ely (also known as Richard FitzNigel or FitzNeale), Bishop of London, and author of the famous *Dialogus de Scaccario*, was in occupation of some houses in the town of Westminster. These in 1197,* the year before his death, he granted to his cousin, William of Ely, the King's treasurer. The monks of Westminster were the lords of the fee, and a yearly payment had to be made to them of a taper of 2 pounds of wax. A confirmation of the grant by the monks, in which William was referred to as their dearest and special friend, was obtained before May, 1200,† and a royal confirmation on 20th April in the same year.‡

At some time between 1218 and 1221§ William, " formerly treasurer of the Kings of England,"|| granted " all his houses and the court, together with a certain stable which is not of the same court, in the town of Westminster, held by the grant of the said Bishop Richard, and which are of the fief of Westminster " to the Abbey, " for the souls of Henry, Richard and John, Kings of England, and for the soul of Richard, Bishop of London, and for his own soul." William agreed to pay the monks, " so long as he shall by their leave dwell in the said houses," one pound of frankincense in addition to the two-pounds wax taper.

The next occupant was Hubert de Burgh,¶ justiciar of England, and

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* The grant (*Westm. Abbey Domesday Book Cal.*, f. 341b) was witnessed by *inter alios* (i) Richard de Storteford, master of the scholars of London, who, according to Hennessy (*Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, p. 12), vacated the position in 1197, and (ii) Alard, Archdeacon of London, who according to the same authority (p. 6), was appointed in that year.

† *Westm. Abbey Deed* 17313. The abbot whose name appears in the confirmation was William [Postard], whose term of office was from 9th October, 1191, to 4th May, 1200.

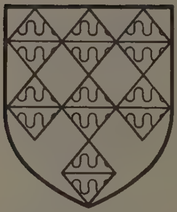
‡ *Westm. Abbey Domesday Book Cal.*, f. 342.

§ One of the witnesses to the grant (*Westm. Abbey Domesday Book Cal.*, f. 342b) is Dom. Pandulf, elect of Norwich, papal legate. Pandulf was legate from 12th September, 1218, to 19th July, 1221. He was elected Bishop of Norwich in August, 1215, but was not consecrated until 29th May, 1222.

|| Eustace de Fauconbridge (also one of the witnesses to the grant) had been appointed treasurer in 1217.

¶ Hubert de Burgh, one of the great figures in English medieval history, served under Kings Richard, John, and Henry III. He was already of importance in the early part of John's reign, but the scene in Shakespeare's *King John* where, in accordance with the King's instructions, he attempts to blind Prince Arthur, but is dissuaded by the Prince's piteous entreaties, is doubtfully historical. In 1215 he was appointed justiciar, and in 1217 commanded the small English fleet in the first of England's great naval victories, off the North Foreland. In 1227 he was created Earl of Kent. He suffered much adversity in subsequent years, but in 1234 his outlawry was reversed and his earldom restored. He died in 1243.

afterwards Earl of Kent. It was in or about the year 1223[*] that the Abbey granted to Hubert "all their houses and court, with a free chapel to celebrate and hear divine service for himself and his household," together with the stable mentioned in the former grant, "which houses, court, chapel and stable" William of Ely had formerly held. Hubert paid seven score marks of silver for the grant, and his rent was increased to a taper of 3 pounds of wax.


Hubert de Burgh.

At about the same time, Hubert purchased several other interests in property in the vicinity:—

(i) Ralph, son of William of Ely, sold to Hubert[†] his houses and grange which he held within the latter's two gates, namely, "those houses . . . which are adjoining the court and houses of the said Hubert, which belonged to William the treasurer, my late father, on the one side of the way within the gates, and two houses and the grange . . . which adjoin the stable of the said William my father on the other side of the way within the same gates."

(ii) Roger of Ware, son of Robert of Westminster, and Maud of Ware sold[‡] all their land lying between the property of Odo the goldsmith and the land of Levota the widow.

(iii) Odo the goldsmith sold[§] all his land lying between that of Roger of Ware and that of Robert the carpenter, stretching between the highway and the Thames.

The prices paid were ten, twelve and ten marks of silver respectively. Whether these were purchases of subsidiary interests in the property acquired from the Abbey or represented additional land is not clear.[||]

Hubert's tenure of the property was brief. At some time about 1230[¶] he transferred to trustees (Walter of St. Martin's, minister of the Cross of Christ; Laurence of St. Alban's, rector of the church of Attlebury; and Richard of Wokindon, rector of the church of Anvillers) all his houses which he held of the Abbey of Westminster in the parish of St. Margaret, and all his rents and possessions between the Abbey of Westminster and the City of London, to deal with as best they could for the succour of the Holy Land, and to redeem the vow which, on taking the Cross, he had made to proceed to the Holy Land in his own person, unless he met with some lawful

[*] Among the witnesses to the grant (*Westm. Abbey Domesday Book Cal.*, f. 347) is Ralph de Nevill, bishop elect of Chichester. The Royal assent to Ralph's appointment was given on 1st November, 1222, but he was not consecrated until 21st April, 1224.

[†] P.R.O., C. 52/34/3.

[‡] *Ibid.*, 34/6.

[§] *Ibid.*, 34/5.

[||] All three purchases were effected before Hubert obtained the earldom of Kent in 1227, as they simply refer to him as justiciar of England. They are all probably of the same date as the purchase from the Abbey, or a little later.

[¶] The grant (*Westm. Abbey Domesday Book Cal.*, f. 347b) is dated by the Abbey authorities *circa* 1227–32.

impediment. The trustees sold the property to Walter de Gray, Archbishop of York, and the sale was duly confirmed by Hubert in a document which may be dated 1240–1.[*] At the same time Hubert gave notice[†] to all his tenants "between the Abbey of Westminster and the City of London" of his confirmation of the sale.

Matthew Paris asserts,[‡] and his statement has been repeated by Stow[§] and a host of later writers, that Hubert gave his property to the Black Friars, who in turn disposed of it to the archbishop, but the documents quoted above seem to leave no room for the friars. The sale had been to the archbishop personally, but in 1245 the latter gave the property to the see of York, under the description of "our houses in the street of Westminster, with the rents, gardens, vivaries, and all other appurtenances without any retention, which formerly were of Hubert de Burgh, late justiciar of England."[||]

The house thus became attached to the see, and under the name of "York Place" formed for nearly three hundred years the London residence of the archbishops.[¶]

Towards the close of the reign of Edward I York Place seems to have been used for royal purposes. An account[**] of building works and repairs at the archbishop's house in 1298–9 contains references to the King's ante-chamber, the King's lesser chamber, colouring the King's chamber green, mending a window in and doing other works at the King's chamber, making a wardrobe for the King's chaplains, and doing plumbing work in connection with the King's chapel. Moreover, in 1304–5 is an account[††] in respect of the purchase of timber and other items for making a hall ("aulam") at the Archbishop of York's house for the household of the Queen, as well as for a house over the water made for the Queen's wardrobe. In the following year[‡‡] are details of expenditure (i) concerning the King's great chamber at the house of the Archbishop of York, and mending and

[*] *Archbishop Gray's Register* (Surtees Society) LVI, pp. 199–200. Among the witnesses are Reyner de Bungay, Mayor of London; Michael Thorn [Tovy] and John de Gilor [Gisors], sheriffs. Their term of office was 1240–1.

[†] P.R.O., C. 52/34 (1c).

[‡] "Et delatum est ejus corpus venerandum veneranter Londonias tumulandum in domo fratrum Praedicatorum, quibus vivens multa bona contulerat, et inter caetera suum nobile palatium, quod non multum distat a palatio comitis Ricardi, juxta Westmonasterium, quod postea comparavit archiepiscopus Eboracensis." (*Chronica Majora* (ed. H. R. Luard), IV, pp. 243–4.)

[§] "*Hubert de Burgo* Earle of Kent was a great benefactor unto these Fryers, and . . . was buried in their Church, unto the which church he had given his place at Westminster, which the sayde Fryers afterward solde to *Walter Grey* Archbishop of Yorke." (Stow's *Survey of London*, Kingsford's edn., II, p. 89).

[||] *Archbishop Gray's Register*, LVI, p. 200.

[¶] It is probably referred to in the grant made in the following year (1246) to Taylifer de Kinahesil and Matthew de Lawic of "two houses 'cum pert' in Westminster next to La Charinge, reserving to us and our successors 'hostilagium' therein, when need be." (*Ibid.*, p. 257.)

[**] P.R.O., C. Misc., 3/31.

[††] P.R.O., E. 101/468/10.

[‡‡] *Ibid.*, 468/11.

covering other chambers there against the King's coming, and (ii) in connection with the ceiling (or wainscotting) of a new hall (" aulam ") and chamber and a chapel in connection with it, at the house of the Archbishop of York, for the King's sons.

The account for 1298–9 mentions other details of York Place, such as the water stairs (" in emendacione pontis ad aquam "), the pantry, the steward's chamber, the arbour and the lodge within it (" circa emendacionem cuiusdam logie in erbar'," "pro erbar' reparand'," "ad torchiand' & plastand' perietes illius logie in erbar'," "in spinis empt' ad claudend' quandam sepem ante portam erbar'.")* It also gives particulars of the expenses in connection with the raising of a wall between the archbishop's court and the houses of "Drokenesford."† The latter were at Endif (see p. 13), which adjoined York Place on the south.

Other references to York Place are not infrequent, but are mostly unimportant. The following is a selection :—

In 1302 John le Blund, who had been elected mayor, was admitted and sworn before the King's Council in the chamber of the Archbishop of York, and in 1305, after his election for the fifth time, he was " presented for the mayoralty to the lord the King at the hostel of the Archbishop of York."‡

In 1353 John of Thoresby, the archbishop, who was also chancellor, being about to proceed " to the parts of his archbishopric by the King's order," delivered up the great seal " in his house in the town of Westminster," to the keeper of the Chancery Rolls, to be kept until his return.§

After Archbishop le Scrope (Saint Richard Scrope) had in 1405 paid the penalty of his ill-advised insurrection against Henry IV, an order was issued for his goods " within his inn at Westminster " to be assigned to the expenses of the Royal household.||

In 1467 Edward IV was aiming to make himself independent of the support of the great family of the Nevilles. Archbishop George Neville, brother of Warwick the kingmaker, had been chancellor since 1460. On 8th June, 1467, the King went in person " to the inn of the Archbishop of York . . . without the Bars of Westminster,"¶ where the latter was lying ill, and took from him the great seal.

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* Archbishops John le Romeyn (1285–96) and Henry of Newark (1296–9) occasionally dated letters from "La Boure," or "La Bourehouse" (*Register of Abp. Henry of Newark*, and many references in *Register of John le Romeyn*). This has been identified by the editor of Henry of Newark's register (p. 333) with the bower or great chamber at the end of the hall in the archbishop's London house, but Kingsford suggests (*London Top. Record*, XII, p. 63) that it was the " arbour " mentioned above.

† John of Drokensford was at the time the keeper of the Wardrobe. In 1309 he became Bishop of Bath and Wells. He died in 1329.

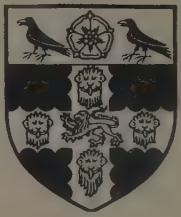
‡ *Cal. of Letter-books . . . preserved at the Guildhall, Letter-book* C., pp. 115, 177.

§ *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1349–54, p. 619.

|| *Ibid.*, 1405–8, p. 185.

¶ *Wilhelmi Wyrcester Annales* in *Libri Nigri Scaccarii*, 1726 edn., II, p. 508.

We are told that Thomas Rotherham or Scot, who was archbishop from 1480[*] to 1500, did a great amount of rebuilding in his various manors, and among others "at his inn near Westminster.[†]


Wolsey.

In 1514 Thomas Wolsey (created cardinal in the following year) was translated from Lincoln to York. There is extant a series of accounts[‡] "concernyng bildyngs at Yorke place" for the years 1514–16, which shows that "reparacions and workemanshypp . . . in my lord off Yorkes Place" were being extensively carried out during those years. Among other buildings mentioned are the hall, the chapel, "the grete gate towards the strete," "the grete bakery gate into the Gardyn," "a breke wall from the brode gate ayenst the Grene unto the grete gatehouse of my lords place," the chapel garden, the counting-house, the bake-house, the kitchen, the buttery, the wine-cellar, the fish-house, the scullery and the wardrobe.

Concerning Wolsey's splendid manner of living at York Place many interesting details are given by Cavendish,[§] who relates how the King was wont to resort thither, and how banquets "set with masks and mummeries" were provided. He records one incident in which the King arrived, by water, masked, with other masquers, giving themselves out to be strangers coming "as ambassadors from some foreign prince," and the story has been utilised by Shakespeare[||] in that scene in *Henry VIII* which is set in "the presence chamber in York Place." An instance of this form of entertainment occurred on 3rd October, 1518. In the earlier part of the day the general peace had been proclaimed at St. Paul's, and in the evening the company repaired to York Place, "where they sat down to a most sumptuous supper, the like of which was never given either by Cleopatra or Caligula."[¶] Then entered twelve lords and twelve ladies disguised, "the fyrst was the kyng him selfe and the French quene," attended by twelve knights, also disguised, bearing torches. "All these maskers daunced at one tyme, & after they had daunced, they put of their viziers, & then they were all knowen. . . . Then the kyng and his company were banketed & had high chere, & then they departed every man to hys lodgynge.'[**]

A few years after Wolsey becoming archbishop he took steps to enlarge York Place on both sides. On 10th November, 1519, he obtained a grant* in frank almoigne of what was afterwards called Scotland Yard. It is described as "a parcel of land, formerly belonging to the King of Scotland . . . as it lies between the inn of the Lord Archbishop of York on the south, and the chapel of the Blessed Mary of Runcevall on the north, and the water of Thames on the east, and the highway which leads from Charyngcrosse to Westminster on the west." A few months later (4th March, 1519–20) he acquired from William Lytton the latter's interest in five tenements and gardens in King Street, adjoining York Place on the south.† Lytton had in 1511 obtained a lease of these from the Abbey of Westminster, and the indenture‡ drawn up on the occasion describes the property as containing in width on the west side from north to south, from "lez barres" there to the ground in the tenure of Thomas a Legh, 108 feet 11 inches; in length from the highway on the west to the Thames on the east 357 feet 9 inches; in the middle from the stone wall of the Archbishop of York's inn on the north to the ground of Thomas a Legh on the south 54 feet; and in width north to south from the corner of the archbishop's wall to Thomas a Legh's ground, 90 feet.

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[*] . . . ad. ecclesiam Eboracensem Thomas Rotherham, alio nomine vocatus Scot, ab ecclesia Cathedrali Lincoln, tertio die Septembris, anno Domini 1480, per Sextum papam Quartum fuit translatus; quo die bullæ suæ cum pallio sibi erant præsentatæ *hospitio suo juxta Westmonasterium.*" (*The Historians of the Church of York, etc.*, ed. Raine, Rolls Series, II, 439.)

[†] *Ibid.*, II, 440.

[‡] P.R.O., E. 101/474/7.

[§] *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, 1905 edn.

[||] "A noble troop of strangers;
For so they seem: they've left their barge and landed;
And hither make, as great ambassadors
From foreign princes."

[¶] *Cal. of S.P., Venetian*, II, p. 462.

[**] Hall's *Chronicle*, 1809 edn., p. 595.

What use Wolsey made of these additions to York Place it is not possible to say. The next we hear of building operations is in May, 1528, when Fox, writing to Gardiner, says that Wolsey was at Durham Place, in the Strand, "the hall of York Place, with other edifices there, being now in building, my lord's Grace intending most sumptuously and gorgeously to repair and furnish the same."§

It is possible that these works had not been finished when Wolsey was forced to leave York Place. On 19th October, 1529, he was deprived of the great seal, and was told that the King wished him to retire to Esher. On 22nd October he executed a deed acknowledging that he had incurred a *praemunire* and asking the King, as part recompense of his offences, to take into his hands all his temporal possessions. He then made ready to set out and a day or two later‖ "called all officers in every office in his house before him, to take account of all such stuff as they had in charge. And in his gallery there was set divers tables, whereupon a great number of rich stuff of silk, in whole pieces, of all colours, as velvet, satin, damask, caffa, taffeta, grograine, sarcenet, and of other not in my remembrance; also there lay a thousand pieces of fine holland cloth . . . Furthermore there was also all the walls of the gallery hanged with cloths of gold and tissue of divers makings, and cloths of silver likewise on both sides; and rich cloths of baudkin of divers colours. There hung also the richest suits of copes of his own provision, which he caused to be made for his colleges of

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* P.R.O., C. 82/482.

† P.R.O., Exch. T.R., *Ancient Deeds*, A. 13404.

‡ *Westm. Reg.*, II, f. $19^{b.}$

§ *Cal. of L. and P., H. VIII*, IV, Pt. II, No. 4251.

‖ The exact date does not seem to be known, but it was not later than 25th October: "The Cardinal . . . has withdrawn with a small attendance to a place ten miles off." (Letter dated 25th October, 1529, from Chapuys to Charles V, *Cal. of L. and P., H. VIII*, Pt. III, No. 6026).

Oxford and Ipswich, that ever I saw in England. Then had he two chambers adjoining to the gallery, the one called the gilt-chamber, and the other called, most commonly, the council-chamber, wherein were set in each two broad and long tables upon tressels, whereupon was set such a number of plate of all sorts, as were almost incredible. In the gilt-chamber was set out upon the tables nothing but all gilt plate; and a cupboard standing under a window was garnished wholly with plate of clean gold, whereof some was set with pearl and rich stones. And in the council-chamber was set all white plate and parcel-gilt; and under the tables in both the chambers, were set baskets with old plate, which was not esteemed but for broken plate and old . . . and books counting the value and weight of every parcel laid by them ready to be seen. . . . Thus everything being brought into good order and furnished, he gave the charge of the delivery thereof unto the king, unto every officer within his office, of such stuff as they had before in charge . . . Then all things being ordered . . . my lord prepared him to depart by water . . . with all his gentlemen and yeomen, which was no small number, and took his barge at his privy-stairs, and so went by water unto Putney where all his horses awaited his coming."*

The King had set his heart on obtaining York Place, but there were difficulties in the way, owing to the fact that it was not Wolsey's private property, but belonged to the see of York. These, however, were overcome, and William Shelley, the judge, was sent to inform Wolsey " that the King's pleasure was to have his house at Westmr . . . intending to make of that house a palace royal . . . ' Master Shelley,' quoth he, ' ye shall make report to the king's highness, that I am his obedient subject and faithful chaplain and beadman, whose royal commandment and request I will in no wise disobey, but most gladly fulfil and accomplish his princely will and pleasure in all things, and in especial in this matter, inasmuch as ye, the fathers of the laws, say that I may lawfully do it. Therefore I charge your conscience and discharge the mine. Howbeit, I pray you, show his Majesty from me that I most humbly desire his Highness to call to his most gracious remembrance, that there is both heaven and hell.' "†

Things now moved rapidly, and in Hilary term of 1530 a recovery was suffered‡ against Wolsey of " one messuage, two gardens and three acres of land, with the appurtenances in the town of Westminster." The " fine " was 1000 marks of silver.§ The deed leading the uses of the recovery was dated 7th February, 1529–30, and described the premises as above, " which same messuage, gardens and land are commonly called York Place, to hold to the use and behoof of the Lord the King, his heirs and assignees for ever."

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* Cavendish's *Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*, 1905 edn., pp. 100–2.

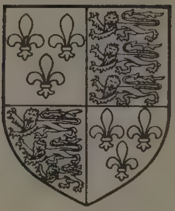
† *Ibid.*, p. 121.

‡ A transcript of the recovery is given in the *Report of the late Important Trial . . . respecting the Parochial Rates claimed . . . from the Inhabitants of Richmond Terrace* (1834), pp. 42–44. In subsequent pages this book is referred to as " Parochial Rates Trial."

§ P.R.O., C.P. 25 H. VIII, 27/181. No. 13.

CHAPTER 2

WHITEHALL PALACE—HISTORY


Henry VIII.

The King did not wait for the completion of the legal formalities before taking possession of York Place. On 2nd November, 1529, only a few days after Wolsey's departure, he came from Greenwich by water, "and landed at the house which once belonged to the Cardinal, where he has found handsome and well-furnished apartments, provided with everything that could be wished."[*] In the *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII*[†] are several items relating to York Place from November, 1529, to January, 1529–30, such as :[‡]

[November]	"It'm the xvij . . . war to a s'vnt of the . . . Savoyes for bringing . . . unto the Kinges grace to york place	. . . .
	"Paid to the gardiner of Beaulie in rewarde for bringing herbes and Rotes to Yorke place	vj^{s} viij^{d}
[December]	"It'm to the clerc of the Kinges closet for his botehire for fetching of certen stuf from grenewiche to yorke place	ij^{s}
	"It'm to maister Bryan for so moche money by him gyven in rewarde to a straunge mynstrell at yorke place	xl^{s}
[January]	"It'm the same [xxvij] daye paied to iiij pouer people that the kinges grace heled of ther diseases at yorke place	xxx^{s}"

On 20th March, 1529–30, Thomas Alvarde was appointed keeper of "our place or messuage called York Place." The *Privy Purse Expenses* show that Henry visited York Place occasionally up to March, 1531:

[May, 1530]	"It'm the xiij daye paied to a s'vnt of my lorde Barkeleys in rewarde for bringing a fresshe sturgeon to the kinges grace to yorke place	xl^{s}
[November, 1530]	"It'm the xiij daye paied to a s'vnt of S^{r} Edward Guldefords in Rewarde for bringing a fawcon to the king at Yorke place	xx^{s}
[December, 1530]	"It'm to Xpofer Villars s'vnt by way of Rewarde for bringing pomegarnetts to Yorke place for the king	iiij^{s} viij^{d}

[*] *Cal. of S.P., Spanish*, 1529–30, IV, Pt. I, p. 323.

[†] B.M. Add. MS. 20030.

[‡] See, moreover : "On the daie of the Conception of our ladie [8th December, 1529] the king *at York place at Westminster*, in the parlement time, created the vicount Rochford earle of Wilshire, & the vicount FitsWater was created earle of Sussex, and the lord Hastings was created earle of Huntingdon." (Holinshed's *Chronicle*.)

[January, 1530–1]	"It'm the xxviijth daye paied to the Ambassado^{r} of fraunce s'vnt in Rewarde for bringing perys to the kinges grace at yorke place	xxiij^{s} iiij^{d}
	"It'm the xxix daye paied to my lady Russell s'vnt in Rewarde for bringing of a doo and a swanne to the kinges grace to yorke place	xx^{s}
[February, 1530–1]	"It'm the forsaied xxvij daye deliv'ed unto the kinges grace at yorke place to play at Cards and to be p'tiner w^{t} the sergeant of the sello^{r}	x^{li}
[March, 1530–1]	"It'm the xv daye paied to the sergeant of the sello^{r} for to play at the cards at yorke place, the kinges grace and he to be copartyners togidres	x^{li}

Among the same expenses are two items of payment to Doctor Stubbs (i) in November, 1529, of £200 "for his bylding at yorke place," and (ii) on 1st April, 1530, of £400 "to be employed aboute the Kinges buyeldinges at yorke place."

Lawrence Stubbs was Wolsey's almoner* and acted as his surveyor.† On 17th May, 1530, he wrote to Wolsey‡ concerning the £1000 which the King had granted for the payment of the cardinal's debts, stating that the Council had ordered him, after paying the creditors of the household, to use the rest for paying persons "who made exclamation for lack of payment for buildings," and that he had accordingly paid the painter, the smith, the glazier and others at daily wages, who were unpaid for work at Esher and York Place. He was unable to pay James Nedam, in full, but the King had paid the remainder.§ Again, on 1st July, 1530, he tells Wolsey that he is "abiding here at Westminster for the King's buildings."||

It appears therefore that the works referred to in the privy purse expenses were in continuation of those set on foot by Wolsey. The King's plans were, however, by no means limited to such rebuilding and extensions as Wolsey had contemplated. The old Palace of Westminster had fallen into decay, and Henry had in view the erection of a new Royal Palace on the site of York Place, of much greater extent than the latter, and provided with a large park. For this purpose he effected exchanges of land with the Abbey of Westminster and the College of Eton, acquiring from the latter the Hospital of St. James (which he rebuilt as St. James's Palace) and 185½ acres of land, most of which lay between Charing Cross and Eye Hill.¶

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* See commission, dated 3rd July, 1528, by Wolsey to John Higden, dean of Cardinal's College, Oxford, Lawrence Stubbes, his almoner, etc., to amend and reform the statutes of his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford. (*Cal. of L. and P., H. VIII*, IV, Pt. 2, 4460.)

† He is referred to as "surveyor of my said lord's reparations and buildings" in a memorandum as to payments made for reparations at "Battersay," in 1515. (*Ibid.*, II, Pt. 1, 1369.)

‡ *Ibid.*, IV, Pt. 3, 6390.

§ This was evidently for the new privy stairs (see p. 57.)

|| *Cal. of L. and P., H. VIII*, IV, Pt. 3, 6495.

¶ P.R.O., C. 66/659 (m. 27).

The indenture was dated 5th September, 1531. The property acquired from the Abbey is set out in the Act of 1531 (23 Henry VIII, c.33—Private) transcribed in Appendix A. That on the west side of the road included the Abbey's properties between the brewhouse called the Axe (on the site of Downing Street) and Charing Cross, as well as Petty Calais[*] and lands lying next to and intermingled with the lands of Eton. Most of this was added (as well as certain property in other ownership) to the Eton lands to form St. James's Park, but a portion was utilised for what may be called the "recreation" side of the new Palace. The cockpit, tennis courts, tilt yard, bowling alley, pheasant yard, etc., were provided on this side of the road, and access to them from the main portion of the Palace was afforded by two gates spanning the road from Westminster to Charing Cross. These buildings, so far as they were in the parish of St. Margaret's, will be dealt with in the next volume.

On the east side of the road the acquisitions from the Abbey comprised all the property extending from Lamb Alley to the Bars next to York Place, and from "Scotland" to the chapel of St. Mary Rouncivall. The latter property (Craig's Court) lay in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and was never used as part of the Palace, and it is with the former property that we have here to deal.

The grant by the Abbey was, like the indenture with Eton, dated 5th September, 1531,[†] but the leasehold interests in the property on the east side of the road had been acquired nearly four months earlier.[‡] Unfortunately, the descriptions contained in the indentures are not very detailed, but in most cases copies of the original leases are available, and from the particulars therein given it is possible to obtain an approximate estimate of the amount of the property acquired.

This extended from Lamb Alley to the Bars. The position of the latter is not known. If it were not for this fact, no investigation would be necessary, for the site of Lamb Alley can be identified (see p. 229), its northern side being almost in a line with the southern face of the King Street Gate.

(i) The property immediately south of the Bars was that of which Wolsey had purchased the leasehold interest from Lytton (see p. 8). The width along the street was 108 feet 11 inches, and it was bounded on the south by the ground in the tenure of Thomas a Legh.

(ii) The property of Legh is described[§] as a great gate with chamber and 6 tenements with garden adjoining and 4 cottages towards the lane called "le Endif"[||] on the south, the whole being in King Street between

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[*] See *Survey of London*, Vol. X, p. 8.

[†] See P.R.O., C. 66/659 (m. 22).

[‡] All the indentures that have been traced, viz. those with Rede, Yngham, Brightman, Henbury, Hampkyn and Kellet, are dated 18th May, 1531.

[§] Lease granted by the Abbey on 1st February, 1499–1500. (*Westm. Reg.* I, ff. 118^{b}–119.)

[||] There are frequent references to Endif in medieval times. A few may be given here. Two early deeds (*Westm. Abbey Deeds*, 17311 and 17465) contain grants (i) from the Abbey of Westminster to Gerin, of the land of "Anedehea," which he bought of Walkelin, and (ii) from Emma, the tenements late of Edmund Chaderton and the lane called "le Endyf" on the south, the property of Richard Lytton on the north, and the Thames on the east. The dimensions were: east to west 23 "virgae" of 15 feet each, north to south towards the street 4 "virgae," 13 feet and 11 inches, and towards the Thames 5 "virgae" and 9 feet, at the east end from the lane called "le Endyf" to Lytton's tenement 6 "virgae" and 9 feet, and in the middle next the "piretum" 3 "virgae" and 2 feet. The four cottages contained in length from the house of John Holland to the Thames 8 "virgae" and 3 feet.

(iii) In the northern angle of King Street and Endif Lane, bounded north and east by (ii), was the property leased* to Edmund Chaderton and John "Holand." It is described as three tenements, with gardens adjoining, in King Street, next to the lane leading to the water of Thames and called "Endive," abutting on King Street west, the garden late of Walter Lokyngton and formerly of David Selly† east and north, and the lane on the south. The dimensions were: from King Street to Lokyngton's garden 168 feet, from the lane to Lokyngton's garden on the east side 65 feet, and along King Street on the west side 50 feet.

(iv) South of the lane was a tenement with chamber above leased to Richard Walker.‡ It is described as abutting on the lane called "le Endiff Lane" on the north and a messuage called "le Rose" on the south.

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formerly wife of Walter de Camera, to Richard of Ware, of a messuage held by William le Keu at "Enedehide." In the time of John, Marwen sold (*Westm. Abbey Domesday Book Cal.*, f. 342), to William of Ely, the King's treasurer, her messuage next to that of John Pymerick at "Anedeheia." A messuage also next to Pymerick's, at "Enedehude" ("Enedehuthe"), was afterwards granted by the sacrist of Westminster to Rondulf Holdeye and passed on by him to Richard Crane and Gunnild of Harleston his wife (*Westm. Abbey Deed*, 17384, and *Westm. Abbey Domesday Book Cal.*, f. 351b). Ralph Ely about the same time granted to Margery of Faringestone 3 houses next to "Anedeheye" (*Ibid.*, f. 350^b). On 1st December, 1293, Walter of Langeton obtained permission to hold his houses, with his whole mansion at "Enedehyeht," quit of livery of ministers of the king (*Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1292–1301, p. 62), and on 11th January, 1296–7, John of Drokenesford obtained a similar privilege in respect of his houses, with his whole mansion at "Enedehyeth" (*Ibid.*, p. 228). The above comprise most of the variations in the spelling of the original name. A charter of the time of Henry VI (*Westm. Abbey Deed*, 17778), containing a grant by John Travers to William of Stamford of a tenement bounded on the south by the street called "Enedehuthe," still keeps to the ancient form of the word, but in a lease (*Ibid.*, No. 17779), dated 26th October, 1461, from the Abbey to William Dykson of a tenement "apud Endyve" the later and corrupt form of the word has come into use.

[*] Lease, dated 21st October, 1489 (*Westm. Reg.* I, f. 38). A new lease was on 15th December, 1514, granted to Robert Thrower (*Ibid.*, f. 68) and renewed on 17th October, 1516, to Joan, his widow (*Ibid.*, f. 97^b). Joan afterwards married John Rede, from whom the leasehold interest was acquired by Henry VIII. (P.R.O., Exch. T.R., *Ancient Deeds*, A. 13448.)

[†] This was Legh's property, which is described in the lease to Lytton as a tenement late in the hands of David "Selley" and now in the hands of the said "Thomas a Lygh."

[‡] Lease, dated 15th March, 1523–4 (*Westm. Reg.* II, f. 202). Henry VIII acquired from Richard Walker, *alias* Hampstede, his leasehold interests in two properties in King Street: (a) "a tenemente w^t a garden therto lying sett in the Kynges streat of Westm^r," (b) "an other tenemente w^t a chambre over the same sett in the Kynges streat of Westm^r aforeseyd next unto the lane namyd endyff lane." (P.R.O., S.P. I, 67, fo. 84). Tenement (a) was on the west side of the road.

The tenement was 16 feet 4 inches from east to west, and 10 feet 2 inches north to south along King Street, while the chamber was 24 feet each way.

(v) Next came the messuage called " The Rose " with a shop and two tenements annexed, leased to Edward Yngham.* The messuage abutted on Walker's tenement on the north and on a tenement demised to John Henbury on the south, and along King Street had a width of 40 feet. Its length from King Street to " le Entre " was 52 feet, and from " le Entre " along the tenement demised to Thomas " Bryhtman " as far as the latter's stone wall 88 feet. The garden contained at the end where it abutted on " le Endyff Lane " on the north to the stream [*i.e.* the Clowson] on the south 76 feet, and where it abutted on the garden of Henbury from Brightman's wall to the stable 44 feet.

(vi) The next property was that of Thomas Brightman mentioned above, consisting of the " Berehouse [or Brewhouse] buylded at Endiff." It obviously lay behind The Rose and did not abut on King Street. No details are given in any of the numerous leases of this property or in the sale by Brightman to Henry VIII.†

(vii) South of (v) was the property of John Henbury. In the sale of Henbury's interest to Henry VIII it is described as " certen teñts, curtilages, closes and gardeynes wth the appurtenants, set and being in the kings strete . . . as they be conteyned with their mets and bounds lymyted in the . . . indenture " of lease of 25th July, 1508. The lease unfortunately cannot be referred to, as the Westminster Abbey Register for the years 1504–9 is missing. From particulars contained in a document concerning the properties between Endif Lane and Lamb Alley belonging to Westminster Abbey, it appears, however, that Henbury's property was The Red Lion, and that it extended southwards as far as Lamb Alley.‡ On 1st May, 1529, Henbury sub-leased to Robert Penythorn§ a part of the property described as " all thoise his howsynges callyd the hall, parlor, kechyn & the lyttell Chambre Whiche one Thomas Tomlyn nowe holdyth . . . & a Stable, togyder w^{t} all the Chambers beyng over the sayd hall, parlor, kechyn & lyttell chambre, And also the Wharf sett & lyeng at the watesyde & beyng on the baksyde of the tenement Bruhows callyd the Redd lyon . . . Betwene the pale & wharf lately lett to Ferme unto one William Hawkyns agaynst the Sowth & the comon dyche callyd Clowson towards the North, and the water off Temys towards the Est, & Agaynst the grounde of the sayd John Henbury towards the Sowth . . . And also a Gardeyn lyeng next to the Gardeyn of the sayd John Henbury, Al whiche the sayd Wharf, hall, parlor, w^{t} all the Chambres & Gardeyn one Rauf Williams late hild & occupied." This shows that Henbury's property reached to the Thames on the east. Although it extended southwards as far as Lamb Alley, this must have been on the east side, for other premises intervened on the side of the street.

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* Lease, dated 24th October, 1528 (*Westm. Reg.* II, f. 249b). The lease was acquired by Henry VIII. (P.R.O., Exch. T.R., *Ancient Deeds*, A. 12383.)

† *Ibid.*, A. 1526.

‡ *Westm. Abbey Deed*, 18048. " Yett tenements lettyn to John Henbery by leasse—Lambe Aley belonging to the red lyon." The property thus leased comprised one chamber, one tenement, one cottage, a garden, and the use of Lamb Alley.

§ P.R.O., Exch. T.R., *Ancient Deeds*, A. 1553. Penythorn's sub-lease was acquired by Henry VIII: " Payd to Robert Penythorne for his interest in a gret mesuage standing uppon the watrsyde . . . vijli." (P.R.O., S.P. I, 67, fo. 87.)

(viii) South of The Red Lion was the property of John Kellett. It is described* as a tenement, with garden adjoining, in King Street, extending from the street on the west along a tenement on the north side called "le red lyon" to a ditch called "le Clowson" on the east 153 feet, and on the south from King Street along a tenement in the tenure of the widow of Robert Currall $102\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and in breadth from north to south along King Street $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet. At the east end the width of the tenement was 90 feet.

(ix) We now come to Currall's property. On 10th February, 1521–2, the Abbey leased to Robert Currer (or Currall) three tenements in King Street, 95 feet long from west to east on the north side and 116 feet on the south, 38 feet wide on the west side along King Street and 50 feet on the east along the common ditch, abutting on the house of John Pomfrett (obviously Kellett's predecessor) on the north and on the tenement of Thomas Wyld on the south.† On 12th April, 1527, Currer ("yoman coke of my lord cardinalls hall") granted a sub-lease of part of the property, described as a tenement "sett, lying & beyng in the King Strete . . . on the north side of the Lambe alley", to Henry Hayes,‡ so that Currer's property obviously reached as far as Lamb Alley, on the street side.

The tenement of Wyld has not been identified, but the presence of another house between Currer's property and Lamb Alley is quite inconsistent with the description of Hayes' tenement. The document of Westminster Abbey referred to above contains no mention of any property that can possibly be identified with Wyld's house. In fact, all the properties mentioned therein have now been dealt with. Wyld's house must therefore have been on the other side of Lamb Alley.§

In framing an estimate of the extent of the property purchased between the Bars and Lamb Alley we are faced with two unknown quantities (i) the width of Endif Lane, and (ii) the width of The Red Lion. The former was probably in the nature of 12 feet, the latter we may conjecture to have been about 32 feet. With these assumptions the extent was as follows:

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* Lease granted (*Westm. Reg.* II, f. 246^{b}) on 17th July, 1528. It was purchased by Henry VIII. (P.R.O., Exch. T.R., *Ancient Deeds*, A. 1565.)

† The lease (*Westm. Reg.* II, f. 132^{b}) was continued to Currer's widow, Agnes, on 1st June, 1527 (*Ibid.*, II, f. 234). Agnes afterwards married Richard Hampkyn, from whom Henry VIII acquired the lease. (P.R.O., Exch. T.R., *Ancient Deeds*, A. 1536.)

‡ This sub-lease was also acquired by Henry VIII: "And payd to Henry Heyse . . . for his interest in his house whyche he dwellyth in . . . lx^{s}." (P.R.O., S.P. I, 67, fo. 86.)

§ That the alley was sometimes neglected when abuttings are described is shown by the description of The Lamb, on the south side of the alley, as bounded on the north by the tenement of John Henbury, brewer. (*Westm. Reg.* II, f. 26.)

Lytton's property	109 feet
Legh's property	74 „
Chaderton & Holland's property	50 „
Endif Lane	12 „
Walker's property	24 „
The Rose	40 „
The Red Lion	32 „
Kellett's property	37½ „
Currer's property	38 „
Total—about	416 feet.

This figure places the Bars near the line of the south end of the Banqueting House and the northern line of the Holbein Gate. Owing principally to the lack of details of Henbury's property, it is not possible to plot out the properties south of Endif Lane, but an attempt has been made to do this north of the lane, and the result is given on p. 17. Needless to say, this must not be taken to be anything more than a rough approximation. Two important factors are unknown—(i) the line of the river wall, if, as is probably the case, it differed from that adopted by Henry VIII when laying out the Palace extension, and (ii) the point at which Endif Lane met the river. In the case of the former, the extension southward of the line to the north of Whitehall Stairs has been adopted as probable.

It will be seen that the adoption of the lengths of 357 feet and 168 + 123 feet given in the leases as the length of Lytton's land and of the properties on the north side of Endif Lane indicates that the eastern line of the road south of the Bars was much nearer the river than the later line shown on the plan of 1670. The length of 345 feet ascribed to Thomas a Legh's property cannot be fitted into the line given by the above figures, but even if it is correct, the western part of this property is still about 55 feet from the later line of King Street. At the south end the distance from the river was 341 feet (see p. 229) as against about 360 feet in the case of the later line. It would therefore appear that the old eastern line of the highway south of the Bars was practically a continuation of the modern line north of that point, but that from Endif Lane it sloped so as to reduce the width of the road to a more normal amount. There is no reason to believe that the eastern line north of the Bars has ever varied, and the plan of 1670 shows that the expansion of the highway in that direction was formed by a curve in the western line starting from near the site of the Admiralty. The reason for the expansion is suggested by a description* of six tenements on the west side of the road, north of the Bars, purchased by Henry VIII, as "set and lyeng ayenst the white crosse and ayenst the grene before the Kinges Manor latelie called Yorke Place." We may therefore imagine the road at this point broadening out round an open grass space and a cross.*

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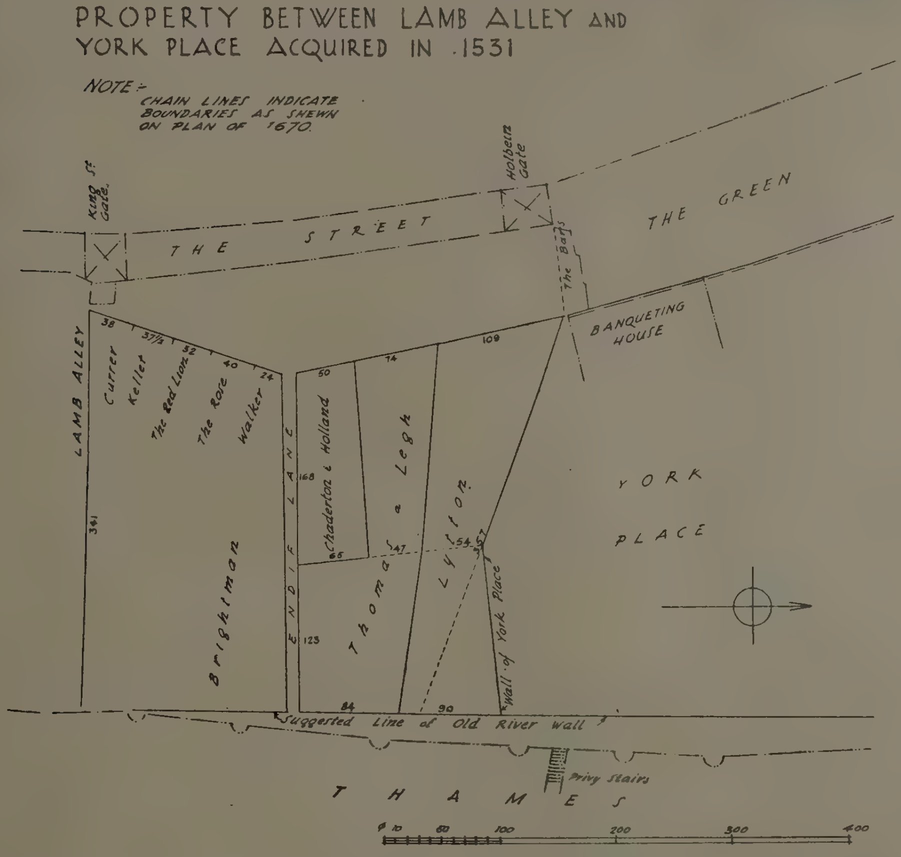
* Purchase from Thomas Rawlyns. (P.R.O., Exch. T.R., *Ancient Deeds*, A. 13077).

The King's plans were all ready,† and it is probable that building operations were started immediately upon the acquisition of the leasehold



PROPERTY BETWEEN LAMB ALLEY AND YORK PLACE ACQUIRED IN 1531

NOTE:-
CHAIN LINES INDICATE BOUNDARIES AS SHEWN ON PLAN OF 1670.
King St. Gate.
Holbein Gate
THE STREET
THE GREEN
The Bars
BANQUETING HOUSE
LAMB ALLEY
Currer
Keller
The Red Lion
The Rose
Walker
38
37½
32
40
24
341
Brighiman
ENDIF LANE
168
123
50
74
109
65
Chaderton & Holland
Thomas a Legh
Lytton
47
54
57
Wall of York Place
84
90
YORK PLACE
Suggested Line of Old River Wall
Privy Stairs
THAMES
0 10 50 100 200 300 400

interests in May, 1531. To what extent the existing buildings of York Place were demolished it is impossible to say, but certainly some were pulled down. The accounts* contain references to "two pykes to two Shores made for the overthrowing of the wallis of the greate Towre in the palesse," "labourers . . . occupied in . . . overthrowing the wallis aswelle of the kinges place in the paleis as also at the mewis and Kennyngton place," "iij pyckaxis with hamber heedis provided for breking downe of the greate Toure in the palesse," "the wagies of hym which deviseth the engynnes for the overthrowing of the wallis at the paleis and Kennyngton place," "to Rauffe Williams for a bargeyne in greate with hym made for the taking downe of a Toure of Stone and bricke at the Kings place within his paleis." While speaking of demolitions it may be remarked that some of the stone used for Whitehall was obtained from the destruction of Wolsey's college at Ipswich.†

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* J. T. Smith (*Antiquities of Westminster*, p. 20) suggested that the original width of the street throughout was the same as that of the portion enclosed between the two gates, and that the large additional space in front of the Banqueting House was thrown into the public way by Henry VIII. It has been seen that exactly the reverse was the case, and Henry may be acquitted of the charge of converting a portion of his own land to public use.

† "His Majesty is now staying at Greenwich, and comes often to Westminster, having designed new lodgings there and a park adjoining York House, which belonged to the late Cardinal Wolsey. The place is on so large a scale that many hundreds of houses [!] will be levelled, nearly all of which belong to great personages." (Letter, dated 20th April, 1531—*Cal. of S.P., Milan*, I, No. 861.)

There seems no reason to suppose that the central part of Wolsey's mansion was pulled down. The Hall had only just been rebuilt (see p. 8), if indeed it was finished, and the wine cellar close by still persists. The exact extent of York Place, as Wolsey left it, is a matter of speculation. Even if he had not built on the ground acquired from Lytton, the measurements of that property show that in the middle and towards the east York Place reached further south than the Bars which were its boundary on the street side. Again, in view of the uncertainty attaching to the position of the boundary between York Place and "Scotland," it is impossible to say whether Wolsey had utilised any portion of the latter for building, though the references quoted below suggest that it was still open ground. It had been resumed by Henry VIII on the cardinal's fall (though no record of the resumption has been found) and is alluded to occasionally in the accounts.‡

How far the lay out of the Palace, as originally constructed by Henry VIII, corresponded with that of the Whitehall of, say, Charles II's time, is not known, but it certainly differed in some respects. One great difference was in its extent to the south. As appears from the above, the property acquired by the King reached only as far as Lamb Alley, and it is shown on p. 228 that the site of The Lamb, with its gardens and meadows, on the *south* side of Lamb Alley, was not used as part of the Palace until about 1545, when it was converted into the Palace orchard.

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* P.R.O., E. 361/251–2 (*Westminster Manor Accounts*, 22–3, Henry VIII).

† "To the master mason for thexpences of hym Selfe and his horse by the Space of vj days mense Augusti anno xxiij Dm. Regis . . . in Ryding from Westm^{r} to Ippeswiche and tarying there, aswelle for Devysing the Saufe taking downe of Stone wrought and sette in the late lorde Cardynalles newe buyldinges there, as also for the appoynting of the same Stone, and other unwrought to be conveyed from thens to the saide Manor." (*Ibid.*, p. 616.)

‡ "For the hedgeing and encloosing of a certeyne grounde annexid unto the saide manor, callid Skottelande, for Sauffe Custodie of parcell of the tymbre of the houses takyn downe" (*Ibid.*, p. 98); "for the working of a vault or water corse crossing the highwaye leeding from Charing crosse towardes Westm' directlye ayenste a certeyne grounde, callid Scotteland, adjoynyng unto the saide manor, for conveyaunce of water oute of the meedis within the grounde appoyntid for the forenamed parke into the Theamyse" (*Ibid.*, p. 247); "a newe docke caste and made within a grounde annexid unto the saide manor, callid Scottelande, for the Easye Receipte of stuffe there, whiche docke cont' in length a xxv Roddis Di', in bredith a xxiiij fote, & in depth a ix fote" (*Ibid*, p. 639).

In the early part of 1531–2 the orchard was apparently on the north side of Endif Lane,* but in the course of that year was extended to Lamb Alley. The accounts contain entries relating to the employment of "xxv Gardeneres for the levelling of a certeyne Grounde late Edified, appoyntid by the Kinges highnes for the enlarging of his Orcheyarde annexid unto his forenamed manor," to "breking, taking up and conveying awey the olde walle of a Foundacion by the Theamyse side, Cont' in length from Endyve lane to the fornamed lamb Aleye," to making a new wall "by the Theamyse side enclosing the ende of the Orcheyarde there," and to "pyles drevyn in the Foundacion of the walle made betwyxte the Theamyse and the forenamed Grounde appoyntid for the enlargeing of the Orcheyarde."† It would therefore appear that from 1531 to about 1545 the site of the later Privy Garden was occupied by the Orchard.

The Privy Gallery, one of the most striking features of Henry VIII's Whitehall, and referred to on numerous occasions in the building accounts as "the new gallery," was brought from Esher.‡ The frame of the gallery was set up in a field on the west side of the road,§ and subsequent entries refer to the putting together of the frame,|| the formation of the walls¶ and the masons' work.**

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* "For a plate locke sette Upon the gate going oute of Endyve lane into the Orcharde" (*Ibid.*, p. 17). From the fact that there is no record of any sale of Thomas a Legh's interest to Henry VIII, it is entirely probable that this, like Lytton's interest, had already been acquired by Wolsey. It is further possible that these two properties had already been converted into the orchard of York Place, which thus reached to Endif Lane. It may be mentioned here that Wolsey had also taken a sub-lease of part of Brightman's property on the south side of Endif Lane for use as a laundry. (*Westm. Abbey Deed*, 18048.)

† P.R.O., E. 36/251–2, pp. 268, 328, 347, and 424.

‡ (i) "And also the council had put into the king's head that the new gallery at Esher, which my lord had late before his fall newly set up, should be very necessary for the king, to take down and set it up again at Westminster; which was done accordingly, and stands at this present day there. The taking away thereof before my lord's face was to him a corrosive, which was invented by his enemies only to torment him." (Cavendish's *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, 1905 edn., p. 125); (ii,) "Carriagies by the daye aswelle of tymber squarid, parcell of the galary sette at Asshere by the late lorde Cardynalle, as also bourde, latthe and playstre from the same Asshere to theamyse Dutton at vjd. by the Daye every carte with the teame whiche afterwarde was conveyed from thens to the saide manor" (P.R.O., E. 36/251, p. 116).

§ "For two peyre henges and hookys made for the gate entryng into the medowe directelye ayenste the saide manor late Docter Dookys, wherein the Frame of the galarye is made." (P.R.O., E. 36/251–2, p. 100.)

|| "The wagies of xxxvj Carpenteres working by alle the tyme of this paye aswelle upon the frame of the newe Galarye and upon a Frame with two clere stories for the batilments of the previe brudge" (*Ibid.*, p. 195); "the wagies of Cxxiij Carpenters working . . . aswelle upon the frame of the newe galarye togeders with dores, windowis, steyres and such other like belonging to the same & upon the previe bridge." (*Ibid.*, p. 447.)

¶ "The wagies of Bricklayers & Roughleyers to the noumbre of Ciiij working . . . as welle upon the walle of the newe galarye and a walle by the high weye side leeding from the same galary towardis Charing crosse." (*Ibid.*, p. 347.)

** "Masons to the noumbre of $\overset{\text{xx}}{\underset{\text{iiij}}{\cdots}}$ xv working aswelle upon Dores and wyndowes of Fre Stone for the saide newe galarye as also upon the newe gatis sette in the highweye leeding from the saide manor towardes Westmenster." (*Ibid.*, p. 332.)

Other galleries referred to are (i) the gallery next the Thames, (ii) the low gallery by the orchard, (iii) the low gallery in the garden, and (iv) the nether gallery. (i) is probably to be identified with the later Shield Gallery. (ii) The "lowe galarye by the Orcheyarde"* [*i.e.* the later Privy Garden] is almost certainly the Stone Gallery, which ran at right angles to the Privy Gallery. An early entry mentions brick "spente in and upon a Chymney made in a lodgeing late altrid and transposid in the lowe galarye *annexid unto the newe Galarye* nowe in making, and towardes a Chymney and a jakes made in the crosse houses in like maner nowe in making."† Its walls were decorated with an illustration of the King's coronation,‡ but as no subsequent reference to this adornment has been found, it has not been possible definitely to identify the gallery. As the orchard adjoined the Thames (see above), the southernmost part of the Stone Gallery and of the lodgings which afterwards occupied the whole space between the gallery and the river could not yet have been built. The southern block of the Privy Lodgings was, at least as early as the reign of Elizabeth, known as the Prince's Lodgings.§ As the allusion in the name can hardly have been to any other than the prince who afterwards became Edward VI, these buildings must have been erected at some time between 1532 and 1547.

(iii) & (iv). The "lowe galarye within the gardeyne"‖ and the "nether galarye in the Gardeyne"¶ may be identical.

The garden in question is probably the old garden of York Place, and was almost certainly situated (see p. 88) on the other side of the Privy Gallery, on the site of the later Preaching Place Court or Pebble Court.

The extension of the Palace on the west side of the road resulted in travellers from Charing Cross to Westminster or *vice versa* having literally to pass *through* it. It happened too that when parishioners of St. Margaret's, who were resident in St. Martin's, died, their bodies were brought through the Holbein and King Street Gates, and the narrow road through the Palace lying between, in order to be buried in St. Margaret's churchyard. This caused considerable apprehension to the King, who was afraid of infection arising from those who had died of plague or "other contagious sickness," and he therefore on 12th November, 1534, directed that in future all parishioners of St. Margaret's resident in St. Martin's should be deemed to be parishioners of the latter parish, and be buried accordingly in St. Martin's. The text of the letter embodying this decision is given in Appendix B. It was followed up in 1542 by letters patent decreeing that the portion of St. Margaret's which lay north of Whitehall should be annexed to St. Martin's.**

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* P.R.O., E. 36/251–2, pp. 58, 104, 172, 353.

† *Ibid*, p. 7.

‡ "Peynters working upon the Coronacion of oure saide Sovereigne lorde made and sette oute in the forsaide lowe galarye"; "vj peyntors working upon the Coronacion of oure saide sovereigne lord made and sette oute in the lowe galarye by the Orcheyarde." (*Ibid.*, pp. 33, 353.)

§ "Fitting of sundry Dores under the Princes Lodginges" (P.R.O., E. 351/3233, 1597–8).

‖ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

** The precise bearing of these provisions on the parish of St. Martin's is a point which

Henry had now, to use the language of the statute of 1536 (28 Henry VIII, c. 12), "apon the soyle of the seid mansion place & howse [York Place], & apon the ground therunto adioynyng, most sumptuosly & curyously . . . buylded & edyffyed many & dystyncte, beautyffull, costly & plesant lodgyngs, buyldyngs & mansions, for his gracys synguler pleasure, comforte & Commodite, to the greate honor of his highnes & of his realme, & therunto adioynyng . . . made a Parke, Walled & envyroned w$_t$ brycke & stone, & theryn . . . devysed & ordeyned many & syngler commodious thyngs, pleasurs & other necessaryes, most apt & convenyent to apperteyne only to so noble a prynce, for his syngler comforte, passetyme & solace." The title "York Place" was no longer suitable, and it was therefore ordained that the whole of the Palace and park should be "called and namyd the Kyng's Pales att Westm,'" and that the old palace of Westminster should be reputed only as a member and parcel of the said new palace. We have here no mention of "Whitehall"—a name which seems, however, already to have been sparingly in use. The earliest instance occurs in a document (*Westmr. Abbey Deed*, 18049A) of about Michaelmas, 1530, concerning property on the west side of the road "prope mansion' d^{ni} Regis voc' Whytehale alias Yorke place." Two other early instances are dated 1533 and occur in (i) Wriothesley's account of Anne Boleyn retiring *after* her coronation feast "by water to Yorke Place, which is called White Hall," and (ii) the account in the *Chronicle of the Grey Friars* of her being brought *before* her coronation to "Whytt halle at Westmyster that some tyme was the bysshoppe of Yorkes place." The name "York Place," however, continued for several years to be generally used, and "Whitehall" does not seem to have completely superseded it until about 1542. The name may be supposed to have reference to the appearance of the new stone buildings of the Palace.[*]

The Palace had hardly been completed before it received a new Queen. Anne Boleyn had resided there before the alterations were put in

would be appropriately dealt with in a volume relating to that parish. Here it need only be said that the comment on the King's action contained in a grant to St. Martin's quoted by Wheatley and Cunningham (*London Past and Present*, II, p. 477) to the effect that before 1535 the inhabitants "had no parish church, but did resort to the parish church of St. Margaret's . . . and were thereby found to bring their bodies by the Courtgate of Whitehall, which the said Henry, then misliking, caused the church in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields to be there erected and made a parish there" conveys, to say the least, a wrong impression. The parish of St. Martin's had been in existence for centuries. It is referred to on ten occasions in the Feet of Fines ranging from 35 Henry III (1250–1) to 32 Henry VIII (1540–1), and there are allusions in other records (*e.g.* grant by Henry de Bello Monte of his place with garden by the cross at "Charrying" in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Feby., 1368). The church is actually mentioned as early as 1222 in the decree concerning the boundaries of Westminster ("excepta ecclesia et coemiterio S. Martini"). On the other hand, there is no doubt that when Whitehall was built the parish of St. Margaret's did extend into what was afterwards St. Martin's. See, *e.g.* grant, dated 20 Decr., 1539, relating to a tenement with "le Wharff" at "Runsivall," in the parish of St. Margaret's. (P.R.O., E. 315/212, f 37.)

[*] There was a Whitehall in the old palace of Westminster. "The King has proclaimed that all who claim to do services on Coronation day shall be in *the White Hall at Westminster Palace*, 20 June next [1509]." (*Cal. of S.P., H. VIII*, I, pt.1, 81). See also note in Kingsford's edition of Stow, II. p. 377.

hand, and is alluded to in the building accounts[*] as "Lady Anne Rochford." Her arrival at Whitehall on the day of her coronation has already been mentioned (see p. 21), and on the following day the new tilt yard (on the site of the Horse Guards) was the scene of "great justes . . . donne by eightene lordes and knightes."[†]

Three years passed, and on 19th May, 1536, Anne was beheaded on Tower Hill. Next day, Jane Seymour was formally betrothed to Henry, and on 30th May she was married "in the Queen's closet at York Place."[‡] Wriothesley gives an account[§] of a kind of naval engagement on the Thames before "Yorke Place" a month later (29th June). "Their was a great boote made like a caricke, goodlie trymmed with targattes and ordinance and full of men of armes, and also their was three other bootes made like foistes, which warred against the carick, and so shott great peeces of ordinance one against another by the space of tow howers long." Some casualties occurred, and the King stopped the fight. "Then was justing at the tilte before the said Yorke Place on the land . . . which was a goodlie sight to beholde; the King and the Queene standing in the gatehowse beholding them."

Henry died at Whitehall on 28th January, 1546–7,[||] and three weeks later Edward VI was brought thither from the Tower in readiness for his coronation. During the six years of his reign Edward spent most of his time either at Whitehall or Greenwich. For an account of his erection of a pulpit in the Privy Garden see p. 88. Edward died at Greenwich on 6th July, 1553, and a month later his body, which had been embalmed, was removed to Whitehall for burial in Westminster Abbey.

Mary, during her short reign, spent some portion of her time at Whitehall, but her favourite residence was St. James's. On 14th January, 1553–4, she received at Whitehall the special ambassadors from the Emperor, who had come to treat concerning her marriage with Philip of Spain. During the advance of Wyatt from Charing Cross to Ludgate in the early morning of 8th February, "a certein Captayne of the said rebelles with divers of his souldiers retourned from Charingecrosse, downe to the court gate at white halle, and gave a larme before the gate, and shotte divers arrowes into the saied courte the gate being open, in so muche that one maister Nicolas

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[*] "For a Curteyne Rodde tynned, made for a windowe in the ladye Anne Rochefordis lodgeing directelye under the forenamed librarye"; "for $\overset{\text{xx}}{\text{iiij}}$ x. yardes di. Sealing of waynescotte pleyne pannelle framed and sette up within the ladye Anne Rochefords lodgeing." (P.R.O., E. 36/251, pp. 419, 589).

[†] Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, Camden Socy., I, p. 22.

[‡] *Cal. of L. & P., H. VIII*, X, 1000.

[§] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 49.

[||] An inventory of his household stuff taken after his death (B.M. Harl. MS. 1419a) mentions several apartments in the Palace, but is not of much use in determining topographical points. The rooms referred to are: "the Guarderobe," "the Secrete Guarderobe" in the Long Gallery (probably the Privy Gallery), "the Secreate Jewelhowse," "the Study at the hether ende of the Long Gallorie," "the kynges secrete studie called the Chaier house," "the Glasse Housse," "the Study nexte tholde Bedde chambre," "tholde Juelhous," "the litle Study called the newe librarye."

Rockewood being a gentilman of Lyncolnes inne, and in armour at the said court gate, was shotte throughe his nose with an arrowe by the rebelles. For the comminge of the said rebelles was not loked for that way."[*] The rebellion collapsed, and a fortnight later the men of Kent came to Whitehall, bound two and two together, and with halters round their necks, and "be-twyn the ij tyltes the powr presonars knelyd downe in the myre, and ther the Quens grace lokyd owt over the gatt and gayff them all pardon, and thay cryd owt "God save quen Mare!"[†] On 27th November, 1554, Parliament was summoned to the presence chamber at Whitehall before Philip and Mary to receive Cardinal Pole as special ambassador from the Pope. A year later (4th November, 1555) Pole held a synod of both the convocations at Whitehall, that place being selected because Pole at the time was lodging in the Palace, and to allow Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor, who resided there and was very ill, to attend the meeting.[‡] Gardiner died at Whitehall about a week later. On Philip's short second visit in 1557 the King and Queen spent most of the time at Whitehall, where on 2nd July the former stood sponsor to the son of the Duke of Norfolk. Philip left London for good on the following day, and Mary soon after removed to Richmond. She returned in November to Whitehall, whence she rode on 20th January, 1557–8, to open Parliament.[§] On 7th March Parliament was held at Whitehall, and three days later Mary left the Palace for the last time.[||]

Elizabeth was at Hatfield when her sister died, and did not arrive at Whitehall until just before Christmas. On 14th January, 1558–9, she left the Tower, where she had been staying for a couple of days, and made a ceremonial entry through the city, where she was greeted with one pageant after another, to Whitehall, to prepare for her coronation on the following day.

It must be remembered that, like other Tudor sovereigns, Elizabeth had the choice of several royal residences, and was in the habit of spending some time at each. She was thus frequently, and at times for rather long periods, at Somerset House, St. James's, Greenwich, Hampton Court, Richmond, Windsor, Oatlands and Nonsuch. Moreover, she frequently went on progresses, sometimes extending over many weeks, through the country. She was, however, in residence at Whitehall for something like a quarter of the whole time during the reign.[¶]

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[*] *The Historie of Wyates Rebellion* by John Proctor (1554 edn.), p. 71.

[†] Machyn's *Diary*, Camden Socy., p. 56.

[‡] *Cal. of S.P., Venetian*, VI, No. 270.

[§] "Her grace toke her charett at the Whytt-halle, and her lordes of the parlement, and the byshopes and prestes, and so to the abbay to the masse, and after to the parlement-howse." (Machyn's *Diary*, p. 163.)

[||] "The vij day of Marche was the parlement holden at the Whytt-halle, the quens plasse, and endyd at vij of the clock at night. . . . The x day of Marche the Quens grace removyd unto Grenwyche, in lentt, for to kepe ester." (*Ibid.*, p. 168.)

[¶] Greenwich ranked about equal with Whitehall in her favours: the other palaces came a long way behind.

In February, 1558–9, the Speaker and other members of the House of Commons attended at Whitehall to address the Queen on the subject of her marriage. On the day appointed Elizabeth "came foorth into the greate gallery at White-Hall, richly furnished in attire, and honorably attended," and listened to the Speaker's "sett oratione."* To this she gave the well-known answer, which closed with the memorable words: "As for me, it shall be sufficient that a marble stone shall declare that a queen, having lived and reigned so many years, died a virgin."

We have an account of a river pageant at Whitehall on May-day in the Queen's first year. Two pinnaces, decked with streamers and flags, over against "the Quens plasse at Westmynster," fought against one another with eggs, oranges and squibs. A squib fell on a bag of gunpowder "and sett dyvers men a fyre." One of the pinnaces was "over-swelmed," and many persons fell in the water, "butt, thanke be God, there was but on man drowynd, and a C. bottes abowtt here, and the Quens grace and her lordes and lades lokyng out of wyndows."†

Later in the month Elizabeth received the French ambassadors with much pomp and ceremony. On 24th May the Duc de Montmorency and his colleagues arrived, and "entered the great hall on the ground floor, hung with very choice tapestries, with the canopy, throne and royal cushions." Then "mounting the stairs, they went to kiss [hands] and do reverence to the Queen, who received them very joyfully and graciously, going to meet them as far as the guard chamber at the head of the stairs, and being conducted to the presence chamber they presented their credentials, and explained their embassy."‡

Montmorency came again in 1572 to treat concerning the proposed marriage of the Queen to the Duc d'Alencon,§ and a special Banqueting House was provided (see p. 116) for the festivities. A more splendid Banqueting House was erected in 1581, when other commissioners, followed by d'Alencon himself, came over for the same purpose. Plays, masques, jousts and other entertainments of a princely character were given, and the Queen is represented as only giving thought to "whether there are any new devices in the joust, or where a ball is to be held, what beautiful women are to be at court."‖

Visits of other ambassadors and foreign notabilities there were of course in plenty. Thus in 1600–1 we have reference to "makeinge ready the gallerye at Whitehall for her Ma^tie^ and the twoe Ambassadors againste the runninge at Tilte" (November, 1600); "makinge readye a standinge in ye Tiltyeard for the Barbaria Ambassador at the runninge" (November, 1600); "makeinge readye at Whitehall againste the comeinge thether of the Ambassador and the duke of Bracchiano" (January, 1601); "makeinge readie at Whitehall against the comeinge of the Muscovia Ambassador" (March, 1601).*

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* Sir John Hayward's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, Camden Socy., p. 31.

† Machyn's *Diary*.

‡ *Cal. of S.P., Venetian*, VII, No. 77.

§ "To Hughe Underhill, keeper of her mat^s^ standinge warderobe at grenewiche for . . . beinge sente fowre severall tymes from St. Jeames and Whitehall to grenewiche for Garderobe stuff to furnishe Whitehall, Somersett house and hampton Courte for the receavinge of the duke memorancie the French Embassador and his Trayne . . .; for alteringe divers Lodgings at White Hall . . . for the better receavinge the Frenche Embassador." (P.R.O., E. 351/541.)

‖ *Cal. of S.P., Spanish*, 1580–6, p. 93.

Sometimes the Palace was decked in its best for the benefit of foreign sightseers. For instance in September, 1578, the keeper of the standing wardrobe had to arrange for the Queen's apartments to be hung and furnished "wth riche stuffe . . . againste the comminge of a frenche Lorde to se the howse,"† and in September, 1581, is an entry of expenditure in "makinge reddye by her Ma^{ts} Comaundem^{t} of Whitehaule for cominge thether of the Countie of Emden and his Trayne to see the magnificence of the same."‡ On both these occasions the Court was elsewhere, and the costly hangings and other decorations had been taken down.

Ordinarily, the festivities at Whitehall were concentrated about the anniversary of Elizabeth's accession (in November), Christmas and Shrovetide. It was particularly at the first-mentioned "that the tilt-yard of Westminster blazed with the pageantry and rang with the spears of the manhood of England."§ At the two other seasons masques and plays were the chief amusements provided, and were usually given in the Great Hall or in the Great Chamber.|| Plays seem to have increased in number towards the end of the reign, eleven being recorded in the winter of 1600–1.

Of building at Whitehall during Elizabeth's reign we hear but little. The erection of the Banqueting House in 1581 has already been referred to. Otherwise the only operations on any large scale were in connection with the "longe raunge of the newe buildinges nexte the streete where the officers of the housholde do lye."¶ These, which were erected in 1601, were probably in the neighbourhood of Scotland Yard.

Elizabeth died at Richmond on 24th March, 1602–3. Her body was brought to Whitehall for the funeral, which took place on 28th April, at Westminster Abbey.**

James I was staying at Whitehall at the time of his coronation (25th

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* P.R.O., E. 351/543.

† P.R.O., E. 351/541.

‡ P.R.O., E. 351/542.

§ Chambers' *The Elizabethan Stage*, I, p. 18. Von Wedel in 1584 gives a long account of of the tournament that year."

|| See *e.g.* "Making readye ye haull w^{t} Degrees, wth bourdes on them & foote paces under the State, framing & setting up a broad Stage in ye middle of ye haull, making a standinge for ye Lo: Chamberlaine, framing and setting up of viij particiones wthin ye haull end and entryes, framing and setting up a roome with a flow^{r} in it in ye round windowe in the haull for ye musitions, making ready againe ye g^{r} chamber with Degrees for ye playes & dauncing at Twelvetide." (P.R.O., E. 101/504/16—December, 1601, and January, 1601–2.)

¶ P.R.O., E. 351/3236.

** The account of the Master of the Wardrobe for the funeral expenses includes amounts "for tryming the bedsted wherein the Corps was first placed at Whitehall," "for a hearse of Tymber used in the Chappell at Whitehall," and "to John Colte for the Image representing her late Ma^{tie}." (P.R.O., A.O. 1/2344/30a.)

July, 1603), but his earliest residence there for more than a few days was in February-March of the following year. During his reign the Court was generally at Whitehall, Hampton Court or Windsor. "After the winter of 1603, when plague held him at Hampton Court, his Christmasses and Shrovetides were invariably at Whitehall, and hither he always proceeded at the end of October, in time for the celebration of All Saints' Day on 1st November . . . The Twelve Nights, with Candlemas and Shrovetide, remained the chief seasons for plays and masks,[*] but the plays were greatly increased in number. One was often given on All Saints' Day to usher in the winter, and others were called for at intervals during the winter months. James was also regularly at Whitehall on his Accession Day, 24th March, which, like his predecessor, he honoured with a tilt."[†]

The first notable event of the reign, so far as Whitehall is concerned, was the arrival towards the end of 1604 of the Queen's brother, the Duke of Holstein.[‡] The visit of the duke is chiefly remarkable for the questions of precedence which arose between him and the ambassadors, and which made the lives of the great court officials a burden. On the occasion of the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert at Whitehall on 27th December, 1604, the Venetian ambassador managed to get a more honourable seat at dinner than the duke, who, in consequence, was rather put out. At supper-time, however, the duke stole a march on the ambassador, got to table first, and took the latter's place. The ambassador was furious, and positively declined to attend the masque which was to follow unless his proper place was given him. An apology was made, and the King himself conducted him to the Hall for the masque, where a seat was prepared for him on the King's right hand. The duke was accommodated with a seat on the left of the Queen, but he declined to avail himself of it, preferring to stand for the three hours during which the masque and balls lasted.[§] The duke stayed in England until the beginning of June,[‖] and about a year later his brother,

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[*] "In the king's court . . . after Christmas day there begins a series of sumptuous banquets, well-acted comedies, and most graceful masques of knights and ladies. Of the masques, the most famous of all is performed on the morrow of the feast of the three Wise Men, according to an ancient custom of the palace here." (*Cal. of S.P., Venetian*, XV, No. 188.)

[†] Chambers' *The Elizabethan Stage*, I, p. 21.

[‡] "The Queen's Brother is come to the Court, but not very rytche eny way. His compeny ar but slender, all of his owne followers. He is sayed to be a cumly man. He lodgeth in the Court, in my L. Tresorer's lodging, and his compeny in my L. of Darbye's house in Chanon-rowe." (Nichols' *Progresses of James I*, I, p. 466.) The latter statement is confirmed by the official records ("for makeinge readie Therle of Darbies house in Channell rowe for the Duke the Quenes Brother . . . mense Novembris, 1604"), but the Duke himself seems to have been accommodated over the gate ("for makeinge readie lodginges over the gate at Whitehalle for the Duke the Quenes Brother . . . in the same monethe"). (P.R.O., E. 351/543.)

[§] *Cal. of S.P., Venetian*, X, No. 323.

[‖] "For makeinge readie at Whitehalle for the kinges Ma^{tie} and the Duke of Houlsten twoe severalle times when his Ma^{tie} rode a huntinge unto Maribone parke . . . mense Aprilis, 1605." (P.R.O., E. 351/543); "To Richard Flinte . . . groomes of his Ma^{ts} Chamber . . . for theire allowaunce, being comaunded to attende uppon the Duke of Houlsten at Whitehalle, Channell rowe, Huntington and Roiston, at sondrie times . . . from xj of November, 1604, untille the seconde of June, 1605." (*Ibid.*)

Christian IV of Denmark, came. His only visit to Whitehall was a matter of two days,* at the beginning of August, 1606.

In the following year we are introduced to the first of James' unworthy favourites. Robert Carr, afterwards successively Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset, being in attendance on Lord Dingwall at the tilt yard at Whitehall, fell with his horse and broke his leg. According to Weldon† he was carried into a house at Charing Cross, where the king frequently visited him until his recovery, but it would rather appear from the official records that he was lodged in the Palace.‡

The same year saw the erection of the new Banqueting House (see p. 118), as well as the rebuilding of "the oulde buildinges betwene the banquettinge house and Councell chamber."§

In 1612–13 the ceremonies at Whitehall reached their high-water mark in the festivities which greeted the Elector Palatine on his visit to woo and wed the Princess Elizabeth. He arrived at Whitehall on 18th October. He was provided with apartments at first in Essex House, and afterwards in the Lord Treasurer's lodgings in the Palace, and created a most favourable impression by his constant attendance on the Princess, who had a separate establishment at the Cockpit.‖ The death of Prince Henry on 6th November was not allowed to interfere with the elector's courtship. On 27th December the royal pair were betrothed in the Banqueting House. On 11th and 13th February, there were fireworks and a triumph on the Thames, and on 14th February the marriage was performed in Whitehall Chapel. The feast was provided in a new Banqueting House erected for the occasion (see p. 61), and was followed by a masque in the Banqueting House proper. On the next night another masque was given in the Great Hall. The elector and his bride left Whitehall on 10th April.

In 1616 Prince Charles was created Prince of Wales in the Great Hall of Whitehall.

In January, 1618–19, a great disaster occurred. The Banqueting House, which had only been built about eleven years, was completely destroyed by a fire which also caused damage to the neighbouring buildings (see p. 120.) A new Banqueting House was immediately put in hand.

In addition to the two banqueting houses the principal building operations carried out by James at Whitehall seem to have consisted in the erection in 1617–18 of new lodgings for the Marquess (afterwards Duke) of Buckingham, who had succeeded Somerset in the king's affections. This building was "towards the privie garden",[*] but its exact position is uncertain.

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* "For makeing readie at whitehall for the kings Ma^{tie} and the king of Denmarke . . . mense Augusti, 1606." (*Ibid.*)

† *The Court and Character of King James*, p. 375.

‡ "For makeinge ready certen lodginges at Whitehall for his Ma^{tie} to see Master Carre who lay sicke there . . . mense Aprilis 1607. (P.R.O., E. 351/543.)

§ P.R.O., E. 351/3242.

‖ "He . . . is every day at Court, and plies his Mistress so hard, and takes no delight in running at ring, nor tennis, nor riding with the Prince . . . but only in her conversation." (Nichols' *Progresses of James I*, II, p. 466.)

James died on 27th March, 1625, at Theobald's. Charles I had, after the death of Prince Henry, taken over the latter's establishment at St. James's, and he continued to reside there for some days before taking up his permanent quarters at Whitehall.[†] Henrietta Maria, whom he married by proxy on 1st May, arrived in England in June. The presence of a Roman Catholic Queen, with a train of attendants belonging to the same religion, necessitated some provision being made for their worship, but, with the exception of one room at Whitehall,[‡] this was provided away from the Palace.

The Queen's French attendants (who, after all, were practically the only companions she had) were at first the cause of considerable ill-feeling between the royal pair, and in July, 1626, as the result of a "scene" at Whitehall, the King drove them all from the Palace,[§] replacing them (in contravention of the marriage treaty) with English.

A rather curious entry in the records, dated 9th July, 1628, concerning a warrant "to ye great Wardrobe for ye delivery of 3 Bedticks unto Mr. Vanderdoort to bee used for the drawing of his Ma^{ts} Picture"[||] introduces us to what was perhaps the most striking feature of Charles I's Whitehall—the art collection. Prince Henry had begun the collection, which together with the keeper, Abraham Vanderdoort, had afterwards been taken over by Charles. The latter is said to have built a cabinet at Whitehall (see p. 98), where many of the articles were kept, though most of the pictures and statues were distributed among the galleries and principal rooms of the Palace. A description of the collection (drawn up apparently by Vanderdoort himself) has been edited by Horace Walpole.

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[*] P.R.O., E. 351/3252.

[†] "This day [5th April] about 9 he [Charles] came privately throughe S^{nt} James his Parke to Whight Hall, where he heard a Sermon . . . Lord Wentworth carryinge the Sword before him, and in his comeinge from thence all ye waye thoroughe the presence he went talkinge to my L. Marshall & after dyned in the pryvie Chamber." (D'Ewes' *Collectio Epistolarum*, B.M. Harl. MS. 383, f. 28.)

[‡] "The advantages for the Catholics proceed slowly . . . The new chapel of St. James's is being built with scant solicitude. Only one room is arranged for the queen at Whitehall for ecclesiastical purposes." (*Cal. of S.P.*, *Venetian*, 1625–6, p. 34.)

[§] The following account is given in D'Ewes' *Collectio Epistolarum*, f. 33: "On Munday last about 3. afternoone the king passing in to the Queens side & finding some Frenchemen her servants irreverently dauncing & curvetting in her presence, tooke her by the hand and led her into his lodgings, locking the doore after him, and shutting out all save onely the Queen. Presently upon this my Lo: Conway called forth the French bishop and others of those clergie into St. James his Parke, where he tolde them the kinges pleasure was, all her Ma^{ties} servants of that nation, men & weomen . . . should depart the kingdome together. . . . The kinges message being thus delivered by my lord Conway, his lo^{p} accompanied wth Mr. Treasurer & Mr Comptroller went into the Queens lodginges, and tolde all the Frenche likewise that were there, that his Ma^{ties} pleasure was they should all departe thence to Somersett house. . . . The women howled and lamented . . . but all in vaine, for the yeomen of the guard by that lordes appointment thrust them and all their countrey folkes out of the Queens lodgings, and locked the dores after them. It is said also, the Queen, when she understood the design, grewe very impatient, & brake the glasse windowes wth her fiste; but since I heare, her rage is appeased."

[||] P.R.O., L.C. 5/132, p. 33.

John De Critz, sergeant painter, was kept busily employed during the reign. There are many references to his work in the records, some of which will be found later on in this volume. Allusions to works of art also occur. Among others we have references to (i) "repayring & mending twoe great peeces of paynted woork that were done by Palma, thone being the Story of David and Goliah, thother of Saules Conversion, w^{ch} were much defaced," "repayring, mending and new varnishing vij^{en} of the greate Emperours Heades that were done by Titian, being likewise much defaced," "painting a large Store in oyle cont' divers naked figures in it bigger then the life, being xv^{en} fo. square;"* (ii) "repairing an ould peece of painting of Adam and Eve" (see p. 100), "mending and repairing a picture of Holbyon," "repairing an old Dutch peece" and "mending and repairing a greate old peece of a Musitian painted by Titian, and for mending and repairing the great pece of venus asleep;"† (iii) "Certen Drawings taken oute of the Hangings of the Apostles," "mending and Repairing certen peeces of painting of Julio Romanoes doeing," "guilding with fine Angell gould a Copper plate of St. George for his Ma^{ts} Cabinett."‡

The paintings on the ceiling of the Banqueting House were also done by Rubens at the command of Charles (see p. 127), who had a special hall built for the performance of masques so that the paintings should not be injured (see p. 62). Mention should also be made of Vandyck's residence at Whitehall during this reign.§

On the departure of Charles to the north in March, 1639, to take up arms against the Scots, he left Whitehall in nominal charge of the prince (afterwards Charles II), only nine years old.||

On 10th January, 1641–2, following his unsuccessful attempt to arrest the five members of the House of Commons, he left Whitehall, never to return until he came back to die.

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* P.R.O., E. 351/3265.

† *Ibid.*, 3266.

‡ *Ibid.*, 3270.

§ "A warrant for a privy seale of 15s *p'diem* to Edward Norgate for the dyet & Lodgeing of Signior Antonio Vandike & his servants to begin from the first of Aprill last past & to continue during the sayd Vandikes residence there." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/132, p. 297—10th May, 1632.)

|| The instructions were couched in somewhat peremptory terms. "Wheras it is his Mat^{e} Will and pleasure that, immediately upon his departure from hence towards the Northerne Parts, the Prince his Highnes shall reside & keepe his Court here at Whitehall, and that for his Highnes better accommodation the House shall bee cleered & all Lodgeings of what persons soever who are to attend his Mat^{ty} abroad, and at other times used to locke up their Lodgeings or keepe them by their servants, shall now bee freed, cleansed & disposed of for his Highnes service, & the keys thereof left with the Houskeeper, you are heerby and by his Mat^{e} special commaund required to declare this his Mat^{e} pleasure to all Persons lodged within the House . . . and to let them know that, if they shall not punctually observe this his Mat^{e} Commaund, they are to expect noe other but to have their dores forced open & their stuffe or Goods, if they shall presume to leave any, throwne out, besides his Mat^{e} displeasure for such their presumption & contempt." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/134, p. 321—14th March, 1638–9.)

Whitehall was for a time deserted. A graphic, but perhaps overdrawn, picture of its emptiness and desolation is contained in a pamphlet, "A deep sigh breath'd through the lodgings at White-Hall," printed in the same year, from which the following extracts are taken:

> "A Pallace without a Presence! A White-Hall clad in sable vestments! . . . These are misteries and miseries . . .
>
> "To begin at the entrance into the Court, where there had wont to be a continuall throng, either of Gallants standing to ravish themselves with the sight of Ladies hansome legs and Insteps as they tooke Coach; Or of the tribe of guarded Liveries, by whom you could scarce passe without a jeare or a saucy answer to your question; now if you would aske a question there is no body to make answer . . .
>
> "Being entred the Court-yard, which had wont to be a Schoole of Complement . . . now if you have a mind to exercise ther's room enough . . .
>
> "You may without a rub, walke into the Hall, for surely there are no strong smells out of the Kitching to delight your Nostrells withall, no Provision to bee sould, nor the greasie Scullions to bee seene over Head and Eares in a Kettle full of Kidnies, nor anything else to stoppe your progresse into the House . . .
>
> "If you steppe up Staires to the Guard Chamber, where His Majesties great Beefe-eaters had wont to sit in attendance on their places, which was nothing but to tell Tales, devoure the beaverage, keepe a great fire, and carry up Dishes . . . now they are all vanisht, nothing left but the bare Walls, and a cold Harth, from whence the Fire-irones are removed too, and as its thought converted into shooes for light Horses. The great black-Jackes set under the Table, all full of Cobwebs . . .
>
> "You may walke into the Presence Chamber with your Hat, Spurres and sword on, And if you will presume to be so unmannerly, you may sit downe in the Chaire of State . . .
>
> "If you be minded to survey the Lodgings and withdrawing rooms, you shall finde those rich and costly hangings of *Persian Arras* and *Turky* worke (like the Bishops) for their pride taken downe . . .
>
> "In the Cockpit and Revelling Roomes, where at a Play or Masque the darkest night was converted to the brightest Day that ever shin'd, by the luster of Torches, the sparkling of rich Jewells . . . now you may goe in without a Ticket or the danger of a broken pate, you may enter at the Kings side, walke rounde about the Theaters, view the Pullies, the Engines . . .
>
> "There is no presse at the Wine-Sellor Dores and Windowes, no gaping noise amongst the angry Cookes in the Kitchings, no wayting for the opening of the Posterne-dore to take water at the Stayres, no racket nor balling in the Tenis Court, no throng nor rumbling of Coaches before the Court Gates, but all in a dumbe silence, as the

Pallace stood not neere a well peopled City, but as if it were the decay'd buildings of ruin'd *Troy*."

In 1643, in anticipation of an attack on London by the Royalist forces, the Parliament threw up fortifications round the City, and it is probably on this occasion* that the gun battery between the Banqueting House and the Holbein Gate, so devised as to sweep the approach to the Palace from Charing Cross, was constructed (see p. 110). It lasted for 80 years.

In the following year steps were taken to "purge" Whitehall. A list was, on 18th June, ordered to be drawn up of "what ill-affected and other Persons do lodge in *Whitehall*," and on its being received, it was on 22nd July resolved "That the Committee for *Whitehall* shall have Power to purge *Whitehall* from all Papists . . . all Women whose Husbands are now, or have been, in Service against the Parliament, the Servants and Children of all such, all other ill-affected Persons and Persons of scandalous Conversation, and to dispose of their Lodgings to well-affected Persons."†

In 1648 troops were quartered in the Palace.‡

On 19th January, 1648–9, the King, who had been brought to St. James's, was removed thence to Whitehall "and lodged in his usual Bed-Chamber; after which a Guard of Musqueteers were placed, and Centinels at the door of his Chamber." Next day he was taken to Sir Robert Cotton's house near the west end of Westminster Hall, where (except for one night when he was brought back to St. James's) he lodged during his trial. At the rising of the Court he was carried back for a few hours to Whitehall "through the Privy-Garden . . . to his Bed-Chamber," and thence removed again to St. James's.§ The execution was fixed for 30th January. In the morning of that day Charles was brought through the Park, up the stairs that led to the Tilt-yard Gallery, and so over the Holbein Gate to "a room, which is that they now call the *Green-chamber*."|| After resting there for a time, he was led through the Banqueting House to the scaffold, which had been erected in front of that building,¶ and there beheaded.

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* The only alternative date seems to be 1659. On 10th August in that year an order was given for "great guns to be brought into Whitehall," but as two of these were to be placed in the Great Court, while the other two were for Scotland Yard (*Cal. of S.P., Dom.*, 1659–60, pp. 95, 103), they were probably in addition to the battery.

† *H. of C. Journal*, III, 533, 567.

‡ "Paid unto Mr. John Hunte, in pursueance of an order of the Commons howse 14° Jun. 1647 to be issued by the Comittee of Whitehall for providing of bedding & other provisions fittinge for accomodating the forces appointed to be quartered in Whitehall & the Mewes, mmD*li* . . . Paid unto the said Mr. Hunt by way of Loane, to be repaid out of the moneys to be raised of the Sale of certaine Hangings w^{ch} have Superstitiouse & idolatrose pictures in them, att Whitehall, by order of the Commons howse xix^{no} Febr. 1647, for to provide fier, Candles & other necessaries for the said Soldiers . . . C*li*." (P.R.O., E. 407, Box 8, Roll 167.)

§ Sir Thomas Herbert's *Memoires of the Two Last Years of the Reign of Charles I*, p. 110.

|| Sir Ph. Warwick's *Memoires of the Reigne of King Charles I*, p. 342.

¶ This much is certain, but the implication in the tablet placed under the central window of the building ("On 30 January 1649 His Majesty King Charles passed through the hall of this building to the scaffold erected in front of this spot") that the scaffold was opposite the *middle of* the Banqueting House rests on insufficient evidence.

All the early accounts of the execution mention the provision of a special means of access from the Banqueting House to the scaffold. Thus Herbert's original MS.[*] states that "his Ma^{ty} past to ye scaffold through ye wall y^{t} was purposely broken downe at ye north end of ye roome," while other writers refer to a "window" which was enlarged to allow of the King's passage. Where exactly this special exit was is a question which has been much debated, but certainty on the point seems unattainable.[†]

Parliament now set about disposing of the furnishings of Whitehall,[‡] and utilising the rooms as lodgings for its own adherents.[§]

A notable resident in Whitehall at this time was John Milton, though no information is available as to the precise site of his lodgings. On 11th June, 1651, a committee was appointed to confer with the committee of Parliament for Whitehall on "the case of Mr. Milton, in regard of [the latter committee's] positive order for his speedy remove out of his lodgings in Whitehall, and to endeavour with them that Mr. Milton may be continued where he is, in regard of the employment which he is in to the Council,[||] which necessitates him to reside near the Council."[¶]

In 1650 Cromwell had taken up his quarters at the keeper's house in the Cockpit, but in 1654 he removed to the main building. The course of events can be traced in the following extracts from *Severall Proceedings of State Affaires*:

> 24th March, 1653–4—"His Highnesse and Family remain as yet at the Cockpit."
>
> 3rd April—"The Lord Ambassador of the King of *Portugal* had this day audience by His Highnesse the Lord Protector at the Cockpit."

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[*] Quoted in J. G. Muddiman's *The Trial and Execution of Charles I.*

[†] Sheppard devotes 15 pages to the subject. The question has since been debated at length in *Notes and Queries*, Vols. CLII–IV, the protagonists being Mr. J. G. Muddiman (who has recapitulated his views in his recent book, *The Trial of Charles I*), and Mr. C. H. Thompson. These writers respectively place the exit at (i) the second window of the Banqueting House from the north end, and (ii) the window in the building adjoining the Banqueting House on the north.

[‡] See, *e.g.*: "An Inventory of the Household Goods . . . Belonging to the late King, sold by order of the Councill of State" (B.M. Harl. MS. 4898), and order to the contractors "to deliver six pieces of tapestry hangings, two being of Elijah and Hercules, four window curtains, two carpets, and two feather beds, etc., to Col. Wauton, for furnishing his rooms at Whitehall." (*Cal. of S.P., Dom.*, 1649–51, p. 552.—9th November, 1649).

[§] See, *e.g.*: "That the Committee for Whitehall accomodate Members of Parliament with lodgings in Whitehall, the Mews and Somerset House with the best conveniences those places will respectively afford, and put forth such other persons and families there as they shall think fit"; "That the Council of State order payment for such repairs as shall be thought fit by that Cttee to be done in the sd lodgings; as also money necessary for removing soldiers & others out of Whitehall, not exceeding £20." (*Ibid.*, 1651, p. 187—May 9, 1651.)

[||] He had been appointed on 19th February, 1650–1, as "secretary for foreign languages." (*Ibid.*, 1651, p. 53.)

[¶] *Ibid.*, p. 246.

> 12th April—"On Friday next [14th April] His Highnesse intends to come to Whitehal and is that day to Dine there."
>
> 13th April—"This day the Bedchambers and the rest of the lodgings and rooms appointed for the Lord Protector in *Whitehall* were prepared for his Highnesse to remove from the Cockpit on the morrow."
>
> 14th April—"His Highness the Lord Protector with his Lady and Family this day Dined at *White-hal*, whither His Highness and Family are removed, and did this night lie there, and do there continue."

Cromwell exercised some influence in preventing the entire dispersal of the furnishings of Whitehall. In June, 1653, we hear that "the late King's hangings and furniture are called in, for refitting the rooms at Whitehall,"* and the petition of Clement Kinnersley, "wardrobe keeper to the Protector," in December, 1654, mentions that during the nine months of his employment he had got in many goods, which would not else have been recovered, and with which he had furnished Whitehall.† When, a little over a twelvemonth later, Evelyn visited the Palace, he was well satisfied with the way in which it was furnished.‡

Among the notable events at Whitehall during Cromwell's residence may be mentioned the attempt by Miles Sindercombe in 1657 to fire the Chapel Royal and murder him in the ensuing confusion (see p. 55), and the marriages of his daughters, Frances and Mary, to Robert Rich, grandson and heir of the Earl of Warwick, and Thomas Belasyse, Viscount (afterwards Earl) Fauconberg, respectively. The marriages were celebrated on 11th and 19th November, 1657, "at Whitehall, with all imaginable pomp and lustre."§ An account of the wedding feast of Frances and Robert Rich, which took place at Whitehall on 12th November, states that there were "48 violins and 50 trumpets, and much mirth with frolics, besides mixt dancing (a thing heretofore accounted profane) 'till 5 of the clock" on the following morning.‖ Rich died a few months later (16th February, 1657–8) "in his apartments in Whitehall."¶

Cromwell died at Whitehall on 3rd September, 1658. In the following year we find his widow removed to the lodgings at the Cockpit, and Whitehall put up for sale.[*] Nothing seems to have come of this, however, and on Monck's arrival in London on 3rd February, 1659–60, the Prince's Lodgings at Whitehall were assigned to him.[†]

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* *Cal. of Clarendon S.P.*, II, p. 217.

† *Cal. of S.P., Dom.*, 1654, pp. 410–11.

‡ "February 11th [1655–6] I ventured to go to Whitehall, where of many years I had not been, and found it very glorious and well-furnished, as far as I could safely go, and was glad to find they had not much defaced that rare piece of Henry VII, etc. done on the walls of the King's privy chamber."

§ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, XV, p. 51. Clarendon mentions that "the marriages were performed in public view." Does this mean that they took place in the Chapel Royal?

‖ Letter written by Wm. Dugdale, dated 14th November, 1657. (*Hist. MSS. Comm., App. to 5th Report*, p. 177.)

¶ Mark Noble's *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*, II, p. 401.

On 29th May, 1660, Charles II arrived at Whitehall by way of the City and Charing Cross, being received by the two houses of Parliament, and what was in some respects the most noteworthy era in Whitehall's history began. In the popular mind Whitehall (apart from its being the scene of the execution of Charles I) is inseparably associated with Charles II, though no doubt this fact is largely due to interest in the King's love affairs. To most people it is the Whitehall of Lady Castlemaine, the Duchess of Portsmouth, "la Belle Stuart," and Nell Gwynne. This is not, however, the whole story. The King's lavish expenditure on building works, the pomp and ceremonial, as well as the court etiquette and manners, which favourably impressed even foreigners who were used to the magnificent court of Louis XIV, gave a splendour and dignity to Whitehall which it had never before had in like measure, and it was this which combined with the popularity of Charles and the romantic careers of the Court beauties to make up the Whitehall of Pepys, Evelyn and De Grammont.

One of the first matters that engaged attention was the recovery of the contents of Whitehall that had been dispersed, and Evelyn on 18th June records that plate, hangings, pictures and so forth were then daily being brought in. The statement is confirmed by another writer,[‡] who adds that the Jewel Office was appointed as the place of receipt. "Their you might have seene Carpetts, hangings, pictures, medells, inscriptions and peeces of Art, rich bedds, curtins and vallance comm hilter skilter, many that had bought goods of his majestys on purpose that att his returne they might be restored brought in to the Jewell Office all such." A large amount is said to have been recovered from Cromwell's widow.[§] The collection later in the year received a valuable addition from the Dutch Government.[||]

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[*] "That *Whitehall*, with all and every the Appurtenances, be forthwith exposed to Sale, and improved to the best Advantage of the Commonwealth, for and towards the Satisfaction of the great Arrears and Pay due unto the Army." (*H. of C. Journals*, 16th May, 1659); "Whitehall Halle and Sumersett Howse are exposed to sale . . . his Highenes Dowagers joincture from 8000 $^{\text{ll}}$ per annum is deducted to soe many hundred, with ye runninge of three kine in St. James Parke, and hir courte will be in the Cockpitt." (Letter from W. Younger, dated 27th May, 1659, *The Nicholas Papers*, IV, pp. 148–9.)

[†] Skinner's *Life of General Monk*, p. 222. He had been preceded by his family. "This day [28th January] lord Generall Monks wife and his son and his family arived out of Scotland att London, and lodged in Whithall, which place was longe before provided for that purpose, att hir ladiships first beeinge in the lodgings shee was very much visieted by many of the parliment men and showed great respect to hir." (*Mercurius Politicus Redivivus*, B.M. Add. MS. 10116, f. 52.)

[‡] *Ibid.*

[§] "Then information was given to the councill of state y$^{\text{t}}$ severall of his Ma$^{\text{ties}}$ goods were kept a frutiers wearehouse neere the three Cranes in Thames Street for the use of Mistres Eliz. Cromwell, wife to oliver Cromwell, sometimes called protector, and then the Councill ordred that persons be apointed to vew them, and seventeen Carts load of rich housestuff was taken from thence and brought to whithall from whence they were stolen." (*Ibid.*)

[||] "Yesterday the Lords Ambassadors from the States of the United Provinces presented to his *Majesty* in the Banquetting House at *Whitehall*, an extraordinary Crimson embroidered Velvet

The King's first year at Whitehall was saddened by the deaths of his favourite brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and his sister Mary, Princess of Orange. The former died at Whitehall of smallpox on 13th September. Shortly afterwards the princess arrived.* She had actively exerted herself to promote Charles's restoration, and was assured of a welcome at the English court. She was not, however, overpleased at finding one of her former maids of honour the acknowledged wife of the Duke of York and mother of a prince of the blood royal. She therefore came to the resolution to curtail her visit, but before the time for her departure arrived, she fell ill with smallpox, and died at Whitehall on Christmas Eve.

On 23rd August, 1662, Charles brought home his queen, Catherine of Braganza. Their arrival at the Palace, where the Queen was destined to spend years of misery due to her husband's infidelities, was marked by a magnificent river pageant. An omen of the unhappiness in store for her was provided in the presence of the Countess of Castlemaine among the spectators.† Since the time of Henry VIII the married life of the Kings of England had been without reproach, but now the King not only flaunted his amours openly, but provided apartments in the Palace for his mistresses. The official records mention the residence there, among others, of Lady Castlemaine, the Duchess of Portsmouth, the Duchesse Mazarin, Miss Stuart, and Winifred Wells. The name of Nell Gwynne does not occur.‡

Among other residents in Whitehall may be mentioned the notorious Oates and Bedloe, though the rooms they occupied were not in that part of the Palace which lay in St. Margaret's. Lord Arlington received instructions to provide lodgings for Oates "upon His first informacion concerning ye plott." All rooms being occupied he prevailed on Sir Edward Carteret to give up his rooms from 7th November, 1678, at a rent of £60 a year.§ Oates stayed there until 31st August, 1681, when an order was issued to "warne Mr. Oates to Withdraw himselfe from Lodging any longer in ye

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Bed, Cloth of State, Chairs and Stools suitable, worth very many thousands of pounds, and also an excellent collection of Pictures of the most famous ancient and modern Masters, with a great number of Statues of white Marble of excellent sculpture. (*Mercurius Publicus*, 8–15th November, 1660.)

* "His Majesty having received an Express that his Royal Sister, *Mary* Princess of *Aurange*, was come within the River of *Thames*, went with his Royal Brother the Duke of *York* to meet her, and brought her Highness up in his Barge, the Guns from the ships all along playing their Salutes, till the Barge came to *Whitehal*, where her Highness was received with a joyful shout, which was continued at night with Bells and Bonfires." (*Ibid.*, 20–27th Septr., 1660.) See also "warrant . . . to provide hangings, standing bedds and beddings with other necessaries for the furnishing of Lodgings in Whitehall for ye Princes Royall of Aurange and her attendance." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/137, p. 9—10th October, 1660.)

† "But that which pleased me best was, that my Lady Castlemaine stood over against us upon a piece of White Hall, where I glutted myself with looking on her." (Pepys' *Diary*.)

‡ The only reference which has been found to her having rooms in the Palace is the statement of Wood (*Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, IV, p. 628) as to the King supping "in the apartment of Eleanor Quinn."

§ P.R.O., L.C. 5/143, p. 507.

Court."* Bedloe was provided with Sir Paul Neale's lodgings at £1 a week.†

Charles evidently found Whitehall in a bad condition of repair. The works of reparation, alteration and improvement detailed in the records are very extensive. A great amount of rebuilding also took place during his reign, the most important works being: (i) the reconstruction of the Court Gate and the building of the new gallery connecting it with the Guard Chamber, (ii) the building of new lodgings in the Volary Garden, (iii) the erection of new rooms for the Queen near the Privy Stairs, and (iv) the provision of a new Bathing Room and Laboratory. Details of these works are given in the next chapter.

On the night of 1st February, 1684–5, the King had been supping with the Duchess of Portsmouth in her apartments at the end of the Stone Gallery. He retired to rest in his usual bed-chamber, attended by the Earl of Ailesbury and Henry Killigrew. The former did not sleep well. "Several circumstances made the lodging very uneasy,—the great grate being filled with Scotch coal that burnt all night, a dozen dogs that came to our bed, and several pendulums that struck at the half quarter, and all not going alike, it was a continual chiming."‡ The next morning, as the barber was preparing the King for shaving, the latter was suddenly seized with an apoplectic fit. At first he seemed to recover, but on the night of 4th February he became worse, and died on the morning of the 6th.

The brief reign of James II saw the continuance of the building operations set on foot by Charles. The whole of the range of buildings extending from the Holbein Gate eastwards to the Vane Room, including the Privy Gallery, the Council Chamber, and Treasury Offices, was pulled down and rebuilt in sumptuous style (see p. 102). At the west end, on a portion of the Privy Garden, a Roman Catholic Chapel was erected (see p. 105). The rebuilding of the Queen's apartments fronting the river was also put in hand.

On the morning of 18th December, 1688, James left Whitehall, never to return. On 12th February, 1688–9, Mary arrived, in apparently high spirits, ran from room to room, peeped into the closets, examined the quilt of the state bed, and in every way showed a girlish delight at being mistress of so fine a house.

On the following day the Crown of England was offered to William and Mary in the Banqueting House (see p. 137), and they were proclaimed by the heralds at the Court Gate.

Whitehall was not favoured by William as a residence. Its low and damp situation ill suited his asthma, and he found more congenial quarters at Kensington. During his absences from England, however, Mary occasionally resided at Whitehall,§ and the only constructional work

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[*] P.R.O., L.C. 5/144, p. 108.

[†] Akerman's *Secret Service Expenses of Charles II and James II.*

[‡] *Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury*, ed. W. Buckley, I, p. 87.

[§] There is a record of "a wrighting Table with a Cabinet to set over it, and a Large Glas Case upon a Cabinet with Doors of inly Inlayd with mettell for the Closit at White hall" delivered for the Queen on 30th June, 1693. (B.M. Add. MS. 5751 a., f. 190.)

of importance carried out at the Palace was the formation of what was afterwards known as Queen Mary's Terrace (see p. 59).

Mary died on 28th December, 1694, at Kensington, and her body was removed to Whitehall on the following night. The funeral took place on 5th March, 1694–5.

Fire was always a danger at Whitehall. Mention has already been made of the destruction of the Banqueting House in 1619. On that occasion the fire was only prevented from spreading by the demolition of adjoining buildings. This destruction, and possibly the actual damage by fire to other buildings in the Palace, is reflected in entries relating to "making ready the King and Quenes lodginges at Whitehall after the fyer in the banquetting house" and to "yronworke . . . made for the privie lodgings at Whitehall since the late accidente of fyre in the banquetting house," as well as a record of payment to "John de Creetes, his Ma^{ts} sergeaunte Painter, for repairinge and newe framing diverse Peeces in his Ma^{ts} privy Lodgings at Whitehall, being defaced with the late fier there."* The fire was accompanied, as usual in such circumstances, by plunder.†

In 1651 the Council of State gave instructions for the provision of "two engines to cast water in case of fire, 50 leather buckets, 4 short ladders, and 4 shorter hooks than those already in Whitehall."‡ A serious fire seems to have taken place in 1661. On 18th October of that year a warrant§ was issued for payment of £540 to the paymaster of works "for new building, erecting and repairing of the offices w^{ch} were pulled downe to prevent the encrease of the fire lately happening in the Pallace at Whitehall."

A few months later another conflagration occurred. In a letter dated 21st February, 1661–2,|| it is stated that "Whitehall was four times on fire in that great wind.¶ My lord Barclet lost to the value of £500. Secretary Nicklaus his lodgings were on fire and Prince Robart's & my Lord Mandevell's. Duke D'arsy's chamber was plundered, for to prevent the burning he took down his goods, and they cleared his chamber of all, nor can he recover any of them again."

These two disasters coming close together provoked the issue of special regulations** "for avoiding the great dangers happening by fire." All persons having lodgings in the Palace were required to provide as many leather "boquetts" as they had chimneys, and in case of any fire happening every person was at once to send his "boquetts," full of water, to the "ayd therein." Provision was made for an annual inspection of the buckets.

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* P.R.O., E. 351/44.

† "The royal hall of the Court where the masques were performed has been recently burned, and in the fury of the fire the people took the liberty to steal much of the royal furniture." (*Cal. of S.P., Venetian*, 1617–19, No. 727.) See also footnote † on p. 120.

‡ *Cal. of S.P., Dom.*, 1651, p. 494.

§ P.R.O., T. 51/3, p. 14.

|| *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Various Collections, VIII, p. 66.

¶ This was on the night of 17th February. Pepys mentions that on the following morning the streets "were everywhere full of brick-battes and tyles . . . . that it was dangerous to go out of doors."

** *S.P., Dom.*, Chas. II, LXVI, 7.

In case of a chimney being on fire "so as to be discovered above the top," the owner of the lodgings was to be fined 10s., which sum was to be distributed among the labourers employed for quenching the fire. Finally, in the case of a chimney fire, it was ordered "that they do not fire any guns up the Chimneys, but rather clap a wet sheet very close against the Mantle and jambes."

The Great Fire of London in 1666 caused much apprehension at Whitehall, and Sir John Denham's new buildings in Scotland Yard were pulled down[*] to prevent the fire reaching the main portion of the Palace if it should come so far.

In the following year another scare occurred, and the orders as to sweeping chimneys and inspection of buckets were renewed.[†]

When, however, in 1691 a big conflagration broke out, buckets were of little avail. The account of the disaster as given by Luttrell is as follows. "The 9th [April, 1691] about 8 at night, hapned a dismal fire at Whitehal, it began in the duke of Glocesters lodgins, late those of the dutchesse of Portsmouth, occasioned (as said) by the carelesnesse of a maid in burning of a candle from a bunch of candles, and leaving the others lighted, quickly sett fire to the buildings; it burnt violently for several hours, and consumed the greatest part of the stone gallery on both sides, that towards the privy garden and that towards the Thames, wherein were the lodgings of the lord Devonshire, Heer Overkirks, Lord Monmouths, etc.; they blew up several times before it could be stopt."

The fact that "they blew up" is amply confirmed by the entry[‡] in the records relating to the making of "l^{tie} [50] new Shasse Windows in her Ma^{ts} Lodgings, the Vane Room, Great Anti-Roome, Lord Chamberlains, Lord Portlands and Lord Monmouths Lodgings and in ye New Chappell." The last-mentioned is evidence that the force of the explosions was felt on the other side of the Privy Garden.

This disaster was a small thing compared with what was to come. At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of 4th January, 1697–8, a Dutch woman in Col. Stanley's lodgings, close to the Earl of Portland's house by the river side, having occasion to dry some linen, lighted a fire of charcoal, and left the linen hanging in too close proximity. It caught fire, and soon the hangings and furniture of the room were involved. The conflagration spread, and, in spite of all endeavours, it persisted until the greater part of the Palace was destroyed. Gunpowder was brought, and orders given to blow up buildings to prevent the progress of the fire, but this seemed only to increase it.[§]

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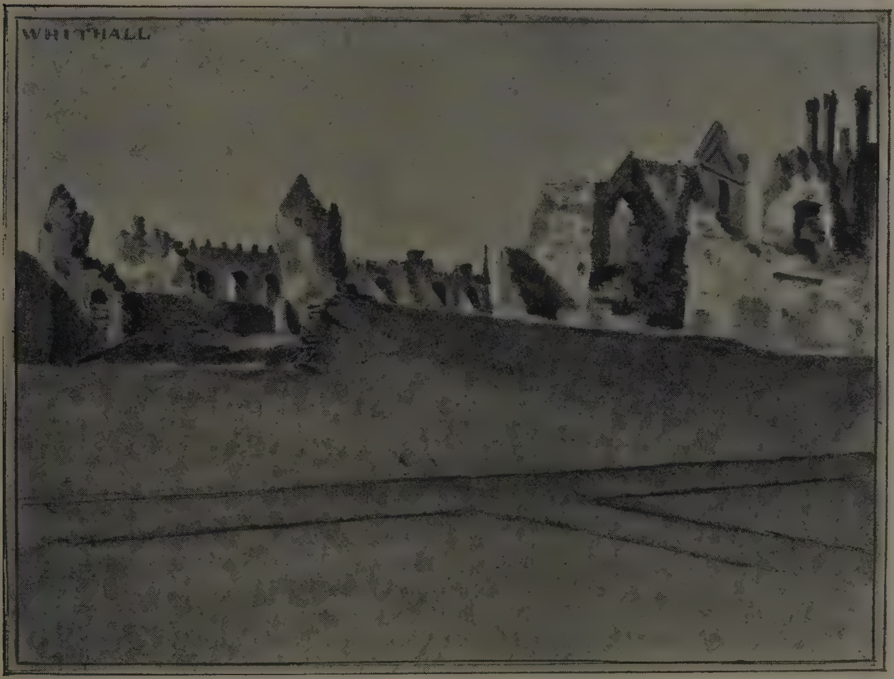
[*] "Charges expended in reedifying Sir John Dinhams new buildings in Scotlande yard which were pulled downe by his Ma^{ts} Command when the greate fier was in london, September 1666." (P.R.O., Works, 5/13.)

[†] P.R.O., L.C. 5/138, pp. 369 and 343.

[‡] P.R.O., E. 351/3303.

[§] "All persons were intent to save their goods, and all ye gates were lock'd up to prevent ye mob coming in; and, when ye houses were blown up, most of w^{ch} were blown up very high, ye timber and rafters lay bare, and ther wanted hands to remove y^{m}, soe y^{t}, instead of stopping ye fire, it help'd to increase it." (*Hatton Correspondence*, Camden Socy., II, p. 232.)

At one time it was thought to have stopped, but it broke out again next the Council Chamber, and only ceased when it reached the Banqueting House and the Holbein Gate. The former building was damaged, and so much apprehension was felt for the Duke of Ormonde's house, on the west side of the Gate, that it was cleared of all its rich furniture and hangings in anticipation of its being consumed. The fire was eventually mastered about 7 o'clock in the following morning, though even then it was glowing in the ruins of the Roman Catholic Chapel. With some exceptions (principally the lodgings of the Earls of Portland and Essex) all the main Palace buildings from the river side to the Holbein Gate and Banqueting House were destroyed, and the havoc extended northwards to Sir Alexander Frasier's house in Scotland Yard. The Chapel Royal, the Great Hall, the Guard Chamber, the Presence Chamber, the Privy Gallery, and the Roman Catholic Chapel were swept out of existence.* About a dozen persons perished, in the



Ruins of Whitehall after the Fire

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* A water-colour drawing showing part of the ruins, including apparently those of the Chapel Royal and the Great Hall, is in the Library of All Souls' College, and is here reproduced. The point of view seems to be the middle of Queen Mary's Terrace. Loftie's attempt to minimise the extent of the fire, and his suggestion that " when we see how little was burnt, William and Mary

flames, or by the falling of materials from the houses, or from the explosions.†

According to an account contained in Vertue's notebook‡ all the pictures, tapestry and rich furniture belonging to the Crown were saved by the exertions of Sir John Stanley, "not so much as a Curtain or stool missing."

In the afternoon the King visited the scene, "and seem'd much concern'd, and said, if God would give him leave, he would rebuild it much finer than before."§ Wren prepared at least two designs for the rebuilding of the Palace, but nothing was done, and for years the ruins cumbered the ground (see e.g. pp. 152 and 167).

From time to time sites were let on building lease to private individuals, and gradually a new Whitehall of a very different character arose. The story of these buildings is dealt with at length in the pages of this volume. The time is probably now not far distant when they in turn will be swept away.

In the Council's collection is:—

*Ruins of Whitehall after the Fire (photograph of water-colour drawing in the Wren Collection in Library of All Souls' College, Oxford).

* Reproduced here.

[who, by the way, was dead], if they had liked the place, might easily have reinstated the royal lodgings" (*Whitehall*, pp. 74–5) is absurd. He even suggests that the chapel was not burnt.

† The above account is based on a number of contemporary documents, for the most part contained in *S.P., Dom.*, 32, 9 and 15, and *Harleian Misc.*, VI, pp. 398–9.

‡ B.M. Add. MS. 23071, f. 63.

§ Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, IV, p. 329.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 3

WHITEHALL PALACE—BUILDINGS

Sorbière came to England about 1665, and has left his impressions on record. One of the places that he visited was Whitehall. He specially mentions the Banqueting House, which, he says,* "looks very stately, because the rest of the Palace is ill Built, and nothing but a heap of Houses, erected at divers times, and of different Models, which they made Contiguous in the best Manner they could for the Residence of the Court; Which yet makes it a more Commodious Habitation than the *Louvre*, for it contains above Two Thousand Rooms, and that between a Fine Park and a Noble River, so that 'tis admirably well Situated for the Conveniency of walking, and going about Business into the City." Eighty years earlier another traveller had drawn the contrast between the grandeur of the interior and the comparative poverty of the outside.† "A heap of houses" seems aptly to describe the appearance of the Palace in the early part of Charles II's reign. The building operations of that monarch no doubt improved matters somewhat, but the aspect of the Palace from the river even as late as 1683 (see Frontispiece) was that of an ill-assorted, incongruous mass of buildings, of differing styles and dates. James II's rebuilding of the privy gallery and of the Queen's riverside apartments must, on the other hand, have resulted in a great improvement during the last dozen years of the Palace's existence (see Plate 5).

Plans of the Palace.

There are three plans (or rather three versions of the same original survey) of Whitehall Palace in the reign of Charles II. (A) In 1747 Vertue published "A Survey and Ground Plot of the Royal Palace of White Hall, with the Lodgings & Apartments belonging to their Majesties, A.D. 1680, survey'd by Jn° Fisher . . . From a Survey taken in K. Charles's Reign, 1680, now in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Portland." It is complete, showing the Palace from the south side of the Bowling Green to the northern limits of Scotland Yard, and from the river front to well beyond the furthest buildings on the Cockpit side. It is reproduced in Plate 1. (B) In the Crace Collection at the British Museum is a MS. plan entitled "Plan of the Palace of White Hall." Beneath the bottom margin is a note: "This Plan taken about the latter end of King Charles the II^ds^ Reign or about 1680." It does not show the whole of the Palace, extending southward as far as (but not including) the terrace which separated the Privy Garden from the Bowling Green, and northward so as to include the wood-yard in Scotland Yard. To the west it just fails to include the whole of the Cockpit buildings. (C) In the possession of the Society of Antiquaries is another MS. plan entitled "A Survey or Ground-Plot of His Majestyes Pallace of White-hall. C.R.2." It is a trifle less extensive than B in all directions.

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* *A Voyage to England*, p. 16.

† "In short, the interior of the palace is very beautiful and royal indeed; the exterior did not differ from many other houses I have visited. I saw even several of a finer exterior, but the latter did not equal this on the inside." (*Journey through England*, etc. [1584], by Lupold Von Wedel. *Royal Historical Society's Transactions*, 2nd ser., IX, p. 237.)

All three plans obviously go back to the same original survey. The reference letters and numbers used in each are the same, the keys supplied by A and C correspond so far as the latter goes (there is no key in B), and in all other respects the maps are identical, save in a number of quite minor details. A careful examination of about 50 of these trivial points of difference makes it certain that no one of the plans is based on either of the other two.*

The date (1680) given by both A and B is incorrect. It has for a long time been recognised that there are several features which are inconsistent with so late a date, and others have emerged during the preparation of this volume. The following instances may be given.

(i) The "Countess of Castlemaine's" kitchen is shown. In 1680 the Countess of Castlemaine had for ten years been Duchess of Cleveland.

(ii) The whole of the western portion of the Cockpit buildings is shown in the occupation of the Duke of Albemarle. The Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Danby obtained grants of parts of this about 1673† and in 1676 respectively, and the buildings erected by the former were of an entirely different lay-out from the older ones shown.

(iii) The Duke of Richmond, whose name is given as the occupier of a house on the waterside by the Bowling Green, died in 1672.

(iv) The "Earl" of Lauderdale, whose lodgings are shown next to the Stone Gallery, was created Duke in 1672.

(v) Sir Robert Murray, whose house is shown adjoining the Holbein Gate, died in 1673.

(vi) Lady Villiers, whose house is shown by the side of the Bowling Green, died before August, 1674.

(vii) Lord Crofts, whose lodging is indicated next to the Stone Gallery, died in 1677.

(viii) A prominent feature in the plan is the "Bowling Green" at the south end of the Palace. In 1673–5 the Bowling Green was done away with.

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* The catalogue of the Crace Collection claims that B is probably "the original drawing from which it [A] was engraved." This suggestion must be pronounced untenable. Besides the fact that B is not, and never was, complete (it has a carefully-ruled border line down each end), there are at least 8 cases in which A combines with C against B. Four of these consist in the insertion of letters and numbers not inserted by B, but more important is the representation by both A and C of two rows of palings in an open court lying between the Stone Gallery and the river. Nothing of the kind is shown in B. A simple dependence of A on B is therefore out of the question.

† The actual grant has not been found, but the building operations were in progress during 1671–3.

(ix) The lodgings of the Earl of St. Albans constructed between October, 1670, and May, 1671, near the Stone Gallery, are not shown.

On the other hand, the semicircular entrance to the Court Gate and the New Gallery, both constructed in 1668–9, are shown. The internal evidence therefore points to a date 1669-70. In this connection it is interesting to note the following item in the records*: "October 1670 . . . to Ralph Greatorex† for 3 quarters of a years pains in surveighing & describing in vellom an Exact Ground plott of ye whole house of Whitehall, Cockpit & parts adjacent—60. 0. 0." As payment was probably not made on the nail, it may be assumed that the work was begun in 1669 and continued into 1670. The inference that this was the survey which lies behind the three existing plans is irresistible. Whether all or any of the latter were made direct from Greatorex's survey is doubtful. A was based on a plan in the possession of the then Duke of Portland. His Grace, the present duke, has informed the Council that the plan is not in his possession, and that there is no trace of it in the Welbeck Abbey records. It is not therefore possible to say definitely whether the plan behind A was the original or a copy, but the incorrect ascription to Fisher and the wrong date suggest that the latter was the case.

When B and C were made, and whether they were drawn from the original survey or from copies, there is little to show. B is backed with modern material, and no conclusion as to the date of the paper on which it is drawn is possible. As regards C, Mr. E. Heawood, the Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, has kindly informed the Council that although the watermarks rather suggest a date of 1760–70, they are not absolutely incompatible with a date even as early as the latter part of the 17th century.‡

The evidence of the three plans, which, for everything except minor points of detail, is equivalent to the evidence of A alone (Plate 1), is referred to throughout this volume as "the plan of 1670."

Two plans (Plate 3) have been prepared, with the plan of 1670 as a basis, showing as overlays the relationship of the buildings in 1670 with those (*a*) in 1804 and (*b*) now existing.

It will be noticed that the line of the river front in the plan of 1670 is further westward than the frontage line shown in the 1804 plan, and that, in fact, the whole of the southern portion is swung over in a westerly direction. No attempt, however, has been made to rectify the plan, and the buildings superimposed are not, therefore, in their correct relationship in the southern portion.

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* P.R.O., Works, 5/15.

† Ralph Greatorex, mathematical instrument maker, is mentioned by both Evelyn and Pepys as an inventor.

‡ An interesting point, which may have a bearing on the date of C, is as follows. Both A and B mark a certain building near the waterside I (*i.e.* according to the key in A, "the Earl of Lauderdale."). C has the same marking, but with the words "D. Lauderdales Kitchin" in addition, and the spacing shows that this is not a subsequent insertion. This wording cannot have been on the original survey of 1670, for Lauderdale did not become a duke until 1672. He had left by 1675 (see pp. 87–8). And the fact that the building *was* his kitchen is indubitable. (It was afterwards the Earl of Essex's kitchen, see pp. 189–90). It seems most natural to assume that the altered description is due to actual contemporary knowledge, and that C was drawn in 1672–4. It should be noted that in the key of C "the Earl of Lauderdale" is altered to "Lord Lauderdale."

Attention is drawn to the western boundary wall of the Privy Garden which is shown on Vertue's version of the plan of 1670 without a break in its length, whereas in the versions in the possession of the British Museum and the Society of Antiquaries, as well as in the Chatsworth block plan illustrated on page 113, a decided bend is depicted in the boundary wall, corresponding with the opposite side of the roadway called " the street."

As the plan of 1670 is only a ground plot, and most of the important galleries and apartments were on the first floor, its value as a guide to the interior of the Palace is limited. Our only means of identifying the approximate positions of such rooms as the Presence Chamber, the Guard Chamber, and the Vane Room, or of galleries, such as the Shield Gallery, are casual allusions in contemporary literature or official records. In the following account of the Palace buildings, an attempt at such an identification has been made, but, it is to be feared, with only partial success.

Whitehall Gate (the Court Gate).

The old Tudor gatehouse of Whitehall Palace is shown in Hollar's view on Plate 4. From the fact that it is alluded to several times* between 1531 and 1539 as a " new " building, there can be little doubt that it was erected by Henry VIII, and was not one of the portions of York Place that survived the transformation into Whitehall. In 1668, the lower part of the building was much altered in connection with the formation of the new gallery from the Banqueting House to the King's Guard Chamber (see p. 63), and in 1676 the upper part was taken in hand.† The gatehouse, as thus altered, was more lofty, with a conical roof, and was entered by a door flanked by two passages, each in the form of a quadrant, together making a semi-circle. The exterior of the reconstructed gatehouse is well shown in Terrason's View (Plate 16), the details of the two flanking passages‡ being more clearly seen in Persoy's engraving of the Funeral of Queen Mary, reproduced in Loftie's *Whitehall*. The "Cosimo" drawing of 1669 (Plate 4) shows the lower works completed, but the top part, including the battlements, untouched. A view from the inside of the Court is given in Plate 46, and a view of the interior of the gatehouse is contained in Rooker's illustration of the Horse-Guards here reproduced.*

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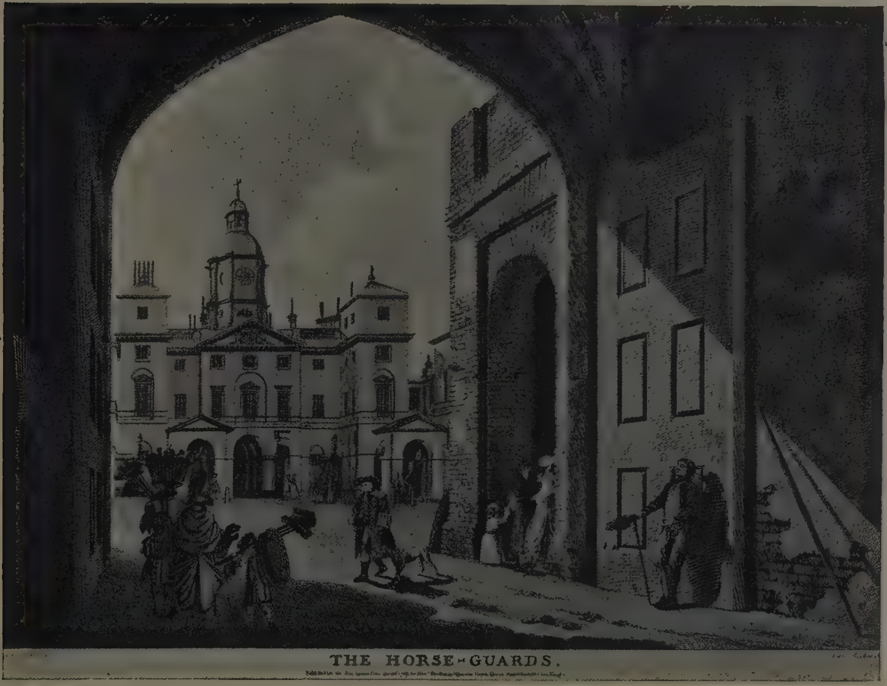
* (i) The building accounts for 1531–2 (P.R.O., E. 36/252, p. 529) contain the item: " The wagies of Bricklayers and Roughlayers to the noumbre of lv working by alle the tyme of this paye upon a walle by the highwey side leeding from the *newe Gatehouse* towards Charing Crosse; (ii) " the King riding from Yorke Place to Westminster with all his lordes before him, the Queene [Jane Seymour] standing in the *newe gatehowse* beholding the King and his lordes as they rode " (Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, Vol I, p. 45); (iii) the City bands on 8th May, 1539, marched through " alle the citte and throw alle Westm' and aboute alle the newe parke . . . and the Kynge stode at Westmynster over the *new gate*, and saw them alle " (*London Chronicle*, Camden Misc., IV).

† See details, in P.R.O., Works, 5/27. They included: (i) " setting up ye Crowne and ye stone bosse and ye figure of two and ye 4 C^{s} on ye tope of ye greate gatehowse "; (ii) " helping to take downe ye battlements of brickeworke on ye top of ye said gatehowse."

‡ The description of them as given in the records is as follows: " Working up iiij Circuler walls without the great Gate . . . the length of the said walls being lxij foot, and the heighth xv foot, the other two circuler walls wrought with Bricks rubbed and hewed to a scantling, with iiij Circuler Neeches in the said wall and iiij Circuler Arches over them, and two dorewayes in ye said


THE HORSE-GUARDS.

Interior of Whitehall Gate House

The gatehouse escaped the Fire of 1698.† It lasted until 1765, when it was found to be "in so ruinous a Condition" as to be in great danger of falling.‡ It was thereupon demolished. Three years later, however, as a result of "great disorders & robberys" which had occurred about Whitehall Court, it was decided to build "a new Gateway and Gates"

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wall with Arches and dorewayes both within and without them, the Length of ye said Circuler walls of rub'd worke being xl fo^{t} and ye heigth thereof xv foot with iiij great Arches . . . cutting Slates to Cover ye Circuler worke without ye Gate" (P.R.O., Works, 5/11).

* The engraving is dated 1768, but it obviously shows the old gate demolished in 1765.

† No mention of its survival is contained in any of the contemporary accounts of the Fire which have been examined, but a comparison of the building in the engravings by Persoy and Terrason leaves little doubt on the point.

‡ P.R.O., Works, 6/18, p. 105.

at an estimated cost of £156.[*] This in turn was taken down in 1813, and set up in the City of London Brewery.[†]

The rooms over the gate were used as lodgings. Among others the Lord Almoner had his residence here,[‡] and Dean Dering records that on his visit to London in 1703 he "lodged in the almoner's lodgings, over the gate-house at Whitehall, the pleasantest room in London, one window looking down the Thames to the bridge, and another up the canal in the park."[§] Sir Robert Carr was accommodated there in 1676,[||] and in 1729 Lord Vere Beauclerk was granted the use of "ye Lodgings over Whitehall Gate, formerly the Green Cloth Office."[¶]

The Porter's Lodge was on the ground floor under the Gate.[**] It was occasionally used as a prison. Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey in 1669 caused the king's physician, Sir Alexander Frasier, to be arrested for £30 due to him for firewood. Pepys states[††] that the bailiffs were whipped by the King's command, and that Godfrey hardly escaped the same punishment. He was, however, confined for a time in the Porter's Lodge at Whitehall.[‡‡]

The Great Court.[§§]

Entering the Palace by Whitehall Gate one arrived in the Great Court, sometimes called the Cloister Court[||||] or Whalebone

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[*] P.R.O., Works, 6/18, p. 186.

[†] "21st January, 1814. Mr. Richard Wilford, the Master Mason in the Department of Whitehall, brought an Account of Portland Stone in the Gateway which was formerly there and intended to be paid for by Charles Calvert Esq^{re}, as he has set it up in Upper Thames Street; the contents are 656 feet which Mr. Wilford has put at 6/- p^{r} foot." (P.R.O., Works, 4/21, p. 206.)

[‡] "Warrant to put the Bishop of London, Lord Almoner to his Ma^{tie}, into possession of the little Closett adjoyning to the chamber over the gate which his Loship now [has], and which doth properly belong to the Ld Almoner" (20th May, 1664, P.R.O., L.C. 5/138, p. 441); "finishing the ceiling and inside walls of the new roome over the Gateway at my L^{d} Almoners lodgings" (February, 1691, P.R.O., Works, 5/44).

[§] *Yorkshire Diaries* (Surtees Socy.), Vol. 65, p. 342.

[||] "These are to pray and require you That in repayring of the gate at Whitehall you make up and finish the roome at the top of the Gate for the use of the Rt Hon^{ble} Sir Robert Carre, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster" (12th June, 1676. P.R.O., L.C. 5/141, p. 407).

[¶] P.R.O., L.C. 5/160, p. 108.

[**] The plan of 1670 marks the rooms on the south side of the entrance "4," which the key interprets as "porters lodge." The numbers, although given by the copies in the Crace Collection and in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, were omitted by Vertue.

[††] *Diary*, 26th May, 1669.

[‡‡] "S^{r} Edmond Godfrey still Continues at ye Porters Lodge at Whitehall, whence he Expects to be freed at the terme, and therefore refuses to petietion." Letter dated 10th June, 1669, from Edwd. Boscawen to Sir Wm. Godophin, B.M. Add. MS. 28053, f.24.)

[§§] The name "Great Court" is sometimes applied to the adjoining court (the Pebble Court). In the three versions of the plan of 1670 that of Vertue embraces both courts under the one title of "The Court;" that of the Society of Antiquaries entitles both "The Pallace Court;" while that in the Crace Collection shows the Great Court as "The Great Yard" and the adjoining court as "The Great Court," with the words "The Pebble Court" written in.

[||||] In the account given by Finett of the admission into the Order of the Garter of Viscount Fenton and Baron Knollys in 1615, it is stated that the Spanish ambassador was placed

Court* through which was the passage to the Hall, the Chapel and the water-gate. The reason for the name Whalebone Court is obvious.†

The Great Hall.

On the south side of the passage leading to Whitehall Stairs, at the west end, was the Great Hall. As already suggested (p. 8), it seems probable that this building was erected by Wolsey in 1528. According to the plan of 1670 and the plan of the ruins of the Great Hall and Chapel made by Stukeley in 1718 (see p. 48), the former building was about 40 feet‡ wide by about 70 feet long to the "screens," behind which was the passage which led to the buttery and great kitchen, and also formed the way to the river stairs. At the west end of the passage was a projecting porch with diagonal buttresses, a typical feature of the halls of Tudor mansions. The building comprised six bays, with a projecting oriel§ on the east side at the upper end, where would also be situated the dais with the great arched fireplace on the opposite wall. According to Stukeley three of the bays on each side were provided with three-light windows, with moulded jambs and mullions, and probably traceried heads filled in with stained glass displaying heraldry. These windows would be kept high to allow plenty of clear wall-space below on which to hang tapestries. The oriel window, which embraced two bays, had, in addition to its mullions, transoms, and its sill brought down to within three or four feet of the floor, while its ceiling may have been vaulted, as in the case of the oriel at Crosby Hall, or that in the hall of Eltham Palace.

A large mullioned window is shown at each end: a three-light at the upper end, and a four-light at the lower end above the passage. The external buttresses shown by Stukeley indicate provision for the thrust of the high-pitched roof, which was probably of open timber construction and was surmounted by a large lantern‖ at the southern end.

"for sight of the procession as it should passe by, upon the terras in the window there, about the middle of the brick-wall that divides the First-court [the Pebble Court, or Preaching Place] and the Cloyster-court" (Nichols' *Progresses of James I*, III, p. 79). *Cf.* the item in the accounts for building the Palace: "the iij^rd^ [bolt] for the halle dore going to the water-gate and the iiij^th^ for the halle dore *entyring into the cloyster*."

* Making and hanging a great door "in the brickwall between the whalebone Court & the preaching place" (B.M. Harl MS. 1653, f. 42—Aug. 1614); "setting of a newe stone dorecase in the wall betwixte Whalebone Court and the Preaching Place." (P.R.O., E. 351/3263—1629–30).

† "And there a serving man he entertaines.
An honester in Newgate not remaines.
He shew'd his maister sights, to him most strange,
Great tall Pauls steeple, and the Royall-Exchange:
The Bosse at *Billings-gate*, and *London-stone*,
And at *White-Hall* the monstrous great whales bone."
(Rowlands' *Humors Looking Glasse*, pub. 1608.)

‡ See also the reference to "making a gallery at ye south end of ye hall 40 foot long 7 foot wide," on p. 51, footnote ‡.

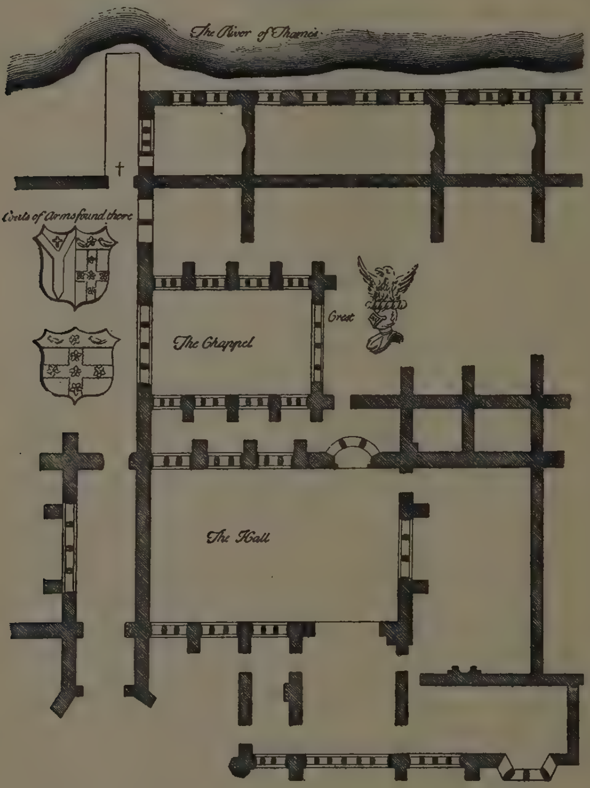
§ Referred to in "setting up a roome with a flow^r^ in it in ye round windowe in the haull for ye musitions" (P.R.O., E. 101/504/16—1601–2.)

‖ "Making of Scaffoldes one the haull Lanthorne" (P.R.O., E. 351/3239); "sothering the lead about the Lanthorn over the Great Hall." (P.R.O., Works, 5/7).

The floor of the Hall was paved,* but would be covered with mats of plaited rushes.

On the plan Stukeley has endeavoured to indicate the upper stage of the Hall showing the windows, as well as the lower stage with the passage at the north end. On the plan of 1670 the passage and the openings on the ground level only are shown, the windows above being ignored.

PALACES.


The River of Thames
Coats of Armsfound there
Crest
The Chappel
The Hall

The Groundplot of the Ruins of Whitehall June 14. 1718.

Stukeley del *J. V^der Gucht Sculp*

There are several partial views of the Hall from the river, particularly that reproduced as the frontispiece, and from these it appears that the

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[*] See p. 50.

exterior was constructed in stone with a battlemented parapet. No description of the interior is known.*

In its very early years the Great Hall was the scene of a famous trial. This was the prosecution in November, 1538, of John Lambert for heresy, a case which excited great interest, not only for its intrinsic importance, but also for the active part taken by the King, who displayed his theological knowledge in reasoning at length with the prisoner.†

In Elizabeth's time we find the Great Hall in frequent use for dramatic performances. In the case of most of the plays presented at Whitehall there is no indication of the building selected, but in the majority of the instances where this information is given, it was the Great Hall which was used. Thus in 1579 three plays were performed during Shrovetide, and a casual reference‡ to "bote hier to and from the courte sondrey tymes at the making readie and setting upp the frames, rockes and lightes in the hall against Shrovesondaie" suggests that the play (*The History of the Knight in the Burning Rock*) produced on Shrove Sunday was given in the Hall. Again, between Christmas, 1579, and Shrovetide, 1580, eight plays were given at Whitehall, and references to enlarging "the scaffolde in the hall one Twelfe night" and to providing "syse, cullers, Assidew and other necessaries used and occupied aboute the Furnyshinge and garnyshinge of three greate braunches of Leightes in the hall . . . for Twelfe tyde and Shrove tyde"§ make it probable that the plays on those occasions were in the Great Hall. In 1580–1 seven plays were shown, and in the only two cases|| in which the place of performance is given it is said to be the Hall.

With the accession of James I the number of plays at court increased,¶ though at first he gave the impression of taking no great pleasure in this form of entertainment.** One of the first records of his reign relating to

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* The account by Busino, referred by Chambers (*The Elizabethan Stage*, I, p. 202) to the Great Hall, probably relates to the 1607 Banqueting House (see p. 120).

† "This day, in the King's hall at York place, certain scaffolds, bars, and seats were erected on both sides the hall, and at the highest end a 'hautt place' for the King. The hall was richly hung, and about noon, his Majesty being seated with the most part of the lords temporal and spiritual, bishops, doctors, judges, serjeants at law, the mayor and aldermen of London, and others, John Nycolson, clk., *alias* Lambert, sometime chaplain to the English nation in Antwerp, was brought before his Grace . . . The King's Majesty reasoned with him in person, sundry times confounding him." (*Cal. of L. & P., H. VIII*, XIII, pt. II, No. 851.)

‡ Feuillerat's *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 310.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

|| "A storie of Pompey enacted in the hall on twelf nighte," and "a storie of shewed on shrovetuesdaie at night in the hall." (*Ibid.*, p. 336.)

¶ "During his first winter he saw eleven plays and gradually increased this number, reaching a maximum of twenty-three in 1609–10. Up to 1615 he never saw less than eleven, except during 1612–13, the winter of Henry's death, when the number fell to seven." (Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, I, p. 215.)

** "The first holy dayes we had every night a publike play in the great hale, at w^{ch} the k. was ever present, and liked or disliked as he saw cause; but it seems he takes no extraordinary pleasure in them." (Letter from Carleton to Chamberlain, 15th January, 1603–4, P.R.O., S.P. 14/6, No. 21.)

the Great Hall refers to "altering of a stage in the hall to bring it nearer to the King,"* and in February, 1609–10, is a reference to "the mending ye paving in ye haull in many places after ye playes."†

One of the most notable masques given in the Great Hall was on the second night following the wedding of the Princess Elizabeth in 1613.‡ The masque was written by Chapman, and performed by the gentlemen of the Inns of Court.§

On 4th November, 1616, Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I) was created Prince of Wales, the ceremony taking place in the Great Hall. The Prince, preceded by trumpeters and heralds, the Knights of the Bath and others, "came bare-headed, and so entred the great Hall, where the King was set in his royall Throane, and the whole State of the Realme in their Order; the Prince made lowe obeisance to his Maiestie three times, and after the third time, when hee was come neere to the King, hee kneeled downe on a rich Pillow or Cushion." The letters patent having been read, the King put on him the robes, girt on the sword, invested him with the rod and ring, and set the cap and coronet on his head. Then "the King arose and went up to Dinner, but the Prince, with his Lords, dined in the Hall, and was served with great State and Magnificence."||

In 1635 a Pastoral was performed in the Great Hall,¶ not particularly notable in itself, but of importance as furnishing the occasion for the plan of the Hall reproduced opposite. The plan gives a valuable indication of the methods adopted for seating the spectators, the position and size of the stage, etc. It will be noticed that a communication is shown with the building on the other side of the passage to Whitehall stairs; this was probably used as a tiring-room. The small squares dotted along three sides seem to indicate posts supporting temporary galleries. There were no permanent galleries in the Great Hall until the time of Charles II. In 1613 it was found necessary to provide galleries for the performance of the Inns of Court masque (see below), and in 1637–8 a temporary gallery had to be set up at the end of the Hall "for the Gentl' of the Chapple."** A permanent gallery at the south end was not provided until the adaptation of the Hall for the purposes of a theatre in 1665, and as late as 1675 it was necessary to arrange, in connection with the performance of a grand masque, for the

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* P.R.O., E. 351/3239 (1603–4).

† P.R.O., S.P. 14/52, No. 85.

‡ "Divers woorks and reparacions in makeing ready the Hall with Degrees and galleries for a Maske to be performed before the Kinge by the gentlemen of the Temple." (P.R.O., E. 351/3247.)

§ See full description in Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*

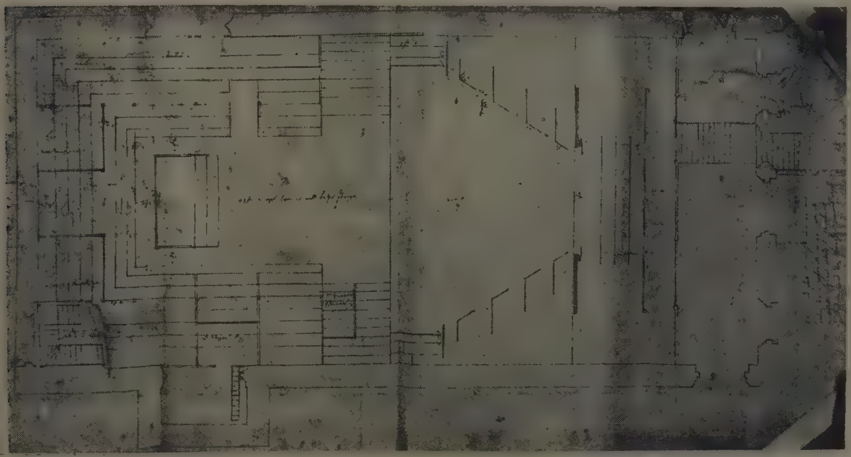
|| *Civitatis Amor.*

¶ "Warrant to Mr. Survayer to cause the Hall at Whitehall to bee furnyshed with Scaffolds, degrees, etc., against the Pastorall on the king's birthday." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/134, p. 78); "preparing the Hall wth a Stage and diverse tymber woorkes for a Seane with severall mocions and devices for a Pastorall to bee acted there by certen French Ladies and others." (P.R.O., E. 351/3269.)

** P.R.O., E. 351/3271.

provision of "two Galleryes on each side ranginge with the Gallery at ye End."*

There is little record of the use of the Great Hall during the Commonwealth, but on the Restoration it came into its own again. In August, 1660, there was dancing on the ropes in the Hall.†



The Great Hall arranged for a Pastoral.

In 1665 the Hall was altered for use as a theatre, including the provision of a gallery at the south end and of permanent arrangements for tiring-rooms.‡ The work was carried out in February–April, 1665, and on 20th April Pepys records: "This night I am told the first play is played in Whitehall noon-hall, which is now turned to a house of playing."[*]

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* P.R.O., L.C. 5/141, p. 551.

† "On Thursday last His Majesty went below Gravesend. . . . The same night, returning, he had divertissement of dancing on the ropes before him in the great hall at Whitehall." (Letter, dated 12th August, 1660, from Wm. Smith to John Langley, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (App. to 5th Report, p. 173). "Prepaireing the great hall for the Dancers upon the Ropes . . . and puting up degrees there for the Lords and Ladyes to see the danceing before the King." (P.R.O., E. 351/3274).

‡ The works included "working and putting in a Truss of Kentish stone to beare a peece of timber and the hearth of a Chimney in one of the tiring rooms; working and putting in 2 trusses of free stone in the outside of the wall at the north end of the hall to beare ye Chimneys of the tiring roomes there; Cutting 2 door wayes through the stone wall, one at the head, the other at the foot of the Staires of ye new passage going into ye hall; . . . taking downe all the old degrees in the hall & raysing the old Stage there higher & cutting it shorter; making and putting up 12 boxes and severall degrees round ye said stage; . . . making a gallery at ye south end of ye hall 40 foot long 7 foot wide wth degrees and severall boxes in it, and a paire of staires leading up to it; making a foot pace upon the stage for the K. & Queen wth a rayle about it; making a pendant floor in ye pitt wth degrees at each end wth 16 seates in it; making a Stage for the Screens 39 foot long 33 foot wide and v foot high; making a frontispeece and boarding over it to ye roofe of the hall; . . . making a large seat wth severall degrees in it for ye musick; making a floor over the Stage 43 foot long 39 foot wide for ye hanging up of the workes & frames of ye sceenes; making enclosing & flooring 4 roomes at ye north end of the hall for tiring Roomes for ye Actors and Musick & making 4 pair of staires leading up to ye great Stage and ye said Tiring Rooms." (P.R.O., Works, 5/7.)

Great consideration was apparently given to the comfort of the actors. An order to "Henry Harrys, yeoman of ye Revells to his Ma^{tie}" required him to "repaire unto Sir John Dinham . . . and to advise with him concerninge the Convenient Makeinge the Attyreing roome in the New Theatre in Whitehall and . . . see that all things be fitt and Convenient accordinge to ye Duty of your place;"[†] and in the following year a not illiberal food allowance to the performers was provided for.[‡]

George Johnson, who had been keeper of the Cockpit playhouse, was the first keeper of the new theatre, but on 21st November, 1666, Henry Glover was appointed.[§] Apparently Johnson later on resumed the position, for on 15th November, 1672, a warrant was issued appointing "Phillipp Johnson . . . keeper of his Ma^{ts} theatre . . . of Whitehall . . . in the place of George Johnson dec̄d."[||] In 1678 Philip died and John Clarke was appointed keeper.[¶]

In 1674 the theatre was used "for the practiseing of a Maske," and as the Duke of York's children were to be present to see the rehearsal, orders were given for "fires in panns" to be provided "in ye Pitt." The masque was duly performed in the Great Hall in the early part of 1675, the Lady Mary, the Lady Anne and the Duke of Monmouth taking part, and considerable works, including the provision of side galleries, the bringing forward and widening of the stage, and enclosing "the front of the pitt next the stage for the musick the whole breadth of ye house" were carried out for the occasion.[**]

Pepys, on the occasion of his visit in 1666, had expressed an unfavourable opinion of the acoustics of the building. His criticism was apparently justified, for in 1675 orders were given for the construction of "a new Ceelinge in the Theatre in Whitehall, that ye Voyce may ye better be heard."* The theatre was apparently open to the world. Marvell writing on 24th July, 1675, says: " *Scaramuccio* acting dayly in the Hall of *Whitehall*, and all Sorts of People flocking thither and paying their Mony as at a common Playhouse; nay even a twelve-penny gallery is builded for the convenience of his Majesty's poorer Subjects."†

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[*] Pepys did not visit the theatre until 29th October in the following year. "I away . . . to White Hall and into the new play-house there, the first time I ever was there, and the first play I have seen since before the great plague. By and by Mr. Pierce comes, bringing my wife and his, and Knipp. By and by the King and Queene, Duke and Duchesse, and all the great ladies of the Court; which, indeed, was a fine sight. But the play being *Love in a Tub*, a silly play, and though done by the Duke's people, yet having neither Betterton nor his wife, and the whole thing done ill, and being ill also, I had no manner of pleasure in the play. Besides, the House, though very fine, yet bad for the voice, for hearing. The sight of the ladies, indeed, was exceeding noble; and above all, my Lady Castlemayne. The play done by ten o'clock."

[†] P.R.O., L.C. 5/138, p. 425. (16th March, 1664–5.)

[‡] "These are to Signifie unto you his Ma^{ties} pleasure that you provide and deliver . . . unto George Johnson, keeper of his Ma^{ties} Theatre within his Palace of Whitehall, These perticulers for his Ma^{ties} Comedians upon ye Nights they act at Court (vizt.) Twelve quarts of Sack, twelve quarts of Clarett, foure & twenty Torches, three bunches of fires, Eight Gallons of Beere, foure basketts of Coles, Six dishes of Meate, twelve loaves of Whitebread & twelve loaves of Brownebread, foure pounds of Tallow Candles, twelve White dishes to Drinke in & two Bumbards to fetch beere." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/138, p. 366.)

[§] P.R.O., S.P. 44/23.

[||] P.R.O., L.C. 5/140, p. 133.

[¶] P.R.O., Ind. 6817, Nov., 1678.

[**] See order dated 25th January, 1674–5. (P.R.O., L.C. 5/141, p. 551.)

The alleged " popish plot " of 1678 was no doubt responsible for the orders which were issued in November of that year for the safeguarding of the King's person in the Hall. It was arranged that " some discreete honest person " should " watch & attend every Night under the Kings Seate in the Hall at the tyme His Ma^tie shall be at ye Play in ye Theatre in Whitehall, for ye prevention of any Danger that may happen to His Ma^tie; " and orders were given " to take Especiall care every Night to search under His Mat^s Seate in ye Theatre in Whitehall, & see if there bee anything dangerous for His Mat^s being there at ye play or not."‡

In 1679 leave was granted to Anne Capell and her servants " to come into ye Theatre in Whitehall to sell fruite every Night that a Play is Acted there: And If any other presume to sell fruite there I doe hereby Order His Ma^ties Gentlemen Ushers dayly Wayters forthwith to turne them out."§

One of the last notices regarding the Hall is on 6th February, 1696–7, when Luttrell writes: " This being the princesse of Denmark's birth day, his majestie ordered the play of Love for Love to be acted at Whitehall." Less than a twelvemonth later the building was destroyed in the Great Fire.

The Chapel Royal

Adjoining the Great Hall on the east was the Chapel Royal, with its two vestries, as shown in the plan of 1670. No illustration or description of the building is known, and the details given in the plans of 1670 and of Stukeley (p. 48) are not consistent.

The latter shows the dimensions as approximately 28 feet wide by 40 feet in length, but according to the former the chapel was about 75 feet long. Moreover, while the plan of 1670 shows a vestry on the east and an outward vestry on the west abutting against the eastern wall of the Great Hall, Stukeley leaves only a narrow space, quite insufficient for a vestry, on the west side, but makes up for the omission by widening the vestry on the east side. According to his plan the chapel was divided into four bays containing three-light mullioned windows, which probably had traceried heads filled with diamond panes of stained glass. At each end is shown a four-light window; that at the east end originally contained painted glass which was destroyed by Parliament (see p. 55). The roof as indicated in views of Whitehall was of a good pitch, covered with lead. It was probably ceiled, and divided into panels by moulded ribs with carved bosses at the intersections. The exterior was faced in stonework contemporary with the Great Hall, and the parapet indicated in the views was originally decorated with carved figures on high pedestals, as shown in the frontispiece and Morden and Lea's view (p. 76). In February, 1665–6, work was done in "taking downe some of ye stone figures y^t stood on the battlements over ye Kings chappell, and repaireing all the battlements there."*

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* *Ibid.*, p. 267.

† *Marvell's Letters* (ed. E. M. Margoliouth), p. 320. The gallery referred to may be that at the south end, or possibly the side galleries provided earlier in the year may have been allowed to remain.

‡ P.R.O., L.C. 5/143, pp. 193–4.

§ P.R.O., L.C. 5/143, p. 267.

At the end of the chapel, in a gallery, was the King's closet,† on the left and right hands of which sat the ladies of the court.‡ Their places were separated from the royal seats by hangings. When attending service on 14th October, 1660, Pepys observed "how the Duke of York and Mrs. Palmer did talk to one another very wantonly through the hangings that parts the Kings closet and the closet where the ladies sit." It was a good place from which to view the service, and on the occasion of the admission of new members into the Order of the Garter in 1615 the Spanish ambassador, who had expressed a desire to witness the proceedings, "had his place for sight of divine Service and Offering in the King's Closet."§

There are fairly frequent allusions to the chapel in contemporary literature, but few of interest. Of the marriages in the chapel the following deserve mention:

27th December, 1604. Sir Philip Herbert (afterwards Earl of Montgomery) and Susan, daughter of the Earl of Oxford.
15th January, 1605–6. Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, and Frances, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk.
6th January, 1606–7. Lord James Hay (afterwards Earl of Carlisle) and Honor, daughter of Sir Edward Denny.
9th February, 1607–8. Sir John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington (afterwards Earl of Holderness) and Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Sussex.
14th February, 1612–13. Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and Elizabeth, daughter of James I.

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* P.R.O., Works, 5/8. The battlements are shown in the view of the ruins of the Palace on p. 39.

† "Coullering and guilding with fine gold the Lead of five Cazements on both sides in the windowe in the Kings Clozett that looketh into the Chappell." (P.R.O., E. 351/3268, 1634–5.)

‡ "That on the Left hand Our Clossett shall sitt the Ladyes of the Bedchamber to Our Dearest Consort the Queene in the First Seat as it is now divided. That Our Servants that are to attend Us to Chappell shall sitt on the Left Hand Our Clossett behinde the Ladyes of the Bedchamber . . . That on the Right Hand Our Closset shall sitt the Lady of the Sweet Coffer, Ladyes of the Privy Chamber, and Mayds of Honour on the First Forme, and Mother; the Dressers on the Second Forme; Mayds of Honour and Dressers to Our Dearest Sister the Dutchesse of Yorke on the Third Forme." (B.M. Stowe MS. 562.)

§ *Finetti Philoxenis*, p. 25.

26th December, 1613. Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester (afterwards Earl of Somerset), and the divorced Countess of Essex.
2nd May, 1641. William (afterwards Prince of Orange) and Mary, daughter of Charles I.

The most splendid of these was the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth in 1613, a detailed description of which is given in a tract printed the same year and reproduced in Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*

Whitehall Chapel fared ill under the rule of the Parliament. On 9th March, 1643–4, it was ordered that the committee for demolishing superstitious monuments should "consider of Heads for a Conference to be had with the Lords, for the demolishing of all superstitious Pictures and Monuments in *Whitehall*."* The effect was quickly seen. A receipt by John Rutland for £7 "for 241 feet of new white glass set up in the East window of the King's Chapel at Whitehall" calls up a vision of a fine east window of painted glass that had been ruthlessly destroyed. Other items tell a similar tale. "Receipt for . . . taking down the cross at Whitehall and for colouring the boards from which the carpenter had planed off the pictures;" "receipt . . . for cutting down the stem of the cross over the chapel at Whitehall;" "receipt . . . for work done in the chapel of Whitehall about defacing pictures and plastering the walls;" "receipt . . . for taking down the organ at Whitehall."† Iconoclasm was evidently rife in the year 1644. Two years later the altar plate was melted down to provide plate for the King's use at Holdenby.‡

The chapel figured in the plot of Miles Sindercombe against Oliver Cromwell. In 1656 Sindercombe had made plans to assassinate Cromwell at Hammersmith, but these had failed, and on 8th January, 1656–7, he attempted to set fire to the chapel, in the hope that in the ensuing confusion he might have an opportunity to accomplish his purpose. The conspirators "cut a hole in one of the doors of the Chappel, and so unbolting it, they . . . went in and placed the materials for firing, which were discovered about nine a Clock that night, for in one of the Seats was found upon the Floor a Basket filled with a strange composition of combustible stuff, and two lighted matches, aptly placed, which matches had been rub'd over with gunpowder, on purpose to keep them surely burning, and by the length of them, it was conceived they would have given fire to the Basket about one a clock in the morning."§

An organ had been used in the chapel from the earliest times.‖ In 1644 the then existing instrument was removed, but on the Restoration an organ was again installed. On 17th June, 1660, Pepys writes in his

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* *H. of C. Journal*, III, 422.

† *Hist. MSS. Comm., Duke of Portland's MSS.*, III, p. 132.

‡ Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 373.

§ *The Triall of Miles Sindercombe* (Tract, pub. 1658).

‖ In the account of "Certayn reparations done uppo' York Place," dated 1514–15 (P.R.O., E. 101/474/7), is a reference to "ij newe polyes for the orgons in the chappell."

Diary: " This day the organs did begin to play at White Hall before the King,"[*] and three weeks later he records: " To White Hall chapel . . . Here I heard very good music, the first time that ever I remember to have heard the organs and singing-men in surplices in my life." The instrument, which had certainly been provided in a hurry and may have been an old one, was two years later under repair.[†] The results seem not to have been entirely satisfactory, for in the same year (1662) an order was made for a warrant to pay Hingeston £900 " for a fair double organ for Whitehall Chapel."[‡] According to Freeman[§] there is little doubt that this organ was actually built by Father Smith, and was the first of the many instruments he built in this country. From the fact that on 20th August, 1663, Wren was instructed to " erect a large organ loft . . . in the place where formerly the great Double organ stood,"[||] it would seem that the old organ had then been taken away. The new instrument was not ready until 1664,[¶] when it was placed in a different position. Some time before 1676 Smith lowered the pitch[**] of the organ by a semi-tone.

During the reign of James II the Chapel Royal fell into comparative neglect in face of its important rival, the Roman Catholic Chapel. The only member of the Royal Family attending the Chapel Royal was the Protestant Princess Anne, and her position in this respect was formally recognised on 20th February, 1685–6, when an order was issued[††] in the following terms: " It is his Ma^{tyes} pleasure that Her Royall Highnesse Princes Anne of Denmarke Doe sit in His Ma^{tyes} Closett at His Chappell Royall at Whitehall, upon one side of ye Kings chaire, w^{ch} must remaine in its place not turned: And that Noe man of what degree or quality soever, presume to come into ye clossett when Her Royall Highnesse is there, except ye Clerke of ye Clossett, or His Deputy to officiate there, And the Lord Chamberlayne and Mr. Vice Chamberlayne of His Ma^{tyes} Household to stand behind ye Kings chaire." In 1688 repairs and decorations to the building were carried out at Anne's request.[*] In 1698 it was destroyed in the Great Fire, and a few years later the ruins were in use as a place for practising archery.[†]

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[*] " June, 1660. The Seventhteen, his majesty's Chapell att whithall was fitted wth organs and all other things fitt for his majesty, which was the first day that his majesty was att his devocetion theire." (B.M. Add. MS. 10116, f. 103.)

[†] Warrant, dated 23rd July, 1662, for the payment " to John Hingeston, keeper and Repayrer of his Ma^{ts} organs the summe of seaventy six pounds five shillings for mending and repayring of his Ma^{ts} organs in his Ma^{ts} Chappell Royall at Whitehall," and for other works. (P.R.O., L.C. 5/137, p. 217.)

[‡] P.R.O., S.P. 29/61, No 84.

[§] Freeman's *Father Smith*, p. 13.

[||] P.R.O., L.C. 5/137, p. 292.

[¶] " Taking downe a stone window in the Kings Chappell where the Organ is to stand." (B.M. Harl. MS. 1618, f. 6.)

[**] " Recommendation to the Lord Treasurer of the petition of John Hingeston, keeper of his Majesty's organs and harpsichords, praying an order for payment of 100 *l.* agreed by him to be paid to Barnard Smith for taking half a note lower the organ in the chapel, that he may give order for payment thereof, his Majesty calling to mind that the said work was done by his own particular command." 12th August, 1676. (*Cal of S.P., Dom.*, 1676–7, p. 275.)

[††] P.R.O., L.C. 5/147, p. 224

The Stairs and Queen Mary's Terrace.

Beyond the chapel were Whitehall Stairs, and it is convenient at this point to deal, as a whole, with the various river stairs at Whitehall, as well as with the terrace formed in the time of William and Mary.

From the beginning there were two sets of river stairs at Whitehall, the public or Whitehall Stairs, and the Privy Stairs. The site of the former is covered by the buildings of Whitehall Court on the north side of Horse Guards Avenue, while that of the latter lies just to the south of Pembroke House, within the borders of No. 6 Whitehall Gardens.

Reference to the construction of the landing place at the Privy Stairs is made in July, 1530:[‡] "Item the xxj daye paied to Nedam the kinges Carpenter towardes the making of a pryvat bridge at yorke place . . . x^{li}." An earlier reference (January, 1529–30) to a payment of xiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} "for the finisshing of the bridge at york place"[§] may possibly refer to the landing place at the public stairs. Both are mentioned in the accounts for the building of Whitehall:[||] "The kinges armes sette oute in ij tables, the one appoyntid ovir the gate of the greate bridge and the other ovir the gate of the prevey bridge." The two sets of stairs were, perhaps, rebuilt in 1548.[¶]

The provision of a private landing place to the Palace is easily understood, but why was a public landing place, with a corresponding right of way through Whitehall Gate to the main road, thought necessary? It is possible that there had previously been a public landing place in the neighbourhood with a thoroughfare to the main street between York Place and "Scotland," and that, as in the case of the right of way from Charing Cross to Westminster through the Palace, public rights had to be considered even by Henry VIII.

Admission to Whitehall Stairs was gained by a postern (probably the "gate" referred to above) shown in the frontispiece.

The stairs existed until the construction of the Victoria Embankment.

References to the Privy Stairs are scattered among the records,[**]

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[*] "The chappell royal at Whitehall is fitting up and beautifyeing, at the desire of the princesse of Denmark." (Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, etc., I, p. 453.)

[†] "My Lord Chamberlaine has directed me to acquaint you that he has given leave to S^{r} Wm. Forrester to sett up Butts for shooting with Bowes & Arrowes in the place where the old Chappell stood in Whitehall and to open a Door into it through the old Vestry." From Sir John Stanley to Sir Christopher Wren, 28th November, 1701—P.R.O., Works, 6/3, p. 1.)

[‡] B.M. Add. MS. 20030, f. 43.

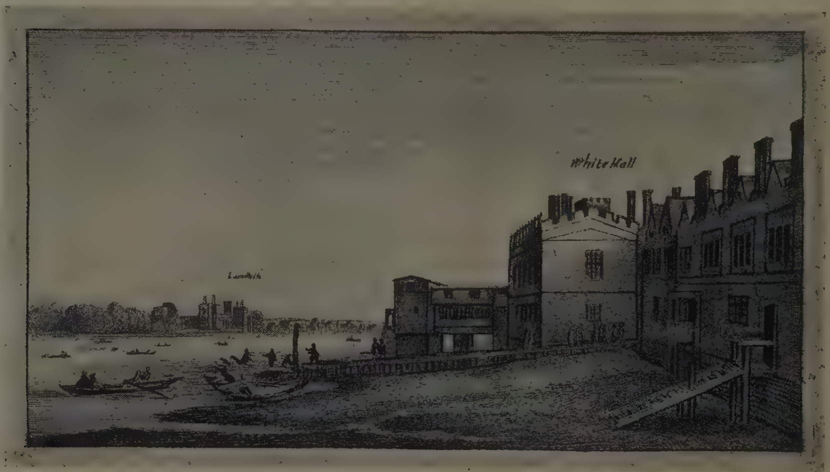
[§] *Ibid.*, f. 11.

[||] P.R.O., E. 36/252, p. 581.

[¶] "The same Thresaurer had warrant for cc*li* in prest to Laurence Brodshawe, in prest for making to newe bridges at the Kinges Majestes Pallais of Westmenster and at the Court there." (19th September, 1548, *Acts of the Privy Council*, II, p. 222.)

[**] See *e.g.* "Clement Kinnersley, yeoman of his Ma^{ts} Wardrobe of Beds, asketh allowance for himselfe and his servant for attendinge and spreadinge of Carpetts upon the Privy Stayres when his Ma^{tie} did take water, which in the aforesayd foure moneths was 60 times, for which he craveth the accustomed allowance of 2s. 6d. a time for the sd. service." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/137, p. 391, June–September, 1660.)

and this means of communication with the river, which was not only London's principal highway, but the scene of recreation and pleasure,* was much used. Regulations were occasionally necessary, and in March, 1678–9, an order† was issued as follows: "Whereas greate noise & disorders are made at the privy Staires by all sortes of Watermen comeing there & plying, & landing fares & persons there, whereby his Ma^{tie} is disturbed goeing into His Barge, I doe therefore hereby Order That noe Watermen Whatsoever But the Kings & Queenes Watermen doe presume to ply any fares there, or bring theire Boates there or land any persons there at theire perrills.



Hollar's View of Whitehall Stairs and the Privy Stairs.

Except only If any Gentleman belonging to ye Court . . . The Greate Gate being Shutt may be there landed, but ye Watermen to depart thence & not to stay there or receave any fare at these staires at theire perrills."

A beautiful representation of the Privy Stairs soon after their construction is given in Wyngaerde's sketch of Whitehall preserved in the Bodleian Library. Views of them in a later stage of their existence are given by Hollar (see above) and in Morden and Lea's Map of 1682 (p. 76), and a still better representation of them in 1683 in the frontispiece to this work.

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* "The Thames washes the sides of a large though not a magnificent palace of the kings of Great Britain: from the stairs of this palace the court used to take water in the summer evenings, when the heat and dust prevented their walking in the park: an infinite number of open boats, filled with the court and city beauties, attended the barges, in which were the Royal Family: collations, music and fireworks, completed the scene." (Hamilton's *Memoirs of the Count de Grammont*, 1890 edn., p. 169.)

† P.R.O., L.C. 5/143, p. 290.

They lasted only a few years longer, being done away with when Queen Mary's Terrace was formed.

This terrace seems to have originated in a scheme for the improvement of part of the Palace consequent on the Fire of 1691. The first mention of it that has been found is in July, 1691,[*] and in September of the same year Luttrell writes:[†] "There is orders given for building a fine tarras walk under the lodgings at Whitehal, towards the water side." A design for the terrace is among the Wren drawings in the Library of All Souls' College, and is reproduced in Plate 9. In September, 1693, Luttrell says: "The queens tarras walk at Whitehall, facing the Thames, is now finished, and curiously adorn'd with greens, which cost some 1000 of pounds, about 10,000 l."

The terrace was about 70 feet wide and about 280 feet long, and stretched from the northern extremity of what was afterwards the Earl of Pembroke's ground to a point well within the frontage of the Duke of Portland.

In 1719 the Countess of Portland obtained a lease of the "Terras commonly called Queen Marys Garden."[‡] The countess, however, quarrelled with the Earl of Pembroke, whose premises the terrace completely shut off from the river, and mutual recriminations ensued. The earl complained of the countess's action in "planting forrest trees thereupon to the prejudice of his house," while the latter accused the earl of infringing her rights in the wall[§] that divided the terrace from the earl's property, and encroaching on the passage originally leading to the Privy Stairs.[||] The matter came before the Commissioners of the Treasury, who decided that the lease to the countess was void, because the grant was for 50 years and the terrace was not a building within the meaning of the Civil List Act, and instructions were given for proceedings to be taken to recover the property for the Crown. A decree was obtained restoring the premises, and in 1744 the terrace was divided between the two parties, the Earl of Pembroke obtaining a lease of the portion between his house and the river, while the remainder was leased to the countess.

Some river stairs to the terrace had obviously been provided for the use of the King on the demolition of the original Privy Stairs. On the partition of the terrace between the earl and the countess, a dividing wall was built, with the result that the King had "no Stairs to either Land or take Water at Whitehall."* Instructions were accordingly given for the making of "plain substantial Stone stairs from the reserv'd part of Lady Portland's Garden for His Majesty to take Water or Land at, together with a Causeway at the foot of the stairs."†

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[*] "On travaille à Witehall à une terrasse dans la rivière depuis l'apartment de la duchesse de Grafton jusques à l'apartement de my lord Portland. Vous sçavez que dans l'entredeux sont les logemens du Roy et de la Reyne. Les debris de l'incendie arrivée il y a quelques mois serviront a faire le fondement. On ne rebatira plus la galerie. On joindra ce grand espace au jardin privé qui par ce moyen ira jusques à la revière et joindra à la terrasse. Cela sera beau." (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 8th Report, pt. I, p. 563 a.)

[†] *A Brief Relation of State Affairs.*

[‡] Plan in P.R.O., T. 54/25, p. 207.

[§] This wall was originally the front wall of some of the principal buildings in the Palace before the Fire of 1698.

[||] This passage was included in the countess's lease with proviso for the use of it by the Royal Family (see p. 181).

The plan of 1670 shows some stairs at the northern end of the Bowling Green (formerly the Orchard) next to Kirke's lodgings. These must be the same as the "Garden Stairs" shown on Norden's map of 1593 and Visscher's *View of London* in 1617. It is possible that the origin of these stairs is referred to in the payment recorded in 1563–4‡ for the "making of a newe brydge in the Orcharde." Later references, which show that the stairs were provided with a water gate, are (i)§ a petition of John Henry, the keeper of the orchard, in 1637 for some recognition of his services in giving attendance "at the Orchard gate & *Water Gate* to lett in & out the Prince Elector Palatine his Highnes servants" during the Prince's stay at Whitehall, and (ii) a warrant,|| dated 28th February, 1666–7, ". . . to cause a Pale to be erected in the Bowleing greene from his Grace ye Duke of Richmonds Lodgings to ye Walke there, & likewise to continue the Pales to ye Watergate on that Side next Mr. Kirkes."

The stairs were rebuilt in 1682.¶ They are marked on Rocque's Map of 1746 ("Privy Garden Stairs") and were specially exempted from the Duke of Richmond's lease of the first Richmond House in 1738 (see p. 246). They were removed on the formation by the Dukes of Richmond and Montagu of the continuation of Queen Mary's Terrace (see p. 215).

The Pebble Court.

Behind the Banqueting House, and separated from the Great Court by a wooden terrace, which was afterwards replaced by a brick gallery (see below), was the courtyard known in Charles II's time as the Pebble Court, but in earlier days called the Preaching Place, or Sermon Court,** from the presence there of the outdoor pulpit. (For the suggestion that it was the original Privy Garden, see p. 88.) We have an early description of it in the account given by Von Wedel in 1584:†† "Then we were brought to a

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* P.R.O., Works, 6/16, p. 175.

† *Ibid.*, 6/17, p. 14.

‡ P.R.O., E. 351/3202.

§ B.M. Add. MSS. 5751, fol. 19.

|| P.R.O., L.C. 5/138, p. 351.

¶ "Working and squaring free stone for the two peers for the new water staires between the Dutches of Portsmouth and the Dutches of Richmonds Lodgings . . . Breaking way through ye brick between the Dutches of Portsmouth and the Dutches of Richmonds for the Mason to put up 2 stone peers for a gateway to the water staires." (P.R.O., Works, 5/35.)

** "The sam day [17th March, 1559–60] dyd pryche at the cowrt [at] the prychyng plasse master Juell the nuw byshope of Salysbere, in ys rochett and chymmer" (Machyn's *Diary*); "The xvij day of Feybruary [1560–1] was wrastelyng at the cowrte in the prychyng-plase a-for the quen" (*Ibid.*); "mendinge the Tarras in the Sermon Courte." (P.R.O., E. 351/3255—1621–2.) The name "preaching-place" was also given to the pulpit.

†† *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, 2nd Ser. IX, p. 236.

grass plot surrounded by broad walks below and above, enabling many persons to promenade there. In the middle of the place a pulpit is erected, with a sounding board above. When the queen commands preaching here, the walks are filled with auditors." A plan showing the court (there called The Chapell Courte) and the pulpit,* at some time between 1607 and 1619, is reproduced on p. 119.† The projecting building about half-way down on the south side represents the Council Chamber (see p. 98). This was frequently used as a gallery for distinguished persons when sermons were delivered and other special events were held in the court.‡

Flanking the north and east sides of the Court was a wooden terrace,§ leading to the Privy Lodgings and the Council Chamber.|| On the occasion of the festivities in connection with Princess Elizabeth's marriage in 1613 "a new banquetinge house" was erected "upon the Tarras for the feasts to be keapte at the marriadge."¶ This was made use of on 21st February when "there was a great supper prepared by the King . . . in a large roome built of purpose for the time over the North Terras next the first Court of Whitehall. The King and Prince onely were seated at a Crosse Table placed at the end of the Roome next the Banqueting House. The Prince Palatine, the Lords, Ladies [etc.], sate at another Table placed longways [to] the chamber."**

A few years later an accident, which might have had serious results, occurred at the end of the terrace. The Count de Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, went to Whitehall on 12th March, 1619–20, for his first public audience with James I. After resting awhile in the Council Chamber, he proceeded to the Presence Chamber and "passing over the then ruinous woodden Terras, at the instant that he was entring the first great doore next that of the Guard Chamber, the weight of the overthronging multitude next about him, pressing downe part of the Plancks and Joyces under him, that it

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* The pulpit was panelled: "For twice painting russett coloure in distemper the boorded pannells aboute the preaching place." (P.R.O., E. 351/3262—1628–9.)

† Unless very considerable alterations took place, of which no record has been found, the court is shown out of scale.

‡ See *e.g.* "makeinge readye the Councell Chamber at Whitehall for a sermon in the preachinge place" (Feb., 1606–7); "makeinge readye the Councell Chamber for the Kinge, Quene and Prince to see the sportes in the preachinge place" (April, 1607); "makeinge ready the Councell Chamber at Whitehall for the Kinge, Queene and Prince to here the sermons in the preachinge place" (April, 1609). (P.R.O., E. 351/543).

§ The terrace was sometimes used for undesirable purposes. On the occasion of the masque on 27th December, 1604, we are told that "one woeman among the rest lost her honesty, for w^ch^ she was caried to the porters lodge, being surprised at her busines on the top of the Taras." (P.R.O., S.P. 14/12, No. 6.)

|| "The three and twentieth of June [1625] the three Commissioners from the States had publick Audience of his Majesty, conducted to it by the Earle of Warwick; they passed the old Ordinary way up the great stone Stairs over the Wooden Terras to the old Councell Chamber." (*Finetti Philoxenis*, p. 156.)

¶ P.R.O., E. 351/3247.

** "Sir John Finett's observations touching Forren Ambassadors, etc." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/1, p. 12.)

suddainly fell, and with all the Earle of Arrundell, the Lord Gray and others, with great danger, and some hurt (particularly to one youth, who under the ruins had his arme and shoulder broken) the Ambassador having received but halfe a fall of the nether parts of his Body onely, his Servants next him staying and holding him by the upper, as he was at the instant of entring under the doore."[*] The mishap caused consternation, but the ambassador, with great tact, laughed it off as due to "his hast and longing to see his Majesty." There is an item respecting the "mendinge the Tarras in the Sermon Courte" for the year 1621–2, but this probably refers to some later damage.

The way from the Court Gate to the Terrace was at first open,[†] but in 1629–30 a pent-house was provided, "being l^{ty} fo. longe and vj fo. wyde, leadinge from the Courte gate to a newe Dore goeinge to the walke under the Terrasse for the Lords and Ladies to goe drye there."[‡] By about this time the grass area of the court had apparently been replaced by stone pavement, for an item in the Accounts of the Paymaster of Works for 1632–3 relates to "squaring, working and setting the purbecke paving against the banquetting howse wall in the preaching place Court."[§]

In 1635 the Rubens paintings were placed in position in the Banqueting House ceiling. The smoke from torches on occasions when the building was used at night was not calculated to improve the ceiling, and for a time no masques were held. In 1637, however, Charles I gave instructions for a new room to be provided for the purpose.[||] The site selected was on the terrace where the temporary room had been erected on the occasion of the Princess Elizabeth's wedding.[¶] The order was given on 29th September, the work being treated as urgent,[**] and the building was opened on the Sunday after Twelfth Night, 1637–8, with the presentation of the masque *Britannia Triumphans*, by Inigo Jones and William Davenant.[*] The building lasted until 1645, when orders were given for it to be pulled down.[†]

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[*] *Finetti Philoxenis*, p. 63.

[†] Finett records that on the occasion of two Venetian ambassadors taking leave of the King in 1626 "they came [to the Council Chamber] by the way of the Park [and so over the Holbein Gate into the Privy Gallery], a suddaine extream shower having made the ordinary way through the Sermon-Court impossible." (*Ibid.*, p. 181.)

[‡] P.R.O., E. 351/3263.

[§] P.R.O., E. 351/3266.

[||] "A new house being erected in the first Court at *Whitehall*, which cost the King 2500^{l}, only of Deal Boards, because the King will not have his Pictures in the Banqueting-house hurt with Lights." (*Letters and Dispatches of Thomas, Earl of Strafforde*, 1740 ed., II, p. 140.)

[¶] "A great Room is now [9th November, 1637] in building only for this Use [*i.e.* for masques] betwixt the Guard-Chamber and Banquetting-house, of Fir, only weather-boarded and slightly covered. At the Marriage of the Queen of *Bohemia* I saw one set up there, but not of that Vastness that this is." (*Ibid.*, II, p. 130.)

[**] "A warrant to Mr Survayer to cause a great roome of Timber, with degrees, for Masques to bee presently built over the Tarras at Whitehall betwixt the banquetting house & the great Chamber, according to such direccions as hee had already represented unto his Ma^{tye}, with power to call together all the Officers & M. Artizans of his Ma^{ts} sayd works in their severall places respectively to bee imployed in the sayd worke & make a dispatch thereof before Christmas. And if any shall refuse to obey his direccions to returne their names." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/134, p. 195.)

In 1668 the terrace was replaced by a brick gallery. The main portion of the work was accomplished between July and December of that year, and consisted in "setting up a Brick wall Cxlv foot long xij foot high in the Pibble Court for a Gallery betwixt the Banquetting howse and the Kings Guard chamber, all wrought faire on one side with Bricks rubbed and hew'd to a scantling, with three dorewayes and fower windowes in the said wall. Working up two stairecases with rough Brickes xxij foot high above the foundation on one side and xlix foot long x foot high on the other side above the said Gallery wall, the one stairecase going up to the Banquetting house and the other to the Kings Guard chamber, with tenn windows and fower dorewayes in the said stairecases. Cutting and setting of straight Arches and round Mouldings round the said windows and doorwayes, raising ye old wall[‡] in ye great Court on the other side ye said Gallery, Cix foot long iiij foot high."[§] The work was finished in 1669.[‖]

On New Year's eve, 1686,[¶] a statue of James II[**] was set up in the Pebble Court. When the Privy Gallery was destroyed in the Fire of 1698, the Pebble Court became merged in the Privy Garden, and the statue remained in its original position until 27th August, 1897, when it was removed to the garden of Gwydyr House. It was again taken down in December, 1903, and set up in St. James's Park.

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[*] "There being now past three yeers of Intermission, that the King and Queenes Majesties have not made Masques with shewes and Intermedii, by reason the roome where formerly they were presented, having the seeling since richly adorn'd with peeces of painting of great value, figuring the acts of King *James* of happy memory, and other inrichments: lest this might suffer by the smoake of many lights, his Majestie commanded the Surveyor of his workes, that a new temporary roome of Timber, both for strength and capacitie of spectators, should bee suddenly built for that use: which being performed in two moneths, the Scenes for this Masque were prepared." (Introduction to *Britannia Triumphans*.)

[†] "Ordered . . . That the boarded Masque House at *Whitehall* . . . be forthwith pulled down and sold away." (*H. of. C. Journal*, 16th July, 1645.) No record of the execution of this order has been found. Is it possible that it was not carried out after all, and that the building was the actual "boarded gallery" referred to several times by Pepys?

[‡] This is obviously "the brick wall that divides the First-court and the Cloyster-court" referred to in the account of the Spanish Ambassador's view of the procession in 1615 (see p. 47).

[§] P.R.O., Works, 5/11. On 30th July, 1668, Pepys notes the beginning of the work: "Met with Mr May, who was giving directions about making a close way for people to go dry from the gate up into the House, to prevent their going through the galleries; which will be very good."

[‖] The last account is for March–July, 1669 (P.R.O., E. 351/3283). It is referred to by Pepys on 17th February, 1668–9, in his account of "a pleasant rencontre of a lady . . . that . . . seemed handsome." She made to "go out of the Court. I followed her, and took occasion, in the new passage now built, where the walke is to be, to take her by the hand, to lead her through, which she willingly accepted, and I led her to the Great Gate."

[¶] "On New Yeares Day [1687] a statue in brass was to be seen (placed the day before) in the yard at Whitehall, made by Gibbons, at the charge of Toby Rustick [Tobias Rustat], of the present King, James the 2^{d}." (*Autobiography of Sir John Bramston*, Camden Socy., p. 253.)

[**] "Curiously done in Brass in the Habit of a *Roman Cæsar* (a Chaplet on his Head and Battoon in his Hand)." (Hatton's *New View of London*, 1708, II, p. 801.)

The King's Guard Chamber, The Great Chamber and The Wine Cellar.

The plan of 1670 shows that the new gallery terminated near the Wine Cellar, and the record of the construction of that gallery in 1668 (see p. 63) mentions that its termination, on the first floor, was at the King's Guard Chamber. The inference that the latter was immediately over the Cellar is confirmed by (i) the entry relating to the Cellar in the list of lodgings in 1691:* "Great Cellar—under the Guard Chamber, 3 roomes," and (ii) an order made in 1683† for "the New roome which is at ye head of the Kings Guard Chamber Stayres & over the Passage into ye Cellar" to be assigned to the corporals of the Yeomen of the Guard.

The position of the King's Guard Chamber may therefore be regarded as certain. The question which now arises is: "Was the King's Guard Chamber at Whitehall identical with the Great Chamber?" The late Mr. Ernest Law was evidently of opinion that it was. In a paper read before the London Topographical Society in 1911‡ he placed the site of the Great Chamber "exactly over Cardinal Wolsey's cellars," a position which, as has been seen, was occupied by the King's Guard Chamber. In making the identification he probably argued from the analogy of Hampton Court. On the other hand Sir Edmund Chambers, on the strength of a statement made in 1613 (see pp. 65–6), rejects the identification.§

In favour of the identity of the two rooms the following points may be adduced:

(i) The Boarded Masque House was, according to one description, situated between the Guard Chamber and the Banqueting House, while according to another it was between the Banqueting House and the Great Chamber.||

(ii) In a series of regulations for the government of Whitehall made some time in Charles II's reign,¶ the following occurs under the heading "Great Chamber:" "And they shall take care that the Yeomen Ushers see that the Chamber be kept Clean and Sweet, And that they cause the Doore to be carefully kept, not suffering any Footman to enter into the Chamber except Our Footmen and the Footmen of Our Dearest Consort the Queene, Our Deare Brother and Sister the Duke and Dutchesse of Yorke, and Our Cousin Prince Rupert, and all Pages: these are permitted to stay there, but to passe no further."

Again, in a further series, dated 1673** is the following relating to

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* P.R.O., L.C. 5/196.

† P.R.O., L.C. 5/144 p. 475.

‡ *London Topographical Record*, VII, p. 40.

§ *The Elizabethan Stage*, I, p. 14.

|| See footnotes ¶ and **, p. 62.

¶ B.M. Stowe MS. 562.

** P.R.O., L.C. 5/140, p. 248.

the King's Guard Chamber: "That you appoynt that in the Guard Chamber there be noe Tobacco taken in Smoake, that there be no ill Savour of Beere or any thing else for the inconvenience of the passage that way, but that in the Morninge the Dores and Windowes be sett open, and something burnt in the room to take away the Scent of ye Watch of ye Night, And that the footmen of all persons be prohibited to come in as sometymes thay have done. And that all pages are to stay in the Guard Chamber and to come noe further."

The prohibition in both cases against footmen entering the room, and the permission, also in both cases, to pages to enter the room but proceed no further, suggest that the same room is in question in both series of regulations.

(iii) Under the same heading, "Great Chamber," in the former of the two documents mentioned above is the regulation: "The Yeomen of our Guard are to attend in Our Great Chamber as hath been accustomed." The regular place of attendance of the Yeomen of the Guard was of course the Guard Chamber, "where His Majesties great Beefe-eaters had wont to sit in attendance on their places" (see p. 30).

(iv) In a list, drawn up in 1689* of the amounts of fuel for the winter months allowed for the various rooms in Whitehall, while the Privy Chamber, Fane Room, Privy Gallery, Presence Chamber, *Guard Chamber*, Council Chamber, Waiters' Chamber, The Robes, etc., are all given, there is no mention of the Great Chamber. Similarly, a list of locks and bolts† to be supplied for the Palace in 1682, and two lists of mourning‡ (to be hung and removed respectively) in 1687, contain no reference to the Great Chamber.

(v) A comparison of the details concerning other Royal residences seems to suggest that the two were usually identical. (*a*) In an Elizabethan plan of Havering Palace the Great Chamber (the Guard Chamber is not given) is shown leading into the Presence Chamber, as did the Guard Chamber at Whitehall, and a room in what appears to be a similar relative position at St. James's Palace is still called the Guard Room.§ (*b*) In the Parliamentary Surveys of Woodstock, Richmond and Nonsuch, the Guard Chamber is mentioned, but not the Great Chamber. In the two former cases the Guard Chamber was next the Presence Chamber, in the case of Nonsuch it was on the ground floor. Either these palaces had no Great Chamber, or it was identical with the Guard Chamber.

Against the identification is the following passage in a contemporary account (quoted in Nichols' *Progresses of James I*, II, p. 541) of the procession of James I from his Privy Chamber to the Chapel on the occasion of the Princess Elizabeth's wedding in 1613: "His Majesty, to make the Procession more solemn, and in order that it might be seen by more people, proceeded from his Privy-chamber through the Presence and *Guard-chamber*, and through the new Banquetting-house erected of purpose to solemnize this Feast, and so down a pair of stairs at the upper end thereof by the Court-gate, and went along upon a stately scaffold to the *Great-chamber* stairs, and through the *Great-chamber* and Lobby to the Closet down the staires to the Chapel."

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* P.R.O., L.C. 5/149, p. 387.

† P.R.O., L.C. 5/144, p. 309.

‡ P.R.O., L.C. 5/165.

§ Information kindly given by Mr. A. W. Clapham, F.S.A.

Sir Edmund Chambers regards this account as conclusive against the identification of the two rooms, and it must be admitted that it does suggest a distinction between the two. The "new Banquetting-house" was on the wooden terrace on the site of the new gallery shown in the plan of 1670, and the "stately scaffold" presumably ran from the Court Gate more or less parallel with the terrace. The "Great-chamber stairs" therefore, *if distinct from the Guard Chamber Stairs*, would be somewhere near the north-west angle of the Great Hall, a position which can hardly be reconciled with the plan of 1670. Moreover, it is very remarkable that no mention whatever of these stairs has been found in the records of the Surveyor of Works, which nevertheless contain several references to the Guard Chamber stairs.

On the whole the balance of evidence seems to incline to the identification of the two rooms.

From the Guard Chamber there was communication on the one hand with the Presence Chamber,[*] and on the other with the Chapel.[†] It formed the usual way of approach to the Court. Another way was by the Privy Gallery, but on 13th May, 1673, an order was issued forbidding the use in general of "the passages by ye Privy Gallery," and prescribing "the way to be by his Guard Chamber, presence and Privy Chamber."[‡]

The Guard Chamber suffered severely in the Fire of 1698, which left the cellar beneath to a great extent intact.[§]

No description of the room has been found, but, if it was identical with the Great Chamber, it must have been fairly extensive, having regard to the special uses to which the latter was put. These were various. Plays were acted there occasionally in the reigns of Elizabeth and her successors.* It was sometimes prepared for dancing, and on several occasions was used for the meeting of Parliament.† An early reference to the use of the Great Chamber for the dissolution of Parliament occurs in Edward VI's reign. "The 31 of March [1553], beinge Goodfryday, the Parliament brake up and was clerely dissolved at the Kinges place at Whitehall at vii of the clock at night, the Kinges Maiestie sittinge in his robes in the great chamber on the Kynges syde."‡

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[*] "Cutting the stone doorcase wider which leades out of the Kings Guardchamber into the presence and cutting the head of the doorcase square . . . Taking up, furring and new laying parte of the floore in the doorway betweene the Kings Presence and Guard Chamber Cont' about halfe a square of flooring." (P.R.O., Works, 5/35. May and July-August, 1682). In "Charges in wainscotting & altering his Ma$^{\text{ties}}$ Guard Chamber at Whitehall," 1687–8, occurs the item: "For a pedestall to set the Cap a pee Armour on over the door going into the King's Presence." (P.R.O., E. 351/3300.)

[†] (i) "He [the Spanish ambassador] repaired thither [to the Chapel] through the Guard Chamber" (*Finetti Philoxenis*, p. 25); (ii) "Washing, stopping and whiteing the Staire Case coming downe from the Guard Chamber to ye Chappell" (P.R.O., Works, 5/4—Septr., 1663); (iii) "A lusty young fellow called Charls, who lodges in the roome where the Maces are kept att Whitehall, betweene the Guard Chamber and the Chappell" (Confession of George Scott *alias* Kenyon, P.R.O., S.P. 29/395, No. 24—19th July, 1677); (iv) "Exempts de Guard—Over the Passage going through the Kings Guard Chamber to the Chappell, one roome." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/196—1691.)

[‡] P.R.O., L.C. 5/140, p. 248.

[§] "Taking downe the old walls in & about the old Guard chamber over the wine cellar which were in danger of falling." (P.R.O., Works, 5/52, February, 1701–2.)

The Wine Cellar which was underneath the Guard Chamber, is described on p. 146. Close by, if not actually in that building, was a place for the public sale of liquor. Soon after the accession of James II, on search being made for a room in which to house the Queen's sedan-chair, it was found§ that "there is roome under the Greate Staires goeing up to the King's Guard Chamber wherein ale and Brandy is now Sold, to the dishonor of the Court, at the entrance thereof," and that "this roome will bee very propper and convenient to place the Queenes chaire in." Orders were therefore given "to turne out the person or persons who are in that roome."||

THE PRESENCE CHAMBER.

The site of the Presence Chamber is, fortunately, fixed by an entry in the list of Whitehall lodgings drawn up in 1691: "Privy Cellar—under the Presence Chamber, 2 roomes." The Private Wine Cellar is not shown in Vertue's reproduction of the plan of 1670, but is indicated on both the

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* For instance: "Making ready the great Chamber at Whitehall for her Ma$^{\text{tie}}$ for the Playes at Shrovetyde," February, 1601–2; "makeinge ready the greate Chamber at Whitehall for the plaies . . . mense Decembris, 1606"; "the greate Chamber there twoe severall tymes for the playes"—October and November, 1609; "making ready the Hall and greate Chamber for xiij playes"—1626–27. (Accounts of Treasurer of the Chamber)

† "Makeinge ready the greate Chamber at Whitehall for the higher and lower howse of Parliamente . . . mense Aprilis 1607"; "for making ready the greate chamber at Whitehall for the lordes and Commons of the parliament to meete before the kinge" (1620–1). (*Ibid.*)

‡ Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, Camden Socy., II, p. 82. There was a Great Chamber "on the Queenes side" which was also used for plays ("Making ready . . . the great Chamber on the Queens side, and the greate Chamber and Hall on the kinges side for sixe severall plaies . . . the great Chamber on the Queens side for the Princes dauncing."—Accounts of Treasurer of the Chamber, Oct.-Decr. 1620). By analogy this may be identified with the Queen's Guard Chamber. In 34 references to the Great Chamber, which have been noted in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, 26 are merely to the Great Chamber, 1 to that on the King's side, 6 on the Queen's side and 1 to the Queen's Great Chamber.

§ P.R.O., L.C. 5/145, p. 201.

|| There is no information as to who "the person or persons" were, but only two years before Patrick Lambe and his son William had been granted "full power and Licence to sell . . . by retayle Wyne, Strong Waters, Ale, Beer and all other Liquors and Tobacco" within Whitehall. (P.R.O., L.S. 13/253, p. 187). This was in continuation of a grant made to James Lambe, father of Patrick, by James I, and was in consequence of the action of "divers unknown & inconsiderable persons" who had intruded into Whitehall for the sale of these articles, "which is oftentimes an occasion to introduce & bring into our Court all sorts of loose idle & unruly persons." In 1644 the House of Commons had ordered Whitehall to be "purged" from all sellers of beer, ale, wine, meat, etc. (*H. of C. Journal*, III, 567.)

other versions as lying on the south side of the interior court behind the Great Cellar, between the rooms marked G and those marked H. It communicated on the one side with the King's Guard Chamber and on the other with the Private Closet or Oratory lying between it and the King's Privy Chamber.[*]

The Presence Chamber was the room in which presentations were ordinarily made, and seems to have been open to anyone who was entitled to appear at Court.[†] It was probably the room which Von Wedel[‡] calls the audience chamber. "We were led into the queen's audience chamber, which is very large and high with gilt ceiling, upon which, on tablets, are written the dates of wars that have been made."

On the arrival in London of Philip and Mary in August, 1554, after their marriage a month previously, "they departed from Temple barre towardes Yorke place, otherwyse called the Whyte hal: wher after they had lighted they came hand in hand into the great chamber of presens, where also, after they had talked a little space, they toke theyr leave eache of other.[§]

Use of the Presence Chamber for special purposes seems to have been rare. A reference, however, occurs in 1610 to "making readie the presence Chamber for feasting the venetian Ambassador."[||]

The Private Oratory.

Leading out of the Presence Chamber was a passage communicating with the Private Oratory. The latter was done away with in 1691.[¶]

The Queen's Lodgings.

Before passing on from the Private Oratory to the King's Privy Chamber, it will be convenient to deal with the remaining buildings north of the Privy Stairs. These, in the upper floors, consisted in 1670 chiefly of the Queen's apartments.

The Queen's Back Stairs were situated in the passage running out of the east side of the Pebble Court,[*] though their exact position is not known. From the Back Stairs one passage ran to the Eating Room, and another to the Great Bedchamber,[†] which was at the extreme south end, next to the Privy Stairs, and adjoining the Shield Gallery.[‡] Pepys visited the room on 24th June, 1664, but his record is not very informative.[§]

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[*] "These are to require you forthwith to make . . . a Lock on the door goeing out of the Guard Chamber into his Ma^{ts} Presence Chamber. A House Lock on the doore goeing out of ye Presence chamber into ye Clossett passage." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/144, p. 309.)

[†] "The Gentlemen Ushers, daily Wayters and Quarter Wayters are to take continuall and especiall notice of all Persons being within the said Chamber [the Presence Chamber], And in case they shall perceive any Person not meete or worthy to be therein they shall incontinently Expell and Avoyde him from the same. But all Persons of Gentlemen of Quality and of good Fashion, and the Gentlemen that attend Our Great Officers and Privy Councellors and Persons of good Quality, are permitt to come and remaine in the said Chamber; And all Wives and Daughters of the Nobility and their Women that attend them may passe through this Chamber, and all other Ladyes of good Ranck and Quality, but not their Servants." (B.M. Stowe MS. 562.)

[‡] *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, 2nd Ser., IX, p. 235.

[§] *The Chronicle of Queen Jane* (Camden Socy.), p. 151.

[||] Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber.

[¶] "Whereas Theire Ma^{ts} private Oratory between the presence Chamber and privy Chamber in Whitehall is pulled downe: these are to signify His Ma^{ts} pleasure that you allow three lights for that Place," 10th July, 1691. (P.R.O., L.C. 5/150, p. 272.)

One door from the bedchamber led to the King's side, and another to the Withdrawing Room, which adjoined the Privy Chamber. Both these latter rooms communicated with the leads, which formed a favourite position from which to view pageants on the river. The frontispiece to this volume shows the leads occupied by Royalty on the occasion of the Lord Mayor's Procession in 1683. Two years later (16th April, 1685) an order was issued to Sir Christopher Wren "to make a shed of boards very strong upon the leads before the Queen's Privy Chamber in Whitehall, wherein the King and Queenes Ma^{ts} are to sitt and see the fireworks upon the night of the day of the Coronation."[‖] Pepys also refers[¶] to the leads "before the Queen's drawing-room." The Queen had a little garden on the leads.[**]

From the Privy Chamber a door led to the Queen's Presence Chamber, which had a communication also with the King's Presence Chamber. The Queen's Presence was for some years used as the Council Chamber,[††] owing to the fact that the latter building had been adapted as a lodging for the Duke of Lennox.[‡‡] The room seems again to have been used as the Council

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[*] "Washing the passage betweene the pibble court & the Queenes backstaires." (P.R.O., Works, 5/10, February, 1667–8.) The passage in question is probably "the long darke winding Entrey" to the Queen's apartments mentioned by Finet. (*Finetti Philoxenis*, p. 156.)

[†] Most of the information as to the relative position of the various rooms is based on a list of "mourninge taken downe Feb^{ry} 8th 1687" (P.R.O, L.C. 5/165). Although at the date of the document the Queen had removed to the new rooms by the Privy Gallery, there is no doubt that it refers to the old lodgings by the waterside.

[‡] "Cutting out a doorway in the Brick Wall of the Queens Bedchamber to goe into the Shield Gallery." (P.R.O., Works, 5/5, Sept., 1664.)

[§] "After dinner to Whitehall; and there met with Mr. Pierce, and he showed me the Queene's bed-chamber, and her closett, where she had nothing but some pretty pious pictures, and books of devotion; and her holy water at her head as she sleeps, with her clock by her bed-side, wherein a lamp burns that tells her the time of the night at any time."

[‖] P.R.O., L.C. 5/145, p. 183.

[¶] "So I to White Hall, and there all the evening on the Queen's side; and it being a most summer-like day, and a fine warm evening, the Italians come in a barge under the leads, before the Queen's drawing-room; and so the Queen and ladies went out, and heard them, for almost an hour." (28th September, 1668.)

[**] Making "2 bourds 6 foot 6 inches Long a Peece & Makeing two Tressells to Lay them on to sett Potts of Flowers on in ye Queenes Little garden uppon ye Leades." (P.R.O., Works, 5/31—July, 1678.)

[††] "Makinge readie . . . the Presence on the Queenes syde for the Kinge and the Lordes to sit in Councell by the space of xviij^{en} dayes mense Junii, 1613"; "the Queenes presence twice for the Lordes of Counsell" (1619–20). (Accounts of Treasurer of the Chamber.)

[‡‡] See the following references by Finet: (i) "His Majesty received him [Don Carlos de Colona] in the Presence after he had been guided thither . . . by an unusuall passage through the great Hall, and by the Chappell up to the Councell Chamber (in Queen *Ann's* time, the Presence) there to rest him, the former Councell Chamber being converted to a Lodging for the Duke of Lenox"; (ii) "I conducted the Persian Ambassador . . . to an Audience of his Majesty at White-

Chamber during the Commonwealth.* Pepys took his wife to the Queen's Presence Chamber on 30th December, 1662.†

The Queen's Guard Chamber, which would naturally adjoin the Presence Chamber, seems to have been at the end of the passage from the Pebble Court. ‡

In 1664 a new closet was built for the Queen over the Shield Gallery,§ and in 1668–9 some new rooms, including a bathing room, were erected near the Privy Stairs.‖

Possibly included among these rooms was the Queen's volary, which was over the Privy Stairs.¶ Keeping birds seems to have been much the fashion in Charles II's Court. There was a large volary on the King's side, and the Countess of Castlemaine had one. Queen Catherine also kept birds in her bedchamber.**

Hall. Descending at the Great Gate of the Court, I brought him . . . through the darke passage from the Sermon Court to the Councell Chamber on the late Queen's side" (13th April, 1625); (iii) "The three Commissioners from the States had publick Audience of his Majesty . . . they passed the old Ordinary way up the great stone Staires over the Wooden Terras to the old Councell Chamber (then restored to the Ancient use upon the Queens use of the other for her Presence Chamber" (23rd June, 1625). (*Finetti Philoxenis*, pp. 104, 145, 156.)

* "Order that during the sitting of Council, no person be permitted to stay in the great room at the lower end of the Council Chamber, commonly known as the Queens Guard Chamber." (P.R.O., S.P. 18/15, No. 15—24th February, 1650–1.)

† "Thence to White Hall, where I carried my wife to see the Queen in her presence chamber; and the maydes of honour and the young Duke of Monmouth playing at cards. Some of them, and but a few, were very pretty; though all well dressed in velvet gowns."

‡ "I received the Ambassador [of Venice] at the Court Gate, conducted him through the Preaching Court along the long darke winding Entrey up to the Queenes Guard Chamber, and into the Chappell Chamber next it." (*Finetti Philoxenis*, p. 156—22nd June, 1625.)

§ "Charges in making a new Clossett for the Queene over ye Sheild Gallery," July, 1664; "making a fret ceiling in the Queenes new Closset over the Sheild Gallery," Septr & Octr., 1664. (B.M. Harl. MS. 1618.)

‖ "Charges of Building severall new Roomes for the Queenes Ma^{tie} by the Privie Staires at Whitehall in the moneths of September, October, and November, 1668— . . . Working and setting xlviij foot of Portland Stone in the Old Stone wall next the Thames for Trusses to sett the new Brickworke uppon at the Queenes new building by the Privie staires and making good a Breach in the Stone wall on the other side of the said staires next to Mr. Chiffinch dore (P.R.O., Works, 5/11); "Charges in finishing the Queenes Bathing Roome and outer Roomes belonging to the same in the Moneths of September, October, November, & December, 1669— . . . Workeing up the outside and bottome of the Marble Tubb in the Queenes Bathingroome with flanders Brickes & tarras morter round ye said tubb . . . sothering the pipes to the Pumpe that brings the water from the Thames to the Cisterne belonging to the Queenes Bathing roome & laying the Pipes to the bathing tubb there, layeing the wast pipe to carry the water out of the said tubb." (*Ibid.*, 5/13.)

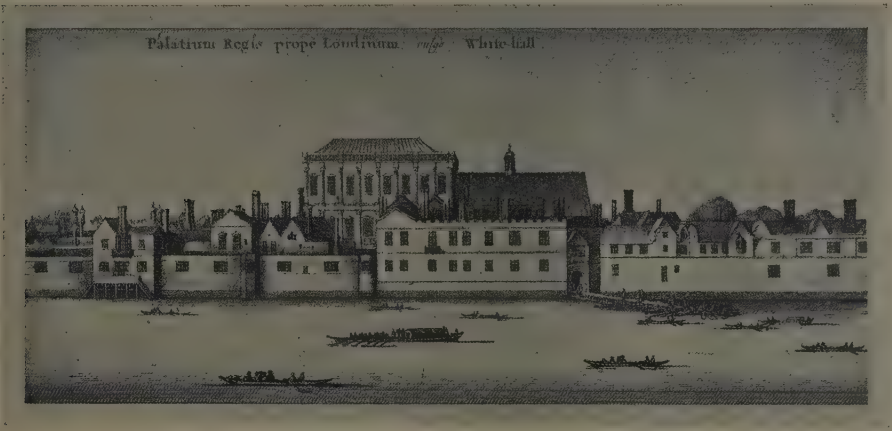
While Catherine of Braganza had thus the luxury of a "marble tubb," her predecessor, Anne of Denmark, seems to have had only a wooden one: "Joiners ymploied . . . mending a bathing tubb for the Queene." (B.M. Harl. MS. 1653, f. 13—A^{o} 1614.)

¶ "Makeing a ladder to goe to ye Queenes volary x foo^{t} long . . . makeing 3 perches in ye Queenes volary over ye privie staires, and making a box of whole deale 2 foot 5 inches long, 8 inches broad to putt meate in for ye birds." (P.R.O., Works, 5/24—Decr., 1674.)

** "For two hooks & two rods wth Brass pullies to hang bird cages on in ye Queens bedcham^{br}." (*Ibid.*, 5/15—Jany., 1670–1.)

The Queen's Chapel is mentioned on several occasions. On 22nd March, 1667–8, Pepys, after visiting the Chapel Royal, where he heard "a very plain sermon," went to the Queen's chapel "and there did hear the Italians sing."

In 1685–7 new lodgings were built for the Queen by the privy gallery (see p. 102), and those on the river front were otherwise used, but on 8th February, 1687–8, an order was given* to Wren "that you forthwith pull downe the Queens Ma^{tes} Privy Lodgeings which are next the waterside in Whitehall, and that you erect a New Building in that place, according to the Draught and designe you have shewed unto the King and Queenes Ma^{ts} which they have approved of. And that you give notice to such persons who are to remove out of theire Lodgeings, that they do not take away Chimney peices, Wainscott, or partitions which are in theire respective Lodgeings."


Palatium Regis prope Londinum. vulgo White-hall

Hollar's View of Whitehall from the River, showing the Queen's Old Lodgings Next to the Privy Stairs.

In the collection of Wren's drawings preserved in the library of All Souls' College are two sketches of designs for the river frontage of "ye Drawing room Whitehall" (Plate 8). The King's withdrawing room was not on the river front, and the designs (probably alternative designs) must have been for the Queen's lodgings. The length of the frontage of the second design (85 feet 8 inches) almost exactly corresponds with that shown for the Queen's apartments in Wren's design (Plate 9) for Queen Mary's Terrace, and the design itself shows a remarkable similarity to the building shown in precisely the right position in the view of 1695-8 (Plate 5). Either that design or one very similar was evidently the one approved by the

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* P.R.O., L.C. 5/148, p. 112.

King and Queen. The work of rebuilding proceeded until after March, 1689, and was therefore not completed before the arrival of William and Mary.

The plan of 1670 shows the ground floor of the Queen's apartments occupied by the Lady Arlington, Father Patrick, Sir William Killigrew, Sir Francis Clinton* and Dr. Frazier.

Lady Arlington's lodgings are referred to in 1676 and 1679.† They seem to have been quite distinct from "the Lord Arlingtons new lodgings next y^e^ thamis "‡ mentioned in 1670, which must, however, have been in the same neighbourhood. The latter were at the Revolution transferred to the Duke of Grafton,§ who had in 1672 married Arlington's only daughter Isabella, "a sweet child if ever there was any."‖ The duke died in 1690, and his widow was soon after given some additional rooms close to the Privy Stairs.¶

The list of Whitehall lodgings drawn up in 1691 describes the duchess's apartments as "8 little roomes towards the water side and 2 over against the door for servants: her Father built them." The duchess's lodgings (thus equated for the most part with "Lord Arlington's new lodgings") were immediately north of the Privy Stairs,** and it would be a natural assumption that they occupied the site of Sir William Killigrew's lodgings as shown on the plan of 1670, were it not for the fact that Lady Killigrew seems to have been residing in much the same situation in 1682.††

Sir Alexander Frazier was chief physician to the King. He had left these lodgings by October, 1678,‡‡ to occupy a house in Green Cloth Yard on a site granted to him in the previous year.

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* He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Killigrew.

† "Carrying of old stones taken out of a window at ye Countess of Arlingtons lodgings next ye Thames" (P.R.O., Works, 5/27); "cleareing ye Leads . . . Over ye Countiss of Arlingtons Lodg' Next the Thames." (*Ibid.*, 5/32.)

‡ P.R.O., Works, 5/15, April, 1670.

§ "These are to require you to deliver the possession of the Lodgings on y^e^ Waterside wherein y^e^ Earle of Arlington, late Lord Chamberlayne lived, unto his Grace the Duke of Grafton." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/147, p. 70, 26th December, 1685.)

‖ Evelyn's *Diary*, 1st August, 1672.

¶ "These are to require you to lend the roome on the left hand the privy staires in Whitehall unto Her Grace the Dutchesse of Grafton"; "these are to require you to deliver the Keyes of the two little roomes at the Privy Stayres in Whitehall which are now empty . . . for the Service of The Dutchesse of Grafton." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/150, pp. 173, 178, 11th and 12th November, 1690.)

** See description of Queen Mary's Terrace (p. 59, footnote *) as extending southwards "depuis l'apartment de la duchesse de Grafton."

†† Killigrew's lodgings were obviously close to the Queen's apartments: "lathing and plaistering up the Queenes kitchin windows next Sir William Killigrews yard," October, 1668 (P.R.O., Works, 5/11). In July, 1682, in connection with the reconstruction of the back stairs to the Queen's bed chamber, it was ordered that "you take downe the Lady Killigrewes Entry or passage into her lodgings" (P.R.O., L.C. 5/144, p. 275). The position of Killigrew's lodgings in close proximity to those of the Queen is no doubt explained by the fact that he was her vice-chamberlain.

‡‡ "Paveing over a pipe of Lead layed in ye Passage betwixt S^r^ Alexander Fraysers New Lodg' & ye Barbers shopp." (P.R.O., Works, 5/31—Oct., 1678.)

Father Patrick was sub-almoner to Queen Catherine. He got into trouble about these lodgings. He had apparently carried out certain repairs without obtaining sanction, and then applied for the cost to be refunded. The King " remitted . . . the irregularity " and ordered the charge to be allowed.*

The Shield Gallery.

There are several references which show that the Shield Gallery was close to the Privy Stairs,† and it seems probable that it ran east and west over the passage leading to those stairs.‡

The gallery took its name from the circumstance that the shields offered on the occasion of tournaments in the Tilt Yard were hung there. Von Wedel in 1584 says :§ " We were taken into a long passage across the water, which on both sides is beautifully decorated with shields and mottoes.|| These shields originate from tournaments which the queen orders to be held twice a year, the first on her birthday, the second when she ascended the throne. Everybody who wishes to take part must ask permission ; this being granted, he offers the shield to the queen, who orders it to be hung up there. In this passage the queen has secret [? private] doors to the river if she wishes to take a trip on the water."

The position of the gallery made it a natural place for viewing arrivals at or departures from the Privy Stairs. On the arrival of Queen Henrietta Maria in 1625 we are told :¶ " Their landing was at the Privy Staires of Whitehall, where in the Sheild Gallery stood on each side ranged those Ladies of quality and beauty, that had not yet seen the Queen."

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* P.R.O., E. 351/3279 (1665–6).

† " The dore at ye foote of the stayres leading out of the Shield Gallery to ye Privy Stayres at ye waterside " (P.R.O., L.C. 5/132 p. 81—January, 1628–9) ; " mending a paire of balcony doores in ye shield gallery over ye privie staires " (P.R.O., Works, 5/3—July, 1662) ; " hanging up a great looking glass in ye Closset wthin the Shield Gallery next ye privie staires " (*Ibid.*, 5/4—July, 1663) ; " framing a little window wth 2 lights and pannells under them in the room at the End of the shield gallery next the Thames." (*Ibid.*, 5/7—May, 1665.)

‡ The gallery was right over the Privy Stairs (" Shield Gallery : the roome at the end thereof over the Privy Staires," P.R.O., E. 351/3281, 1667–8), and it seems impossible for it to have run north and south owing to the leads in front of the Queen's apartments on the one side and the presence of the Volary Court on the other. The " passage " referred to in a warrant dated 7th November, 1637, for making " a shedd divided into two in ye Court and abutting on the passage under the Shield Gallery at Whitehall, one of them for Madam Vantlett & the other for Jeoffry the Queenes dwarf " (P.R.O., L.C. 5/134, p. 206), would then be the passage leading to the Privy Stairs.

§ *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, 2nd Ser., IX, p. 236.

|| A description of " certayne devises and empresaes taken by the scucheons in the Gallery at Whitehall ; 19 Martii 1601 " is given in *John Manningham's Diary*, Camden Socy., p. 3.

¶ *Finetti Philoxenis*, p. 154.

THE KING'S LODGINGS.

From the Private Oratory a short passage led to the Privy Chamber,* from which doors gave admittance into the Lords' Room and the Vane Room, both of which had entrances into the Privy Gallery.† There was in 1682 a passage from the Vane Room "towards the new withdrawing roome." The position of other rooms in the privy lodgings before Charles II's rebuilding is not certain.

Close to the riverside,‡ and south of the Privy Stairs, was a garden called the Volary Garden, from the fact that the King's aviary was kept there. The open space shown in the plan of 1670, in front of the lodgings of the maids of honour was a part of this garden,§ which from the account of the building works undertaken in 1667–8 certainly included also what was afterwards known as the Square Court, or Volary Court, next to the Privy Stairs. Originally therefore it was about 140 feet long, and, in the absence of information as to any other garden at Whitehall save the Privy Garden, in the time of Charles I, it is almost certainly to be identified with "the King's little garden,"‖ which was the scene of the following incident told by the Baroness D'Aulnoy.¶ Mary Villiers, daughter of the 1st Duke of Buckingham, was married, when not yet eleven, to Charles, Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Pembroke. Her husband died very shortly after, so that she was still a child when she appeared at Court in her widow's weeds. "It happened one day that, in order to pick fruit, she had climbed a tree in *the King's little garden*, where no one had a right to enter. She was attired in a long, black dress & a black veil that entirely covered her." The Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles II) saw her from a distance, and "could not imagine what sort of bird it was, for her veil, stretched over the branches of the tree, resembled large wings. Knowing how well he shot, the Prince called to George Porter, telling him to go & kill the big bird that he saw in the tree." When Porter "approached the tree & recognised the little Countess of Pembroke,* he had a difficulty in hiding his amusement. At first she stared at him, & then with childish laughter commenced to pelt him with fruit." An explanation followed in which Porter told her he had come to kill the bird and take back its feathers to the Prince. "You must keep your word," she said, "and we will play the merriest game on him. That he may be the better deceived I will conceal myself in a basket with a cover; this can be carried to him. . . . When they arrived he presented the Prince with the basket, saying that it had been his good fortune to take the butterfly alive, & that he would sooner have died than have killed it,—it was so beautiful. The Prince . . . promptly raised the lid, & had the agreeable surprise of the young lady flinging her arms round his neck. . . . After that day she was never called anything else but the *Papillon*."

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* That voices in the Privy Chamber could be heard in the Oratory is shown by the following: "A certaine Irish Earle talking lowd in the Privie Chamber whilest the King was at service in the closet next adjoining; his Ma^{tie} with some indignation sent unto him to leave his prating & to come to prayers; whereto the Earle answered that his Ma^{tie} knew well enough Hee did not use to come to his prayers: to which answer his Ma^{tie} replyed; If he will not come to my prayers, lett him gett him out of my house: whereupon the Earle for that time with much greife quitted the place." (Letter from Joseph Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville, 6th May, 1625.) (B.M. Harl. MS. 389, f. 436.)

† In a list of locks and bolts requisitioned in November, 1682, are: "one house lock on ye doore goeing out of ye privy chamber into ye Lords roome, one house lock on the doore goeing out of the Lords roome into ye Privy Gallery . . . one house lock on ye doore out of ye fane roome into the End of the Gallery" (P.R.O., L.C. 5/144, p. 309); and in P.R.O., L.C. 5/165 is a reference to "the passage betweene the Fane roome and Privy Chamber."

‡ "Taking downe part of a wall next the thamis by the vollery." (P.R.O., Works, 5/10, September, 1667.)

§ "Laying 174 foote of purbeck paveing stone in the Vollery Garden before the Maids of Honor^{s} lodgings." (P.R.O., Works, 5/9, July, 1666.)

‖ It is probably the same as "the little garden towardes the Thames" for which "a paire of newe stayres" was made in 1598–9. (P.R.O., E. 351/3234.)

¶ *Memoirs of the Court of England* (ed. G. D. Gilbert, 1913), pp. 230–2.

Some building works in the Volary Garden were carried out in 1663,† as also in the Turks Gallery. The exact position of this gallery is uncertain, but one end of it lay between the Privy Gallery and the Privy Stairs,‡ and it ran close by the Countess of Suffolk's lodgings§ shown in the plan of 1670. The works here included the construction of a new bedchamber for the King and a little bedchamber for the Queen.‖ In 1667 the scope of these building operations was much extended. The volary itself was removed and set up in St. James's Park,¶ and the remainder of the Turks Gallery was demolished.** The exact site of the new buildings is difficult to define. Some, however, were close to the river.†† Included in the work was "rubbing and working fower Bases of Portland stone for the setting of Figures on the Square Court at the Vollery Building . . . Working, rubbing and setting five Pedestalls with three Capitalls in the said Court, and setting five Figures thereon."‡‡ These five pedestals are shown in the plan of 1670. Some of the buildings at any rate were three storeys high,* and on the whole it seems probable that the buildings included those on the north and south sides of the Square Court, shown in the left-hand portion of Morden and Lea's View of Whitehall in 1682, here reproduced. The King's little bedchamber seems to have been at the end of these buildings by the waterside. The new rooms were not, however, all in this quarter, for they included a new withdrawing room which lay nearer the Privy Gallery.†

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* This is a mistake: her husband was never earl.

† "Joysting & bourding a flatforme over ye new roomes in the vollery garden, & bourding & joysting a grownd floore in one of ye said roomes, all Cont' 6 squares & 20 fo^{t}." (P.R.O., Works, 5/4, September, 1663.)

‡ "Putting on two battins uppon a doore goeing out of ye turks gallery downe to ye privie staires" (P.R.O., Works, 5/9, May, 1666); "frameing & putting up a twolight window over the new passage betweene the privie gallery & the turks gallery." (*Ibid.*, 5/3, June, 1662.)

§ "Bourding with Slitt deale part of a partition wall betwixt the Countesse of Suffolks bedchamber and the turks gallery." (P.R.O., Works, 5/10, June, 1667.)

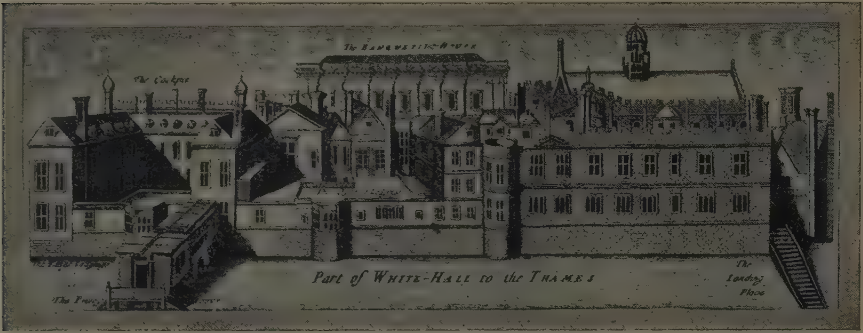
‖ "Mending a doore goeing into the Kings new bedchamber in ye turks gallery" (P.R.O., Works, 5/4, January, 1663–4); "altering the Queenes little bedchamber and the roomes adioyning which were lately made in the turks gallery." (*Ibid.*, 5/10, May, 1667.)

¶ "Altering the frame of the vollery, & setting it up at Mr. Mayes howse in ye Park." (P.R.O., Works, 5/10, May, 1667.)

** "Vollery Garden, June, 1667. Charges in building new lodgeing[s] there and pulling downe the Turkes gallery for the building of new lodgings there." (P.R.O., Works, 5/10.)

†† "The new building at the Vollery, September 1667 . . . Soyleing of 9 windows in the new building next Thames"; "Volary, October, 1667 . . . covering with old matts the floores of three ground roomes in the rang of building next the Thames." (*Ibid.*)

‡‡ *Ibid.*, 5/11, June and August, 1668.



The King's new laboratory was in the new buildings,‡ as was also the Library,§ of which Evelyn has left a full account.|| From the court a grand staircase led to the lodgings above.¶

The buildings were finished by the middle of 1668.**

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* "Lessening three Chimneyes in the Roomes of the *middle* storie at the new Building in the Vollery." (P.R.O., Works, 5/11, April, 1668.)

† "Making ij Chimney circular Jawmbes in the new building at the Vollery, the one in his Ma^{ts} little Bed Chamber and the other in ye withdrawing roome there with a border of Counterfeit Marble." (P.R.O., E. 351/3285, 1671–2.) "My Lord Chamberlain . . . conducted him [the Prince of Newburg, May, 1675] to the King in his little Bedchamber by the waterside . . . When he took his leave his Majesty himself brought him through the private eating room into the Queen's Bed Chamber . . . He went out by the other door, through the withdrawing Room, and was brought by my Lord Chamberlain through the Gallery to the stairs of the Park." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/2, p. 76.)

‡ "Makeing a Cisterne in the Kings Labouratorie at the Vollary lodgeings" (*Ibid.*, 5/13, March, 1668–9); "laying 132 fo^{t} of new purbeck paveing stone in ye new roome by the Kings Labouratory at ye Vollery new lodgings." (*Ibid.*, 5/15, April, 1670.) For the older laboratory see p. 100.

§ "Laying three 22-inch marble Stones for a footpace in the Library in the Ks Vollary Lodgings." (P.R.O., Works, 5/44, July, 1690.)

|| *Diary*, 2nd September, 1680. Henry VIII's library was probably in the Privy Gallery: "Dore Entryng into the Kinges librarye oute of his dressing Chaumbre." (P.R.O., E. 36/251, p. 106.) A new library was built in 1612–13 ("makeing a new Library for the Kinge" (P.R.O., E. 351/3247), but there is no clue as to its position.

¶ "Painting . . . the Railes and Ballisters of the new Staires by the Vollery Court goeing up to the Privy Lodgings" (P.R.O., E. 351/3283); "two shutters of wainscot for a window uppon ye Great staires goeing up to ye vollery building." (P.R.O., Works, 5/15, August, 1670.)

** "This morning Mr. May shewed me the King's new buildings at White Hall, very fine; and among other things, his ceilings, and his houses of office." (Pepys' *Diary*, 29th June, 1668.)

The lodgings of the Countess of Suffolk and of Lord Gerard, both adjoining the Volary Garden,* were next taken in hand. These alterations, which included the building of several new rooms, were effected in 1671.† From a later reference it would appear that certain of the new rooms were for the Queen.‡

For ten years no further works of any extent were carried out in this quarter, but in 1682 fresh operations were begun. Maurice Emmett on 10th March in that year entered into a contract "to pull downe all Tyleing, Brickwalls & Stone Walls w^{ch} have beene directed to be pulled downe in ye Volery lodgings, the lodgings of ye Countess of Suffolkes and ye Kings backstaires and ye low Roomes and partes of lodgings adjoyning . . . for the makeing . . . and finishing one pile of building for his Ma^{ty} in Whitehall in the roome of the aforesaid lodgings according to a Designe . . . Drawne . . . by S^{r} Christopher Wren."§ Elsewhere we are informed that the buildings taken down were "his Ma^{ts} old building between his Withdrawing roome and his new Lodgings towards the Thames."|| Having regard to the position of the withdrawing room which lay (p. 97) immediately to the east of the Vane Room, the new rooms would seem to have been situated principally on the western side of the Volary Court. From the account of carver's work¶ done in "the King's new Building" in September, 1682, it appears that the rooms comprised chiefly the great ante-room, the little ante-room, the King's bedchamber (which had thus been rebuilt), the King's eating room and the Queen's lobby. The relative positions of these rooms were, from south to north: bedchamber, ante-room,** eating room. The ante-

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* For their position see the plan of 1670. Also (i) "making a buttress at ye Countess of Suffolks lodgings by the Vollery" (P.R.O., Works, 5/9, July, 1666), and (ii) "peecing a small pipe at the Ld. Gerreards lodgings by ye Vollery Garden." (*Ibid.*, 5/10, April, 1667.)

† *Ibid.*, 5/17 for details of work for June-December, 1671, and "building severall new Roomes at the Countesse of Suffolks and the Lord Gerrards Lodgings in Whitehall." (P.R.O., E. 351/3285, 1671–2.)

‡ "Workeing up a new Jamb for a Chimney at ye Queenes New Lodgings Late ye Lady Suffolks." (P.R.O., Works, 5/33, September, 1681.)

§ P.R.O., Works, 5/145, p. 127. See also the following item from *The True Protestant Mercury* for 15th-18th March, 1681–2: "We are informed that his Royal Highness will come to *London*, to the Feast of the Artillery Company, and that his Majesty will come with him, and that during his stay, his Majesty will keep his Court at *Sommerset* House, his Lodgings at *Whitehall* being already pulled down, in order to their being re-built." A further reference occurs in *The Loyal Protestant* for 18th April, 1682: "This day [13th April] His Excellency the Embassador from the Emperour of *Fez* and *Morocco*, with all his Attendants, came hither, to view every particular place hereof, but more especially the frame, and manner of the building his Majesty's new Lodgings here; of which His Excellency made particular Observations and Remarques."

|| P.R.O., Works, 5/33.

¶ *Ibid.*, 5/35.

** "These are to signifie unto you His Ma^{tes} Pleasure that you Bargaine for & buy of Mr Francis Poyntz His Ma^{ts} yeoman Arras maker Three peeces of Hangings of the Story of Don Quixott conteyning in all One hundred & five Ells for the Anteroome to His Ma^{ts} new Bed Chamber at Whitehall." 15th Jan., 1682–3 (P.R.O., L.C. 5/121).

room was entered from the withdrawing room, and the eating room communicated with the Queen's side.*

The withdrawing room seems to have been on the north side of the little court shown in the plan of 1670 between the Countess of Suffolk's lodgings and the Queen's Wardrobe.†

The King's old bedchamber had faced the Privy Garden (see p. 97), but he had left this in 1663–4 for a room in the Turks Gallery. The latter was among the buildings pulled down in 1682, when the King removed temporarily to the Duke of York's sleeping apartment.‡ The new room was ready later in the year,§ and a document of August, 1682,|| contains orders for furniture to be provided for the bedchamber. It includes the provision of "Cushions for ye Doggs" in that room,¶ and also mentions "the Roome within the Kings Bed Chamber." This was the scene of the famous interview which the bishops had with James II, when they presented to him their protest against the reading in the churches of the proclamation of indulgence.**

The exact position of the King's back stairs has not been found.

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* The requisition for locks in November, 1682, includes: "A house lock on ye doore goeing out of ye New withdrawing roome into ye Ante roome next the Bed Chamber. A house lock on ye doore out of ye Ante roome into ye Eating roome. A house lock & bolts on the doore at ye stayres head coming into the Marble Passage of the Eateing roome. An Ordinary lock on ye doore of ye little roome in ye Marble Passage. On the doore goeing out of ye Eateing roome into ye Queenes side." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/144, p. 309.)

† "These are to pray and require you to make some grate or Lattice of Wood for the Arches in ye Little Court on ye South Side His Ma^{ts} New withdrawing roome to keepe people from goeing within that Court, to make it an Annoyance to ye King's lodging, that soe the same may be kept cleane, & something sett to grow there." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/144, p. 333, 3rd Jan., 1682–3.) The room adjoined the Vane Room: "the great Withdrawing Room next to the Room commonly called the Fane Room" (B.M. Stowe MS. 563—A°. 1689).

‡ "Easing the shass windows in the Dukes bedchamber where the King lyes." (P.R.O., Works, 5/35, June, 1682.)

§ The regulations respecting the new bedchamber seem to have caused comment. "There, is another thing w^{ch} is now as much talked on: the new orders ab^{t} ye bedchamber, since the K^{g} is come into these new lodgings. No body except ye Duke, L^{d} Ormond, and I think Hallifax, the 2 Secretarys of England, and ye Secretaries of Scotland are to come into ye bedchamber wthout leave first asked; nor are they to ask leave, if the King be in the clossett. None under degree of nobleman or privy councellor may ask leave at all, unlesse he says he has buisnes wth ye King." (Letter of Sir Charles Lyttelton, dated 30th January, 1682–3, in *Hatton Correspondence* (Camden Soc.).

|| P.R.O., L.C. 5/144, p. 235.

¶ An interesting reference to Charles's pet dogs is contained in an order, dated 21st August, 1683, to provide "a Skreene of Wire, with the Frame of Walnut tree sutable to chaires, for His Ma^{ties} new Bedchamber, to preserve the Bed from being spoyled by the Doggs." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/121.)

** "The King took them into the room within the bed-chamber: when he read the petition he was angry, and said, he did not expect such a petition from them." (*Diary of Henry, Earl of Clarendon*, 1687–90.)

They were, however, close to the Countess of Suffolk's lodgings,* and their entrance was from the Stone Gallery.†

Next to the Privy Stairs the plan of 1670 shows the lodgings of "Mr. Chiffinch."‡ The two brothers of this name, Thomas and William, successively held the position of closet keeper to Charles II, and William, who succeeded in April, 1666, gained a most unenviable reputation.§ When Monmouth, after the battle of Sedgemoor, was brought to London, he was kept for a short time at Chiffinch's lodgings, and it was here that James II granted him that interview on which Macaulay commented in scathing terms.

Reference has already been made to the lodgings of the maids of honour at the southern end of the Volary Garden. Allusions to the rooms of two of the ladies have been found among the records. In November, 1662, is an item of "making a painthowse over a doore at M^ris^ Wells Lodging in ye vollery garden,"|| and there are several references to Miss Stuart's lodgings.¶ The records for 1664 also contain an item: "Setting up two posts and a length of raile and pallisado pales Cross ye Garden [the Volary Garden] before M^r^. Stewards lodgings."** The presence of a Mr. Steward in what must have been the lodgings of the maids of honour presents difficulties, and it seems likely that "M^r^." is a mistake for "M^ris^." If so, the palings are those shown in the Volary Garden in the plan of 1670, and the reference suggests that her apartments were about the middle of the south end of the garden. In that case, however, it would appear that certain details in Grammont's story of the surprise discovery by Charles II of the Duke of Richmond in her bedroom require revision, as her room could not have been so near the waterside as that account implies.††

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* "Countesse of Suffolke att Whitehall, November, 1671 . . . laying a little flatforme of lead in ye little yard by ye Kings backstaires." (P.R.O., Works, 5/17.)

† "I do hereby order that no Footmen be permitted to go up the Back staires to His Ma^ties^ Lodgeings with Flambeaux, that ye staires be not blanckened, and that they do not upon any pretence whatsoever go further than the Bottome of these stayres but remaine in the Stone Gallery, that so the stayres nor ye Gallery above be not crouded by them, to the great hindrance of all persons of Quality, who have occasion to come that way to attend his Ma^ty^. 2nd April, 1687." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/147, p. 310.)

‡ "Peecing & sotharing the leads over Mr. Chiffinch his lodgings by ye privie staires." (P.R.O., Works, 5/9, February, 1666–7.)

§ Incidents such as the fictitious one related in Scott's *Peveril of the Peak* seem not to have been few.

> "It happen'd, in the twy-light of the day,
> As England's monarch in his closet lay,
> And Chiffinch step'd to fetch the female-prey . . ."
> (*Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Ghost.*)

|| P.R.O., Works, 5/3. Winifred Wells figures in the Grammont Memoirs, and is the subject of a scandalous story told by Pepys.

¶ *e.g.* "laying three foundations of Bricke at Maddam Stewards Lodḡs to bear the ground joysts there." (*Ibid.*, 5/5, Decr., 1664.)

** *Ibid.*, 5/5, April, 1664.

†† "The first transports which rage inspires on such occasions are dangerous: Miss Stewart's window was very convenient for a sudden revenge, the Thames flowing close beneath it: he [the Duke] cast his eyes upon it, and seeing those of the king more inflamed with indignation, than he thought his nature capable of, he made a profound bow, and retired."

The Prince's Lodgings, etc.

Beyond the apartments of the maids of honour the plan of 1670 shows those of the Earl of Bath, the Duke of York, Lord Peterborough and Mrs. Kirke. The Duke of York's lodgings comprised the suite known as "the Prince's Lodgings."*

On his arrival in London on 3rd February, 1659–60, General Monck had the Prince's Lodgings assigned to him,† and on the Restoration James, Duke of York, took up his residence there. Extensive works were carried out to the lodgings in 1664–6, including the heightening of some.‡

When in 1677 the Prince of Orange came to England to marry Mary, elder daughter of the Duke of York, the latter's lodgings were put at his disposal,§ and again in 1683, when Prince George of Denmark came to wed the Lady Anne, a part of the same lodgings was prepared for him.‖ The King had himself occupied the lodgings in the previous year while the erection of his new apartments was in progress.¶ After the accession of James II some of the principal rooms were used for the accommodation of Father Petre, the King's confessor.** At the Revolution the lodgings, including others which had been more or less intermixed with them, were divided. To Richard Hampden†† were given "all the roomes and garetts over the Dukes and Dutchesse Apartment wherein the Earle of Peterburgh and Colonel Werden* heretofore dwelt, and the Kitchen which formerly Mr. Graham made use of, and the two little roomes over against it, and the Dukes lodge and the roome next and shed adioyning to it." The Earl of Dorset received " the ground roomes on the left hand which has a Bow Window in the Stone passage next the Waterside in the Lodgings called the Dukes Lodgings in Whitehall, wherein Coll. Worden Servants lately was." The Earl of Devonshire's share comprised " these roomes followinge in the Lodgeings heretofore called the Princes or Dukes Lodgings in Whitehall, vizt., the roomes on the Waterside on the floore even with the Gallery, and the roomes overhead wherein the Lord Dunmore and Coll. Worden lately were, and alsoe all ye ground roomes on the ground floore with the kitching and offices belonging to ye Dukes lodgeings, excepting onely the roome called the Dukes Anteroome where He used to eate, and the Bedchamber and Clossett which the Duke had wherein lately Mr. Petrie [Father Petre] Lodged." The rooms given to the Earl of Mulgrave are only specified as " the lodgings in Whitehall called the Duke and Duches Lodgings with the roomes above and under those lodgings, with one of the kitchins belonging."† From what has gone before it is evident that Mulgrave could only have obtained a portion of the lodgings. His rooms were afterwards given to the Earl of Portland, and as the latter's original property took in only a very few of the rooms marked as the Duke of York's on the plan of 1670, while it contained all those ascribed to the Earl of Bath and extended northwards as far as the southern side of the Volary Garden, it is open to conjecture that the upper floors occupied by the Duke of York were much more extensive than his rooms on the ground floor. Some support is given to this theory by the statement that his closet adjoined the volary.‡

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* See *e.g.*, "Repaires to be forthwith made in the lodgings & apartment now belonging to his Royall Highnes the Duke of York at Whitehall called the Princes Lodgings" (T. Warrant Bk., Early, v 133—18th June, 1664); "the Lodgeings heretofore called the Princes or Dukes Lodgeings in Whitehall." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/149, 12th March, 1688–9.)

† Skinner's *Life of General Monk*, p. 222; Gumble's *Life of General Monk*, p. 228.

‡ "Duke of Yorks Lodgings, July, 1664." "Charges in Building Part of the Lodgings one story higher." (B.M. Harl. MS. 1618.)

§ "These are to require you to give Order to ye officers of his Ma$^{\text{ties}}$ Removeing Wardrobe of Bedds to furnish ye Lodgings of his Royall Highnesse ye Duke of Yorke at Whitehall (which he hath lent for ye use of his Highnesse ye Prince of Orange) with all things necessary for his reception . . . 10th October, 1677." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/142, p. 125.)

‖ "These are to require you to furnish That part of His Royall Highnesse Lodgings in Whitehall that is next the Waterside for the Reception of His Highnesse Prince George of Denmarke, & that you put up the Kings figured velvett Bedd which you will receive from the Standing Wardrobe at Whitehall for this Service, and then to be returned againe . . . 6 day of June, 1683." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/144, p. 422.)

¶ "His majestie is at Whitehall, in the lodgings of the duke of York, his own being building up; and the duke of York is at St. James's." (Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, 8th April, 1682.)

** "These are to require you to marke these roomes following for Mr. Peters w$^{\text{ch}}$ are in ye Lodgings wherein His Ma$^{\text{tie}}$ first lodged (vizt.) the Kings Presence Chamber, Bedchamber & Clossett, the Queenes Clossett & Oratory . . . 5th October, 1686" (P.R.O., L.C. 5/147, p. 184); "The father received me with great respect (and I do not remember I ever was but that time at his lodgings in Court—those the King had when Duke of York)" (*Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury*, ed. Buckley, I, p. 129); "The Jesuit Jack Peters is very great and Tyr— works by him. This High-Priest has the lodgings in Whitehall which were the King's whilst Duke." (Ellis' *Letters*, 2nd Ser. IV, p. 100—30th November, 1686.)

†† Son of John Hampden, the patriot. At the Revolution he was made Privy Councillor, and Commissioner of the Treasury. In the following year he became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In addition to the various rooms in the Duke of York's lodgings already mentioned, references have been found to the Guard Chamber, " ye Duchesse of Yorkes bedchamber and withdrawing roome next ye Thames," " Lord Barclays Lodgings," Madam Cranmore's lodgings, Madam Howard's lodgings, and Secretary Coventry's lodgings.

Between the Duke of York's Lodgings and the Bowling Green the plan of 1670 shows the rooms of " Mrs. Kirk." This was Mary, wife (or more probably widow) of George Kirke, who had been appointed housekeeper of Whitehall in 1663. References to portions of the Duke of York's lodgings adjoining those of the housekeeper occur occasionally.§

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* Robert Werden or Worden, was in 1679 appointed comptroller of the Duke of York's household.

† P.R.O., L.C. 5/149, pp. 156, 149; and 5/148, p. 359.

‡ " Lathing and plaistering the sceeling in a passage by the Vollery under ye Duke of Yorkes closet." (P.R.O., Works, 5/1, September, 1660.)

§ *e.g.*, " Duke of Yorkes Lodgs in Whitehall, August, 1664 . . . cutting way through the brickwall for two doorewayes next Mr. Kirk's the Housekeeper." (B.M. Harl. MS. 1618.)

The Stone Gallery.

The Stone Gallery is shown in the plan of 1670[*] as a ground-floor gallery extending from the Privy Gallery to the Bowling Green. It is frequently referred to in the accounts for the building of Whitehall[†] as the low gallery. On the occasion of the visit of the Duc de Montmorency in 1559 a banquet was provided in the Privy Garden, "under the long and wide gallery on the ground floor (galeria terena)." The gallery, we are told,[‡] "was all hung with gold and silver brocade and divided into three apartments, in the centre of which was the table prepared for her Majesty, and at a short distance from it another for the ambassadors. There was also a table 54 paces in length for the other lords, gentlemen and ladies. The whole gallery was closed in with wreaths of flowers and leaves of most beautiful designs, which gave a very sweet odour and were marvellous to behold, having been prepared in less than two evenings, so as to keep them fresh."[§]

During the latter part of the gallery's existence, it seems to have been partially adapted for other purposes.[||] It was burnt down in the Fire of 1691.

The Long Gallery and the Matted Gallery.

The term "long gallery" in some cases undoubtedly refers to the Privy Gallery,[¶] but in many instances is applied to quite a different building. Thus Vanderdoort, in his catalogue of Charles I's pictures, after detailing those "in the Privy Gallery at Whitehall," mentions in order those

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[*] The version of this in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries calls the gallery "the paved-Stone Gallery."

[†] P.R.O., E. 36/251–2.

[‡] *Cal. of S.P., Venetian*, 1558–80, No. 77.

[§] An interesting detail in connection with the seating accommodation is that at the large table the ladies "of whom there were no small number," took up so much space "on account of the farthingales they wore that there was not room for all; so part of the Privy Chamber ate on the ground on the rushes, being excellently served by lords and cavaliers, who gave them courage and company at their repast."

[||] "Mending of a Stone Jaume of a doore at the L^{d} Mandevills lodging in the stone gallery" (P.R.O., Works, 5/2—Jany., 1661–2); "Washing, Stopping & Whiteing 4 Ceillings at ye Countess of Southamptons Lodg' in ye Stone Gallerey" (*Ibid*., 5/31, March, 1678–9); "adorning the right hon^{ble} the Earl of Mulgraves late lodgings in the stone gallery at Whitehall" (P.R.O., T. 1/2, No. 5—1685); "my Lady Plimouths in the Stone Gallery" (P.R.O., Works, 5/45—1691); "and the list of lodgings in 1691 refers to certain of those of the Master of the Robes and of the Earl of Portland "in the Stone Gallery." See also: "On Monday morning last was found broke open Sir *John Worden's* [son of Col. Worden or Werden, see p. 81] Lodgings, one of the principal Servants to his Royal Highness the Duke of *York, in the Stone Gallery in Whitehall* from whence was taken much Linnen, and other things, to a considerable value. There was a Sentinel always at the door, but yet it cannot be found who it was, though great Enquiry has been made amongst the Corporals, and those Soldiers that were put Sentinels there that Night." (*The Impartial Protestant Mercury*, 23rd–26th May, 1681.)

[¶] See *e.g.*, the description of the Fire of 1698 by Luttrell (*op. cit.* IV, p. 328) as having consumed "the long gallery leading to the Gatehouse."

(i) "in the King's Breakfast Chamber,"
(ii) "in the King's Bedchamber,"
(iii) "in the little room between the King's Withdrawing Room, also called the Breakfast Chamber, and in (*sic*) the Long Gallery,"
(iv) "in the King's Long Gallery towards the Orchard,"
(v) "at the lower end of the gallery beside the orchard window door."

From the above it would appear that the term "long gallery" was applied to a gallery between the King's withdrawing room (and therefore on the first floor) and the Orchard (later the Bowling Green).

From other allusions the same inference may be drawn. Thus in 1631–2 the long gallery is said to adjoin the King's withdrawing-room (afterwards the Vane Room, see p. 96) and lead to the Prince's Lodgings.[*] In 1681 two bolts were placed on "the dore going out of ye vaine roome into ye Long Gallery,"[†] and in 1687 a bow hinge was ordered "to be putt upon the doore in the Fane roome which goes towards the long Gallery."[‡] The Vane Room was on the first-floor, and the Long Gallery was therefore also on that floor. It terminated at the Bowling Green[§] from which stairs led up to it.[||] It also adjoined the lodgings of Prince Rupert, shown in the plan of 1670 on the west side of the Stone Gallery.[¶]

From both sets of allusions, therefore, it would appear that the Long Gallery occupied more or less the same position as the Stone Gallery, but on the first, not the ground, floor. It is known that the Stone Gallery had a gallery above it,[**] and the facts seem in accord with the suggestion that the latter was the Long Gallery.

That the Matted Gallery also led to the Prince's Lodgings is evident from several allusions in Pepys[††] and elsewhere,[‡‡] and, as in the case of the

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[*] "The greate longe Gallery Leading to the princes Lodgings . . . Framing and setting up one both sides of a partition at the upper end of the longe Gallery adioining to the kings wthdraweing roome l^{ty} yardes of Deale ceeling" (P.R.O., E.351/3265). It is evidently the same as the Prince's Gallery ("the kings withdrawing Chamber adioyning to the Princes gallery, *Ibid.*, 3252—1617–18).

[†] P.R.O., Works, 5/34.

[‡] P.R.O., L.C. 5/147, p. 310.

[§] "New Joysting & bourding the balcony at the End of the long gallery next the bowling greene." (P.R.O., Works, 5/3—June, 1662.)

[||] "Taking downe the Stone Staires at the End of the long gallery next the bowling greene." (*Ibid.*, 5/17, March, 1670–1.)

[¶] "Taking downe a doore in the Long Gallery going into Prince Ruports Lodgings." (*Ibid.*, 5/13, July, 1669.)

[**] See footnote † on p. 79.

[††] "He [Povy] says . . . that the Duke of York hath not got Mrs. Middleton, as I was told the other day: but says that he wants not her, for he hath others, and hath always had, and that he hath known them brought through the Matted Gallery at White Hall into his [the Duke's] closet." (*Diary*, 24th June, 1667.)

[‡‡] "Making a little mantle peece in a roome next the matted gallery at the Duke of Yorks lodgings" (P.R.O., Works, 5/4, March, 1663–4); "making Good ye olde wainscot in ye matted Gallery by ye Dutchess of Yorks new nursery." (*Ibid.*, 5/9, January, 1666–7.)

Long Gallery, it adjoined Prince Rupert's lodgings,* and a staircase led from the end of it down to the Bowling Green.†

It is evident that the Matted Gallery occupied much the same position as the Stone Gallery and the Long Gallery. It can hardly have been identical with the former, for there is an allusion to the leads above,‡ and it has been shown that the Stone Gallery had another gallery over it. From the coincidences noted above, therefore, it may be provisionally concluded that the Matted Gallery and the Long Gallery were the same, and the following facts make their identity practically certain.

(i) The Duchess of Portsmouth's apartments are variously described as being (*a*) " at end of the matted gallery,"§ (*b*) " at the end of the longe gallery,"‖ and (*c*) " over the stone gallery."¶

(ii) On the occasion of the last recorded visit of Pepys to the Matted Gallery, on 28th August, 1668, he found it undergoing repairs. " So parted [from the Duke of York in his closet], and with much difficulty, by candle-light, walked over the Matted Gallery, as it is now with the mats and boards all taken up, so that we walked over the rafters. But strange to see what hard matter the plaister of Paris is, that is there taken up, as hard as stone! And pity to see Holben's work in the ceiling blotted on, and only whited over!" The work to the ceiling is evidently that referred to in the official records as "beating downe ye old Plaistered Ceiling in the Matted Gallery, making good ye lathing and new Plaistering ye said Ceiling."** There was an old and ornamental ceiling in the Long Gallery, to which work had been carried out in 1631–2. " Woorking and setting upp of a greate quantity of Ceeling in the greate longe Gallery Leading to the princes Lodgings like unto the ould woorke, being made in a lardge pannell w^th^ Pillausters betweene every pannell and other mouldings."††

(iii) Pepys records that on 26th April, 1667, while he was waiting in the Matted Gallery, " a young man was most finely working in Indian inke the great picture of the King and Queen sitting, by Van Dyke." Now the Long Gallery was (at any rate in the time of Charles I) the picture gallery *par excellence* in the Palace. There were 102 pictures in it, as well as statues on pedestals in every window.‡‡ Among others was a picture by Vandyck which seems to be the one referred to above.* Of course the picture may have been moved from one gallery to the other, and the fact that it was in the Matted Gallery in the time of Charles II constitutes no kind of proof of the identity of the two galleries. It should, however, be noticed that the document containing the record of the pictures and statues in Charles I's time, while dealing in detail with the numerous art treasures in the Long Gallery, the Privy Gallery and elsewhere, never mentions the Matted Gallery.

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* The work of erecting lodgings for the Earl of St. Albans " at ye end of Matted Gallery " included " carpenters worke done over Prince Ruportes Lodgings." (P.R.O., Works, 5/17.)

† " Setting the Cornis uppon ye head of the new dooreway in ye bowling greene at foote of ye new staires goeing up to ye matted gallery." (*Ibid.*, 5/9, May, 1666.)

‡ " Sotharing the Leads over the matted gallery." (P.R.O., Works, 5/2—May, 1661.)

§ " Building severall new roomes and a Cellar for M^ris^ Carwell for an apartment added to her other lodgings at end of the matted gallery." (P.R.O., Works, 5/19—1672.)

‖ *Autobiography of Sir John Bramston* (Camden Socy.), p. 365.

¶ ". . . all the buildings over the stone-gallery at Whitehall . . . beginning at the apartment of the late Duchess of Portsmouth." (Evelyn's *Diary*, 10th April, 1691.)

** P.R.O., Works, 5/11—October, 1668.

†† P.R.O., E. 351/3265.

‡‡ There were statues in the Matted Gallery in the time of Charles II. " Carrying of figures out of ye matted gallery into ye new roome by ye volary building." (P.R.O., Works, 5/15—Septr., 1670.)

(iv) The work of constructing lodgings for the Earl of St. Albans was, according to one book of account, " at ye end of *Matted gallery* " and included " takeing downe ye stone steps goeing from ye bowling green up to ye Earle of St. Albons his lodging . . . making of a vault under ye said staires & fitting & setting up ye said steps againe."† According to another book of account now bound up in the same volume the work included " taking downe the stone staires at the End of the *long gallery* next the bowling greene." This is a very strong confirmation of the theory that the Long Gallery and the Matted Gallery were identical.

Duchess of Portsmouth's Lodgings.

Between October, 1670, and May, 1671, a set of apartments for the Earl of St. Albans was constructed " at the End of the Matted Gallery."‡ In 1671, Louise de Keroualle arrived at the English Court, and by October of that year had been established in lodgings at Whitehall.§

No official record of the transfer of the St. Albans lodgings to Mlle. de Keroualle has been found, but the position of the latter's apartments leaves no doubt that such a transfer took place. In the following year considerable additions were made to the lodgings,‖ and a kitchen was built at the other end of the Bowling Green (see p. 246). Other works are recorded during the years 1673 and 1674, but of the alterations that were made later no record has been found.¶ These must have been very extensive. In a letter** written probably in 1678 is the statement: "The Duchess of Portsmouth [Louise had been created Duchess in 1673] has begun to pull down Whitehall, I mean her lodgings only," and Evelyn* states that the Fire of 1691 began "at the apartment of the late Duchess of Portsmouth (which had been pulled down and rebuilt no less than three times to please her)."

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* " Done by Sir Anthony Vandyke. The King and Queen, Prince Charles and Princess Maria, all in one piece; intire figures so big as the life, whereby in a landskip Westminster painted, and one of the Queen's little dogs by; in a carved some part gilded frame." (*A Description of King Charles I's Collection of Pictures, etc.*, ed. H. Walpole.)

† P.R.O., Works, 5/17.

‡ P.R.O., E. 351/3285.

§ " It is certain that the King of England shows a warm passion for Mademoiselle Keroualle, and perhaps you may have heard from other sources, what a finely furnished set of lodgings have been given to her at Whitehall. His Majesty goes to her rooms at nine o'clock every morning, never stays there for less than an hour, and often remains until eleven o'clock. He returns after dinner and shares at her card-table in all her stakes and losses." (Quoted by Forneron, *The Court of Charles II* (ed. 1897), p. 66, from a letter from Colbert dated 8th October, 1671.)

‖ " Charges in building severall new roomes and a cellar for M^{ris} Carwell for an apartment added to her other lodgings at end of the matted gallery, begunn in Aprill, 1672, And finished in the same yeare." (P.R.O., Works, 5/19.)

¶ The expenses do not seem to have been met from the usual sources. After her retirement from Whitehall a petition was received from Charles Asherton " setting forth that ye Dutchess of Portsmouth was indebted to him in ye Summ of 388l. 9s. 8½d. for Worke done about her Lodgings at Whitehal." (P.R.O., L.S. 13/120—May, 1689.)

** *Cal. of S.P., Dom.*, 1678, p. 262.

The duchess's lodgings were splendidly furnished,† and Evelyn has left an account of their magnificence.‡

According to the Duchess of Marlborough, the Princess Anne at the Revolution expressed a desire to exchange her rooms at the Cockpit for those of the Duchess of Portsmouth, and to have in addition some rooms "that lay nearest to those of the duchess" for her servants. The Duke of Devonshire, however, also cast longing eyes on the Portsmouth lodgings, "where there was a fine room for balls," and so managed things that the Queen finally told the Princess "that she could not let her have the lodgings she desired for her servants, till my lord Devonshire had resolved whether he would have them, or a part of the Cockpit. Upon which the Princess answered: She would then stay where she was, for she would not have my lord Devonshire's leavings. So she took the duchess of Portsmouth's apartment, granted her at first, and used it for her children, remaining her self at the Cockpit."§ The rooms were actually in course of being prepared for the Duke of Gloucester, her son,‖ when they were burnt down in the Fire of 1691.¶

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* *Diary*, 10th April, 1691.

† "I was casually showed the Duchess of Portsmouth's splendid apartment at Whitehall, luxuriously furnished, and with ten times the richness and glory beyond the Queen's; such massy pieces of plate, whole tables, and stands of incredible value." (Evelyn's *Diary*, 10th September, 1675.)

‡ "Following his Majesty this morning through the gallery, I went, with the few who attended him, into the Duchess of Portsmouth's dressing room within her bed-chamber, where she was in her morning loose garment, her maids combing her, newly out of her bed, his Majesty and the gallants standing about her; but that which engaged my curiosity was the rich and splendid furniture of this woman's apartment, now twice or thrice pulled down and rebuilt to satisfy her prodigal and expensive pleasures, whilst her Majesty's does not exceed some gentlemen's ladies in furniture and accommodation. Here I saw the new fabric of French tapestry, for design, tenderness of work, and incomparable imitation of the best paintings, beyond anything I had ever beheld. Some pieces had Versailles, St. Germains, and other palaces of the French King, with huntings, figures, and landscapes, exotic fowls, and all to the life rarely done. Then for Japan cabinets, skreens, pendule clocks, great vases of wrought plate, tables, stands, chimney-furniture, sconces, branches, braseras, etc., all of massy silver, and out of number, besides some of her Majesty's best paintings." (*Diary*, 4th October, 1683.)

§ *An Account of the Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough*, pp. 27–8. The official order of 21st February, 1688–9, includes the provision of the extra rooms. "These are to require you to marke the Lodgeings which are called the Dukes or Princes Lodgeings and the roomes and offices thereto belonging and the lodgeings which the Dutchesse of Portsmouth had, and the offices thereto belonging, for the service of theire Royall Highnesses Prince George and the Princess Anne of Denmarke." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/149, p. 4—21st Feby., 1688–9.)

‖ ". . . the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings now preparing for the Duke of Glocester." (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 5th Report, App., p. 381.)

¶ The list of lodgings in Whitehall in 1691 contains the item: "Princess of Denmark's Lodging—On the Gallery side of the Garden: 24 roomes, 16 Garretts, burnt downe."

A small sketch of the elevation of the lodgings appears in Morden and Lea's map of 1682.

Lodgings between the Stone Gallery and the Privy Garden.

In the plan of 1670 four sets of lodgings are shown in this position: part of Lord Peterborough's, Prince Rupert's, Mr. Hyde's and the Earl of Lauderdale's.

In 1662–3 is a record of "building ij roomes in ye privy garden for his Highnes Prince Rupert,"[*] and in the following year is an account for "rendering the Outside Walls & the Bricke Worke at Prince Ruperts Lodgings *new built* in the Privy Garden."[†] In 1671–2 the building was certainly larger,[‡] and shortly afterwards several new rooms and a staircase were added.[§] The work was begun in September, 1672, and finished in April, 1673. It seems probable that this was the "building of thirty foot in breadth in His Ma^{ts} Privy Garden adioyning to the Gallery, betweene the Robes and His Highnesse prince Ruperts Lodgings," which Wren was required on 22nd June, 1672, to erect.[‖]

"The Robes" is probably the building marked "Mr. Hyde" in the plan of 1670, for Laurence Hyde (afterwards Earl of Rochester) was from 1662 to 1675 Master of the Robes. In 1679 these rooms were rebuilt by Baptist May,[¶] who was still occupying them when they were burnt down in the Fire of 1691.[**]

The Earl of Lauderdale had a lodging at Whitehall at least as early as 1663.[††] On 4th January, 1674–5, a contract was entered into[‡‡] on his behalf for the erection of "a small building in his Maj^{ts} Privie garden, according to a designe signed by Mr. Surveyor." It was to consist of two storeys and a garret floor and "to correspond in hight and uniformitie of his Ma$^{tie's}$ Elaboratory." The page is headed "Ld. Rochesters," and the assumption that Lauderdale's lodgings had passed into the hands of John Wilmot, 2nd Earl of Rochester (*not* the earl alluded to a few lines above), is confirmed by the order for the work issued on the same day, that "a building be erected for ye Right honr$^{ble.}$ the Earle of Rochester in his Ma^{ts} Privy Garden at Whitehall betweene the Lord Keepers Lodgings & ye Lodgings his Lordpp now possesseth, with a Celler & other conveniences as his Lordpp. shall desire, but soe that a light may be preserved into ye stone Gallery."[*] The lodgings were extended in the following year by the taking in of a piece of ground 7 feet in frontage and 11 feet deep for the construction of a staircase.[†]

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[*] P.R.O., E. 351/3276.

[†] P.R.O., A.O. 1/2434/88.

[‡] Joysting & boarding iij^{ee} ground floores at Prince Ruperts Lodgings . . . Putting a Door-Case with a Doore battened on both sides betweene the Stone Gallery and the Dining Roome." (P.R.O., E.351/3285.)

[§] P.R.O., Works, 5/21.

[‖] P.R.O., L.C. 5/140.

[¶] "Whereas Sydney Godolphyn, Esq^{r}. Master of the Robes to his Ma^{tie} hath changed lodgings with Baptist May, Esq^{r}., keeper of His Ma^{ts} privy purse, who hath a desire to build new the lodgings towards the privy Garden which lately did belong to the Master of the Robes, at his owne chardge; these are therefore to signifie His Ma^{ts} pleasure to you to erect and build the said Lodgings or permitt the same to bee done at the costs of Mr. May." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/143, p. 280—3rd March, 1678–9.)

[**] The list of lodgings in 1691 contains the entry: "Mr. Baptist May—4 roomes, 2 Garretts next the Garden, burnt downe."

[††] See letter from him to Sir Robert Murray, dated 10th July, 1663: "Send . . . my little octavo hebrew bible without points which lyes in my little closet at Whitehall, and send well packt up in cotton in a pacquet box the little glasses of spirit of roses which yow will finde in the middle drawer of my walnut tree cabinet." (*The Lauderdale Papers*, Camden Socy., I, p. 157.)

[‡‡] P.R.O., Works, 5/145.

Rochester died in 1680, and either then or shortly afterwards the lodgings (including Lauderdale's kitchen near the waterside) passed into the hands of the Earl of Monmouth. The later history of the premises is given on p. 189.

The Privy Garden.

The plan of 1670 shows the Privy Garden occupying the space between the highway on the west, the Privy Gallery north, the buildings adjacent to the Stone Gallery east, and the Bowling Green south. It has been seen (see p. 19) that from 1531–2 to about 1545 the Orchard was situated here. Where then was the Privy Garden at that time? There is reason to believe that it occupied the site of the later Pebble Court.

(i) According to the continuator of Stow[‡] a pulpit was on 17th March, 1547–8, "set up *in the King's privie garden* at Westminster, and therein Doctor Latimer preached before the King, where he might be heard of more then foure times so many people as could have stoode in the King's Chappell," and the statement is confirmed by an entry in an account book for Oct.-Nov., 1549[§] relating to the mending of "xx fote of new glasse in the chamber agenst the *pulpet in the prevey garden*." The pulpit was certainly as early as 1584 in the Pebble Court (see p. 60), and the illustration (see opposite page) contained in the first edition (1563) of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* certainly conveys the impression of a scene in the Pebble Court, with the King listening from a window in the Council Chamber, though the Terrace seems to be on the wrong side. It is difficult to reconcile it with a view in the later Privy Garden.

(ii) In Machyn's account of a procession on St. George's Day, 1557, "through the hall and rond abowt the court hard by the halle," Queen Mary is said to have viewed it from "a wyndow beside the cowrt *on the garden syde*." The mention of the hall makes it quite certain that the "court" was the Great Court, nowhere near the later Privy Garden. If, however, the "garden" occupied the site of the Pebble Court, the difficulty

[*] P.R.O., L.C. 5/141, p. 95.

[†] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

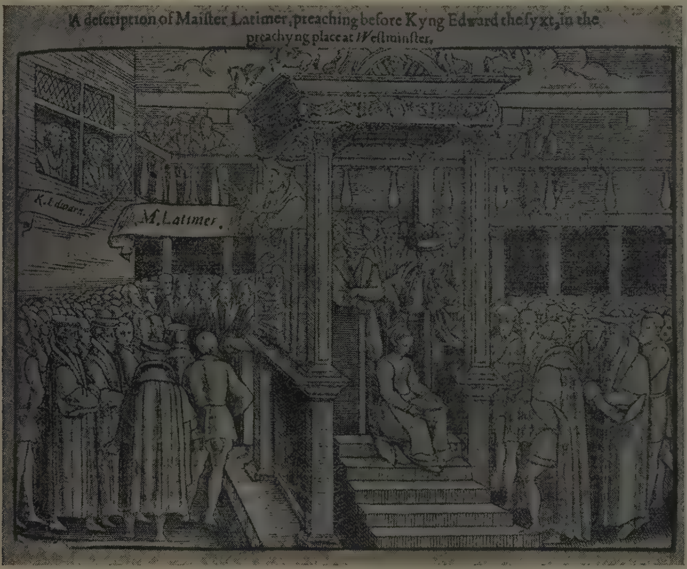
[‡] Howes' edition of Stow's *Annals*.

[§] P.R.O., E. 101/474/19.

vanishes, and it becomes evident that the Queen was seated in the terrace between the Great Court and the Pebble Court.

It is therefore probable that after about 1545 there were for a time two privy gardens (in addition to the small garden afterwards known as the Volary Garden, see p. 74): (*a*) the great garden,* and (*b*) that which Foxe calls "the inward garden."†

In view of the doubt as to the exact date when the new orchard was formed, it is difficult to say which of the two gardens is described in the statement of the Duke of Najera in 1544:‡ "This house of the King is very fine, and within it is a very pleasant garden with great walks and avenues in all directions, containing many sculptures of men and women, children and birds and monsters, and other strange figures in high and low relief."


A deſcription of Maiſter Latimer, preaching before Kyng Edward the ſyxt, in the preachyng place at Weſtminſter.
K. Edward.
M. Latimer.

A similar uncertainty attaches to the identity of the garden referred to in Machyn's account of how "ser James Garnado" on 4th May, 1557, "dyd ryd a-for the Kyng and Quen in her grace(s) preve garden . . . and so the bridle bytt dyd breke, and so the horsse rane aganst the wall, and so he brake ys neke, for ys horsse thruw ym agane the wall and hys brauns rane owtt."

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* "Item on the nexte side of the same howse [the secret jewel house] towards the greate garden . . .' (B.M. Harl MS. 1419A—A.D. 1547); "newe making . . . of the greate garden." (P.R.O., E. 351/3202—A.D. 1564–5.)

† "In the same place of the inward garden, which was before applied to lascivious and courtly pastimes, there he [Latimer] dispensed the fruitful word of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ." (*Acts and Monuments*, ed. Jos. Pratt, 4th edn., VII, p. 463.)

‡ B.M. Add. MS. 8219, f. 114.

As late as 1584 the "inward garden" still retained to some extent its garden-like character (see pp. 60-1).

The earliest description undoubtedly applying to the "great garden" is that given in 1584 by Von Wedel:* "Hence we went into the queen's garden, in which there are thirty-four high columns, covered with various fine paintings; also different animals carved in wood, with their horns gilt,† are set on the top of the columns, together with flags bearing the queen's arms. In the middle of the garden is a nice fountain‡ with a remarkable sun-dial, showing the time in thirty different ways. Between the spices that are planted in the garden there are fine walks grown with grass, and the spices are planted very artistically, surrounded by plants in the shape of seats."

In 1629-30 is a reference to "fastening the Seates & mending of the Arbo^{r} under the Vyne in the Privie Garden."§

According to the plan of 1670 the lay-out of the garden at that time was very different. It was divided into 16 grass plots, each provided with a pedestal, on all of which save one was placed a statue. In the middle towards the north end was the sundial, with a paved way leading to it from the side of the garden next the Privy Gallery.

The statues seem to have come from St. James's Palace. On 13th February, 1650–1, the surveyor of works was instructed to select 12 statues from those at "James's House, to be placed in the garden of Whitehall," and on 27th May a committee was appointed to superintend the removal. The work had apparently been carried out by 10th June, as on that date the same committee received directions with regard to the disposal of "the rest of the statues."|| During the latter years of the Commonwealth the statues suffered considerable damage. An account,¶ dated November, 1659, relates how "about this time theire was a Cooke that lived by the pallace gate, westminster, that in Sermon time went into whit hall garden, and wth him carried a Smiths Great hamer: hee brake theire those goodly statuers of brass and marbl, which report said they ware the neatlest made and the best workmanshipp in Euorope, in halfe an houers time did above 500l. worth of hurte." The statues were apparently removed and repaired, or their place taken by others after the Restoration, for one of the first records** concerning the garden after the return of Charles II is: "helping to carrie statues into the privie garden."

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* *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, 2nd Ser., IX, p. 234.

† One of these animals is referred to in 1622–3: "For newe painting a carved Bull into a black which was blowen downe in the privy garden with the great windes and newe guilding the hornes of the same and parte of the Crowne." (P.R.O., E. 351/3256.)

‡ The fountain is referred to again in 1614: "Mending and sodeing the fountein in the privy garden." (B.M. Harl. MS. 1653.) It was removed in Decr., 1661. (P.R.O., Works, 5/2.)

§ P.R.O., E.351/3263.

|| *Cal. of S.P., Dom.*, 1651, pp. 47, 218, 243.

¶ B.M. Add. MS. 10116.

** P.R.O., Works, 5/1, August, 1660.

References to the statues also occur in March, 1667–8,* and March, 1686–7.† An allusion in 1675 ‡ to "mending a marble figure which stands upon the Cupolowe in the privie garden, for casting both hands in lead and a bunch of grapes and leaves aboute the same" suggests a statue of Bacchus.

Reference has already been made to Von Wedel's mention of the "remarkable sundial," which was a feature of the Privy Garden. This is no doubt the one referred to in the following entry of 1621–2: §"Nicholas Stone, mason, for takeinge downe the greate Sune Diall in the privy garden at Whitehall, makinge there a newe Diall of Portland stone answerable to the same in all poyntes, settinge in and fasteninge all the Gnomons there." The new dial was a copy of the old one so far as the main structure was concerned (save in the particular kind of stone used, see below), but seems to have differed in other respects. What may be called the scientific portion of the apparatus was devised by Edmund Gunter, the most famous mathematician of his time. In 1624 Gunter, by "the speciall direction of the Prince his Highnesse" (afterwards Charles I), published a description|| from which the following extracts have been taken:¶

> "The stone whereon the Dials are described, is of the same "length, bredth, and depth, with that which stood in the same place "before. That, was of Cane stone, and of many pieces: this, all of "one intire stone from Purbecke Quarrie. The base of it is a square "of somewhat more than foure foot and a halfe; the height three foote "and ¾; and so unwrought contained about 80 feete, or five Tonne "of Stone . . .
>
> "There be five Dialls described on the upper part: foure "on the foure Corners; and one in the middle, which is the chiefest "of all, the great Horizontall Concave . . .
>
> "The Margent of this Horizontall Concave containeth foure "Circles: whereof, the Uttermost is the Circle of the xij Moneths, "conteining the severall dayes, the Dominicall letters, and the standing "Festivalls: The Holy dayes, in Redde; The Garter dayes in Blue, "and the common Saints dayes in Blacke . . .

---

* "Finnishing and setting foure new Pedistalls in the Privy Gardeene with Capitalls and Bases, and setting the Figures on them." (*Ibid.*, 5/11.)

† "Masons Imployed in removing and new setting fower large Stone pedestalls for the figures to stand upon in the privy Garden, and new setting the Sink Stones about the great Dyall there. Bricklayer Imployed in making fower Drains in the Privy Garden by the Sun Dyall, each 15 foote in length, and laying the foundation for the fower Stone pedestalls for the figures there, each 4:6 long, 3:6 broad and 18in deep . . . Carpenter Imployed . . . in making Stakes and staking out the pedestalls in the Privy Garden and fixing and removing the Triangles to sett the pedestalls." (*Ibid.*, 5/54.)

‡ *Ibid.*, 5/25.

§ P.R.O., E. 351/3255.

|| *The Description and use of his Majesties Dials in Whitehall Garden* (1624).

¶ The accounts for 1622–3 (P.R.O., E. 351/3256) contain details of the "painting and guilding the Bowle of the greate Horrizontall Dyall," etc., which add but little to Gunter's description.

> "The second Circle is of the twelve Signes: Aries, Taurus, etc . . .
>
> "The third Circle is a standing Compasse, divided into thirty two points . . . whereby you may see upon what point the Sunne beareth, and how the winde bloweth.
>
> "The fourth and innermost Circle containeth another description of the dayes of each moneth, fitted to the concave . . .
>
> "The Concave is twentie inches deepe, and fourtie inches over: and being halfe round resembleth that halfe of the heavens which may be seene.
>
> "The one part, which is drawen upon the white ground, resembleth so much of the heavens, as is contained between The Tropiques. As, there, the Sunne hath all varietie of motion, so heere, the point of the Style, all variety of shadow. The other part, which is on the Blue ground, is that part of the heaven, where the Sunne never commeth.
>
> "The Style belonging to the Concave is xx inches long, and about xiij inches broad at the foot. The one edge which is upright, is the Axis of the Horizon, and with his shadow sheweth the Azimuth."*

In 1632–3 further references† occur to Gunter's dial: "Thomas Decritz, Painter, for painting, guilding and oyling the greate Dyall in the privy Garden and fower little dialls there"; "John Marr, Mathematician, for his paines and invention in making the greate Stone Dyall in the privy Garden at Whitehall"; "Elias Allen for taking of the horrizon of the greate Dyall in the privy Garden and making xx new screwpins to fasten it againe."

In March, 1665–6, William Marre received payment of £200 for "making the dial in the King's privy Garden at Whitehall."‡

There can be little doubt that "the Sun Dial" marked in the plan of 1670 was in the main the same structure as erected in 1622.§ We meet it again in 1688 when William Marre applied for payment for " new lineating the Dyall in the Privy Garden." He mentioned that the work done was similar to that when he " made " the dial " in the late King's time," so that " making " need not mean more than " new lineating."

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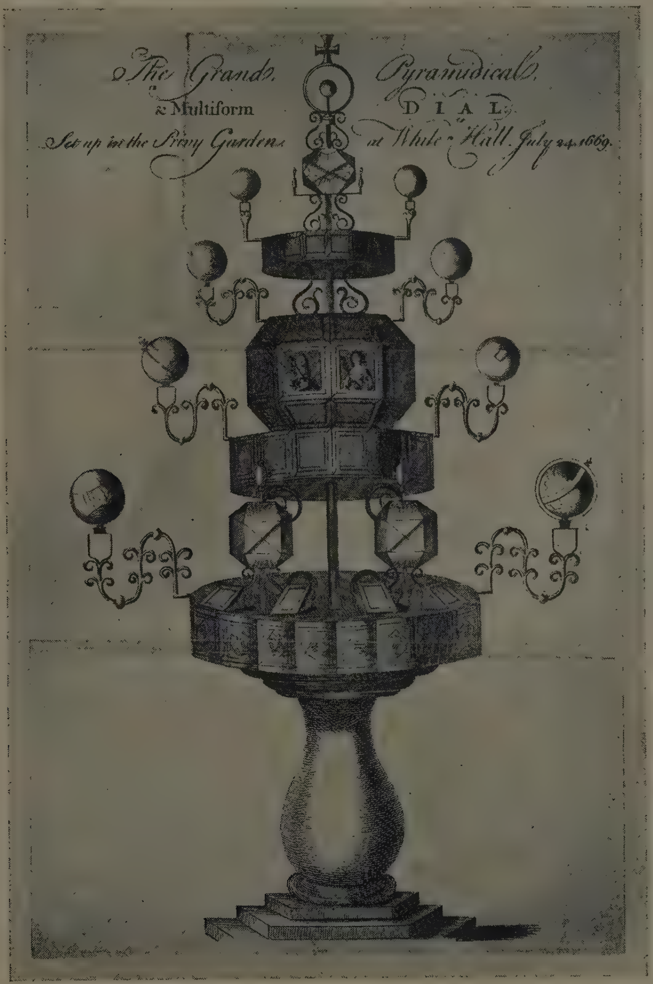
* Reference should perhaps be made here to another dial not in the Privy Garden. In 1628–9 (P.R.O., E. 351/3262) payment was made to "John Mare, Mathematician, for drawing diverse Lynes w$^{\text{th}}$ the plannetts and points of the Compasse, fitting and setting up the Gnomon, and directing the painter for the making of the lettres of a Dyall vj foote square *to be seene from the privy Lodgings*." Walpole (*Anecdotes of Painting*, 1888 edn., II, p. 16) quotes the following memorandum by De Cretz, serjeant painter, which refers to this dial. "For several times oyling and laying with fayre white a stone for a sun-dyall *opposite to some part of the king and queen's lodgings*, the lines thereof being drawn in severall colours, the letters directing to the howers guilded with fine gould, as alsoe the glory, and a scrowle guilded with fine gould, whereon the number and figures specifying the planetary howers are inscribed; likewise certain letters drawne in black informing in what part of the compasse the sun at any time there shining shall be resident; the whole work being circumferenced with a frett painted in a manner of a stone one, the compleat measure of the whole being six foote."

† P.R.O., E. 351/3266.

‡ *Cal. of Treasury Books*, 1660–67, p. 721.

§ We are told that, in spite of his keen interest in clocks and watches, it was Charles II's habit to set his watch by "the great sun-dial in Whitehall Garden." (A. C. A. Brett's *Charles II*


The Grand Pyramidical
& Multiform DIAL
Set up in the Privy Garden at White Hall July 24. 1669.

---

and His Court, p. 297). There is a reference to this in the *Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury* (ed. Buckley, I, p. 75): " I attending the king at his levee, and coming too late, I found him in the privy garden, setting his watch at the sun dial." It is to be hoped that Charles was acquainted with that astronomical phenomenon, the Equation of Time, as otherwise his watch would have been right only four times in the year.

The dial survived the Fire of 1698,[*] but had disappeared before 1741, the date of Maurer's view (Plate 6).

A much more elaborate dial was set up in the Privy Garden[†] on 24th July, 1669. This was of pyramidal form, with a series of iron branches projecting at intervals and supporting glass bowls, which showed the time according to various methods. The inventor (the "Reverend Father Francis Hall, otherwise Line, of the Society of Jesus, Professor of Mathematicks") wrote a detailed account of the dial, which was printed, with illustrations, in 1673.[‡] That illustration which gives the best general view, is reproduced on p. 93. Glass entered very largely into the composition of the dial, which was therefore liable to damage by frost. It was, nevertheless, left exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and the natural result followed. Towards the middle of the winter Father Hall "receaved a letter from a friend at London, wherein he told me that the Diall, for want of a cover (which according to his Majestyes gracious order, should have been set over it in the winter) was much endomaged by the snow lying long frozen upon it, and that, unlesse a cover were provided (of which he saw little hope), another or two such tempestuous winters would utterly deface it."

In 1675 the dial[§] met with further mishap. In a letter[||] dated 26th June in that year it is recorded that "My Lord Rochester in a frolick after a rant did yesterday beat doune the dyill which stood in the midle of the Privie [Gard] ing, which was esteemed the rarest in Europ. I doe not know if . . . it is by the fall beat in peeces." About this time the works were in hand for the erection of the statue of Charles I at Charing Cross,[¶] and Marvell, asking the question

"What can be the Mistery why Charing Cross
This five moneths continues still blinded with board?"

---

[*] "The famous Sun-Dial in the Privy-Garden has receiv'd no damage." (*The Flying Post or Post-Master*, No. 414.)

[†] Some writers have held the opinion that the dial was erected in the Pebble Court. Walcott (*Westminster*, p. 48) says that it was to the west of James II's Statue, and in an article in *The Mirror* for 31st January, 1835, the dial is said to have faced the Banqueting House. The description of it by Hall as "set up in his Majestey Private Garden," however, seems conclusive.

[‡] *An Explication of the Diall sett up in the King's Garden at London, an.* 1669. An abbreviated account was given in the issue of *The Mirror* for 21st November, 1829.

[§] It is possible that it was not Dr. Hall's Dial, but the Great Stone Dial. Aubrey, however, (*Brief Lives*, ed. 1898, II, p. 34) clearly identifies it with the former. "The like dialls he [Dr. Hall] made (which resemble something a . . . of candlesticks) in the garden at Whitehall, which were one night, anno Dni: 167—(4 as I take it), broken all to pieces (for they were of glasse spheres) by the earl of Rochester, lord Buckhurst, Fleetwood, Shephard, etc., comeing in from their revells. 'What!' said the earl of Rochester, 'doest thou stand here to . . . time?' Dash they fell to worke."

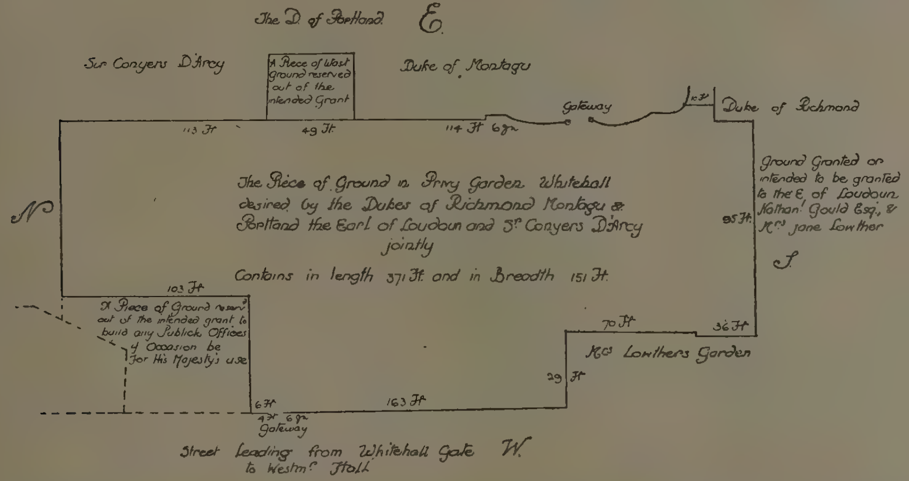
[||] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Laing MSS., I, p. 405.

[¶] In May, 1675, an expenditure of £2 10s. was incurred in "makeing 2 designes on paper for the King in order to ye setting up of ye statue of King Charles the first upon a stone pedestall by Master Surveyors direction." (P.R.O., Works, 5/25.)

rejects the suggestion that it might be for the erection of a sundial, with an allusion to the above incident:

> "For a Diall the place is too unsecure
> Since the privy garden could not it defend,
> And soe near to the Court they will never indure
> Any monument how their time they mispend."*

The incident seems to have marked the end of the dial, for it does not appear in the view of 1695–8 (Plate 5). Vertue doubtfully suggests† that some of the remains were afterwards at Buckingham House, and Walcott‡ records that "about 1710 Mr. William Allingham, mathematician in Canon Row, demanded £500 to repair this dial, but his offer was refused." It has not been possible to confirm this statement, which more likely refers to the great sun-dial.


The D. of Portland
E.
Sir Conyers D'Arcy
A Piece of Wast Ground reserved out of the intended Grant
Duke of Montagu
Gateway
10 Ft
Duke of Richmond
113 Ft
49 Ft
114 Ft 6 In
Ground Granted or intended to be granted to the E. of Loudoun, Nathan! Gould Esq., & Mrs Jane Lowther
N
95 Ft
S
The Piece of Ground in Privy Garden Whitehall desired by the Dukes of Richmond Montagu & Portland the Earl of Loudoun and Sr Conyers D'Arcy jointly
Contains in length 371 Ft. and in Breadth 151 Ft.
103 Ft
A Piece of Ground reserv'd out of the intended grant to build any Publick Offices if Occasion be For His Majesty's use
70 Ft
36 Ft
Mrs Lowthers Garden
29 Ft
6 Ft
163 Ft
4 Ft 6 In
Gateway
Street leading from Whitehall Gate to Westmr Hall
W.

In 1673-4 the terrace between the Privy Garden and the Bowling Green was removed, and part of the site of the latter was added to the garden.

At its other (northern) end the garden was enlarged after 1698 by the addition of the sites of the Privy Gallery and the Pebble Court.

These additions were counterbalanced by the loss of area suffered in 1723, when the street was widened. The King Street Gate was removed, as well as certain of the buildings lying between the Banqueting House and the Holbein Gate, the wall of the Privy Garden between the two gates was pulled down, and a new wall built "stretching in a line from the corner of the building adjoyning to the Banquetting House to the narrow passage leading to Channell Row." By this means a strip of ground about 80 feet wide was shorn from the western side of the Privy Garden.

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* *The Statue at Charing Cross.*

† "Afterwards there was other dials of Glass, like pyramids, erected in Whitehall Garden by Francis Hill, but were not so durable being of Glass. I think I saw them in the Duke of Buckinghams gardens neer the St. James Park, and then was told they had been erected first in Whitehall garden." (B.M. Add. MS. 23086, f. 40.)

‡ *Westminster*, p. 49.

The garden became neglected, and in 1733 the Duke of Richmond and other residents called attention[*] to the filthy condition of the "void ground" before their houses, and asked to be allowed to take up a lease of it so that they might keep it in order. Two leases were accordingly granted in 1734[†] (subsequently renewed) of (i) the southern piece, fronting the houses of the Earl of Loudoun and Nathaniel Gould, 149 feet long on the east side, 182 feet on the west, 103 feet on the north and 87 feet on the south, and (ii) an adjoining portion to the north, 371 feet long from north to south and 151 feet wide. The plan of enclosure (ii) is reproduced on p. 95. The extreme northern part was left untouched.

A view of the Privy Garden in 1741 (Plate 6), taken from the north, shows the railings which had by then been placed round the middle portion. The other end of the garden is well shown in the painting, by Canaletto, of Whitehall from Richmond House, made in 1746 and reproduced in Plate 7.

The Orchard, afterwards the Bowling Green.

It has been found convenient to deal with the Orchard (or Bowling Green) at a later stage in this volume (see Chapter 22).

The Vane Room.

The Vane Room lay at the point of intersection of the Privy Gallery with the line of the Stone Gallery. It was originally the King's withdrawing room,[‡] and took its name from the fact that above it was the principal weathercock in the Palace.[§] That the room was highly ornamented may be gathered from a curious account of decorative work carried out in 1620–1.[||]

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[*] P.R.O., T. 55/3, p. 80.

[†] *Ibid.*, pp. 227 and 220.

[‡] See reference to "Our said Withdrawing Room [contrasted with 'Our new Withdrawing Room'], commonly called the Fane Room, next to Our said old Bed Chamber." (B.M. Stowe MS. 563—A^{o} 1689.)

[§] "For a new skrew of two footes long for the Vane in the Kings wthdrawing, and altring the stock w^{ch} comes from the said Vane." (B.M. Harl. MS., 1653, f. 23—A^{o} 1614.) At the same time John De Critz carried out certain decorations to the Vane: "Making of Anticke woorke upon the outeside walls of the newe staires leading to the Kings phane, . . . guilding and painting the said phane being garnished with Flower de Luces and the Kings Armes on both sides wth fine gould." (P.R.O., E. 351/3249—1614–15.)

[||] "John Decreete, Sergeaunte Painter, for painting and guilding the Raile of his Ma^{ts} wthdrawing Chamber: in the first square next the Compasse the iiij wyndowes being painted and an edge of gold being shadowed off round about it above a foote over; the second square being curiously wrought all over wth Groteske and Compertments in the middest thereof wherein is expressed the fower parts of the Earth, and at the Corners of the same square Compertiments being made, and in them the fower seasons of the yeare, and likewise round about that an edge of gold about fower foote over being shadowed; the third square likewise, being curiously wrought full

It seems to have been usual for chapters of the Order of the Garter to have been held in this room. Instances of this have been found (*a*) in 1662, when the eldest son of the King of Denmark was admitted as a Companion of the Order; (*b*) in 1666, when James, Duke of Cambridge, son of James II, was installed Knight of the Order "in his Majesties withdrawing Room"* and (*c*) in 1663 when the Duke of Monmouth was chosen Knight at a chapter "held in the Withdrawing Roome at Whitehall."†

The Vane Room is mentioned several times by Pepys. "Anon the King and Duke and Duchesse came to dinner in the Vane-roome, where I never saw them before; but it seems since the tables are done, he dines there alltogether."‡ It was to that room that Pepys on 4th June, 1666, fetched the two seamen who had brought the news of the victory over the Dutch, and there they told the story of the fight. Again he relates how on 6th March, 1668, the Lords waited in the Privy Gallery for the King to come from the Park, and then, withdrawing to the Vane Room with the King, delivered to him their message as to precedence.

In 1670 a new withdrawing room was built (see p. 76) and the Vane Room, either then or after the completion of the new Privy Gallery in 1687, was converted into a waiting room.§

THE PRIVY GALLERY.

One of the most striking features of Henry VIII's Whitehall was the "new gallery" which, in continuation of the Tiltyard Gallery, led from the passage over the Holbein Gate along the northern side of the Privy Garden to the Privy Lodgings. The whole was officially styled "Privy Gallery,"|| but the part with which we are here concerned is that which lay between the Holbein Gate and the Vane Room.

From the gallery on either side doors led to some of the chief rooms in the Palace.

Next to the Vane Room was the King's old bedchamber, looking out on to the Privy Garden,¶ and beyond this lay the lesser withdrawing room,

of Groteske, and in the middest thereof compertments being guilt expressing the fruits what every wind bringes forth, as alsoe at the fower Corners Compertements being made, and the fower elements therein being painted; and round about the same a greate edge of gold according to the former being shadowed. All being done by agreement for . . . xxxv li." (P.R.O., E. 351/3254.)

* B.M. Add. MS. 10117, f. 182.

† *Ibid.*, 37998, f. 132.

‡ *Diary*, 7th December, 1663.

§ "The great wayting roome, heretofore the fane roome, to bee hung with black cloth." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/165—1st August, 1687.)

|| "That it shall be accounted Privy Gallery from the Second door from the Parke att the Passage over the street, and soe to the Fane roome-door, and to the door of the Antichamber to Our Bedchamber towards the Waterside." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/196.)

¶ "Takeing downe ye Ambroyla in ye Prive Garden that was over ye Kings Old Bedchamber Window, and laying them up in ye store" (P.R.O., Works, 5/31—Sept., 1678); "helping to put up the umbrilas in the Prive garden at ye Kings Old Bedchamber." (*Ibid.*, 5/32, May, 1679.)

sometimes called the Horn Room.* On the other side of the gallery were the Square Table Room† and the Council Chamber. These adjoined one another.‡

The Council Chamber was over the rooms marked "The Councill Office" in the plan of 1670.§ It faced the Pebble Court, and its use as an auditory when sermons were preached in that court has already been referred to (p. 61).|| For some time in James I's reign it was occupied by the Duke of Lennox (see p. 69).

There was a staircase (not shown on the plan of 1670) leading from the Pebble Court up to the Privy Gallery near the Council Chamber.¶

Close by was the King's cabinet.** Whatever its exact position, it certainly led out of the Privy Gallery, and one can only wonder at Pennant's bold identification of its site on the western side of Whitehall.††

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* "These are to require you to deliver for ye use of ye Lord Chamberlayne, The Crymson Damaske hangings with ye Chaires & Couch that lately were in His Ma^{ties} drawing roome beyond ye Bed Chamber on ye Garden side" (P.R.O., L.C. 5/143, p. 456, 26th Jany., 1679–80); "the lesser Withdrawing Room on the other side of Our said Bed Chamber, formerly called the Horn Room." (B.M. Stowe MS. 563—A° 1689.)

† Was this the same as the Stone Table Chamber? "Mending and sowing the matts in the stone table Chamber" (B.M. Harl. MS. 1653, f. 20—A° 1614); "the King coming out of the stone chamber stayed awhile at the lower end of the gallery . . . The King advancing towards the middle of the gallery, Sir Robert stepped into the King's withdrawing chamber and brought out the King's gilt standish." (*Cal. of S.P., Dom.*, 1635, p. 433.)

‡ See (i) order to provide "frings and a hansome french Table with a good persian Carpett for the square Table Chamber; two formes of the like that is provided for the Privy Gallery with two Back Chayres of Crimson velvett and a chayre of Estate with a foot stoole and a seat Cushion all suiteable, and a new foot Carpett under the Chaire of Estate, a good Carpett for the square Table, one Carpett more with a Table to bee placed as the keeper of the privy lodgings finds fitting. The *next roome which was the Cabbinet Councill Chamber* to bee furnished with all things as the square Table Chamber" (P.R.O., L.C. 5/137—24th Decr., 1661); (ii) "That the Gentlemen that attend any of Our Great Officers or any of the Nobility or Persons of Quality may come into the Gallery in the Roome *where the Table is next the Councill Chamber* and no further, and there to Attend and Stay. And also all Persons of good fashion and Credit may attend in that Roome upon Councill Dayes or to speak with any of Our Great Officers." (B.M. Stowe MS. 562.)

§ "Making paper windowes for a Roome under ye Councell Chamber where the Clearkes write." (P.R.O., Works, 5/11, April, 1668.)

|| That the room looked on to the Court is also shown by Pepys: "So to my Lord's, and walking all the afternoon in White Hall Court . . . It was strange to see how all the people flocked together bare, to see the King looking out of the Council window." (*Diary*, 4th July, 1660.)

¶ "The Yeomen of Our Guard when they goe to be placed at any of the Doores of Our Privy Galleries, or to be relieved there, shall not goe through the Privy Chamber, but shall goe up the Staires at the Councill Chamber Doore, and returne that way againe." (B.M. Stowe MS. 562.)

** "He [Vanderdoort] was afterwards keeper of King Charles's cabinet at Whitehall, newly built by Inigo Jones; it was erected about the middle of the building running across from the Thames towards the banqueting House, and fronting westward the Privy Garden." (Note in H. Walpole's edition of *Description of the King's Collection of Pictures, etc.* It may be remarked that this is the only authority that has been found for the statement that the room was on the garden side.

†† "The collection of paintings formed by this most accomplished prince [Charles I] was esteemed the first in *Europe*. They were kept in a room called the *Cabinet-room* in this palace;

During the Civil War the Cabinet and its contents were seized by Parliament.[*] One of the first acts of Charles II after the Restoration was to have the Cabinet Room done up.[†] On 1st November, 1660, Evelyn visited the room, and has left an account of its contents:—

> "I went with some of my relations to Court, to show them his Majesty's cabinet and closet of rarities; the rare miniatures of Peter Oliver, after Raphael, Titian, and other masters, which I infinitely esteem; also, that large piece of the Duchess of Lennox, done in enamel by Petitot, and a vast number of agates, onyxes, and intaglios, especially a medallion of Cæsar, as broad as my hand; likewise, rare cabinets of pietra-commessa, a landscape of needlework, formerly presented by the Dutch to King Charles the First. Here I saw a vast book of maps, in a volume near four yards square[‡]; a curious ship model; and, amongst the clocks, one that showed the rising and setting of the sun in the zodiac; the sun represented by a face and rays of gold, upon an azure sky, observing the diurnal and annual motion, rising and setting behind a landscape of hills, the work of our famous Fromantil; and several other rarities."

The principal staircase[§] leading from the Privy Garden to the Privy Gallery was the Adam and Eve staircase,[||] so called from a picture of Adam

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which was built by order of prince *Henry*, from a design of *Inigo Jones*. I have a view of it, and some of the antient parts of *Whitehall* which stood next to *St. James's* park. The building is distinguished by the *Venetian* window. It stood on the site of the duke of *York's* house [i.e. the present Dover House]." (Pennant, *Some Account of London*, 2nd edn. (1791), p. 106). The view which Pennant reproduces cannot be reconciled with any part of Whitehall, and the building with the Venetian window is evidently the German Chapel at St. James's.

[*] "Ordered that the Committee for *Whitehall* be required to . . . view and inventory the King's Watches; and take care to secure and safe-guard them: And likewise, to view the King's Cabinet, and to inventory the Goods and Things there; and take care to secure and safe-guard the same." (*H. of. C. Journal*, 6th Septr., 1645.)

[†] "To Emanuel De Critz, Painter, for cleansing (curiously) all ye wanscot & boxes in ye Kings Cabbinet roome, mending ye letters and making new badges in gold & picking in with faire Bice behind ye gold round ye roome, iiij li" . . . For a new double Casement for ye Kings Cabinet roome, xijs . . . For altering the two plate locks of ye Kings Cabbinet roome y^t goeth into ye gallery wth two new keyes, xijs. For a hansome spring latch wth rings on both sides for ye doore going downe staires from ye Cabbinet roome vjs." (P.R.O., Works, 5/1, June–July, 1660.)

[‡] The size is obviously exaggerated. The atlas in question is almost certainly to be identified with a book still preserved in the King's Library at the British Museum. It is dated on the outside "1660," and is described in the catalogue as "Orbis Terrae Compendium, Carolo Secundo dedicatum a I. Kliencke [*i.e.* a Collection of Maps by Blaev, Hondius, Visscher . . . One Volume, 5 feet 10 inches by 3 feet 2 inches].

[§] The approaches to the Privy Gallery, as given in the instructions to the "Keepers of his Ma^{ts} Privy Gallery in Ordinary" were: (i) "the Dore that comes from St James Parke," (ii) "ye Dore that goes to the Lobby before the King's Privy Chamber," (iii) the "Adam & Eve Stayres," & (iv) "ye dore of ye Councell Chamber." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/140, p. 248—A^o 1673.)

[||] "Mending a window y^t Gives light to the Adam & Eve staires Goeing up into ye privie Gallery" (P.R.O., Works, 5/10—July, 1667); "laying 40 foot of new purbecke paveing in ye privie garden next unto Adam & Eave staires." (*Ibid.*, 5/27—Apl., 1676.)

and Eve[*] at the stair head. The room, over the door of which the picture hung, was called the Adam and Eve Chamber or the Adam and Eve Stairs Room. The staircase is probably that shown on the plan of 1670 next to the rooms of the Lord Keeper. Another staircase led up from it to the upper floor.[†]

The gallery in 1607 contained a "riche fountain,"[‡] probably the one in respect of which John de Critz in 1608–9 received £40[§] "for payntinge and guildinge wth fine golde . . . wth nine Carved pictures and eight poeticall stories painted rounde aboute the same . . . and garnished wth fine goulde."

The rooms beneath the Privy Gallery are shown in the plan of 1670 to have been with one exception occupied as offices, and perhaps also as lodgings, by the Lord Chamberlain,[‖] the Lord Keeper, Lord Arlington (Secretary of State) and the Treasurer. The exception is the King's Laboratory and Bath.

Henry VIII had a bathing room somewhere in this neighbourhood, perhaps on the identical site.[¶] The laboratory seems to have been removed in 1669, and two new laboratories set up, one in the Volary lodgings and the other on the Cockpit side.[**] In 1672–3 a new laboratory and bathing room were constructed on the old site.[††] Full details are given in an entry headed: "Charges in altering ye Kings bathing roome & fitting ye walls & Ceiling to be sett with Lookeing Glasses & altering ye roome within it according to S^{r} Samuell Morelands directions in ye Month of May 1673 & in severall Months before."[‡‡] This contains references to

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[*] "Thomas Decritz, painter, for . . . repairing an ould peece of painting of Adam and Eve" (P.R.O., E. 351/3266—1632–3). It is described *circ.* 1639 as "Without the door, at the head of the said Adam and Eve stairs, a defaced old picture at length being Adam and Eve, intire figures, being little less than the life, painted upon a board, in an old defaced gilded frame." (*A Description of the King's Collection of Pictures*, ed. H. Walpole.)

[†] "Taking downe an old paire of staires over the Adam & Eve Staires & Cutting way for a new Paire of Staires . . . cont' 24 stepps." (P.R.O., Works, 5/10—July, 1667.)

[‡] "Alteringe the wainscott aboute the riche fountain in the privye gallerye." (P.R.O., E. 351/3242.)

[§] P.R.O., E. 351/543.

[‖] Some of the Lord Chamberlain's lodgings seem to have been on the gallery floor: "These are to pray & require you to Open a doore out of ye Lord Chamberlayns Lodgings into ye Privy Gallery on the Topp of ye stayres . . . and that you stop up the doore that goes out of ye Lord Chamberlaynes Lodgings into ye Lobbie at ye Councell Chamber." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/141, p. 2, 11th Septr., 1674.) See also leave given to "Thomas Neale Esq His Ma^{ts} Groome Porter to Sett up a Billiard Table in the Privy Gallery at Whitehall Over against the Lord Chamberlaynes Lodgings." (*Ibid.*, 5/144, p. 138, 8th November, 1681.)

[¶] "The dore newe made betweene the bayne chamber & the galarye . . . amending of a locke sette upon the Dore going oute of the bayne Chaumbre into the galarie." (P.R.O., E. 36/251, pp. 16, 102.)

[**] "Makeing a Cistern in the Kings Labouratorie at the Vollery lodgeings" (P.R.O., Works, 5/13—March, 1668–9); "washing, stopping & whiteing the Ceiling & walls of ye Elabouratory at the Cockpitt." (*Ibid.*, 5/15, Decr., 1670.)

[††] "Finishing the outside wall betweene the L^{d} Arlingtons office & the new Elabouratory next ye privie garden." (*Ibid.*, 5/19, Octr., 1672.)

[‡‡] *Ibid.*, 5/22.

"3 pilasters in ye Corners of ye roome," "cubberds under ye windowes next ye privy garden," "one end of ye roome where ye printing presse is sett," "ye outer dore next ye pibble courte," "window shutters of waynscott in that which was ye bathing roome," "the staires goeing up to ye Councill chamber," "ye roome where ye . . . Cisterne is to be sett." The new laboratory was for the use of Dr. Dickinson.* Edmund Dickinson, physician and alchemist, had been introduced to the King by the Earl of Arlington, whom he had cured of a tumour when all the doctors in London and Paris had given him up. "But what ingratiated him with his Majesty more than anything, was his deep Knowledge in Chymistry: the King was so great a Lover of this Art, that he ordered a Laboratory to be built in *Whitehall*, under his own Bed-chamber, from which there being a Back-stairs, he privately spent many hours in seeing and trying Experiments with the Doctor; no-body being admitted but the Duke of *Buckingham*."†

Adjoining the Privy Gallery at its west end, and in the north-west corner of the Privy Garden, a building is shown on the plan of 1670 as in the occupation of "S^r^ Robert Murrey." It is obviously that referred to in a warrant, dated 6th August, 1660, to provide for the furnishing of "two roomes in the privy Garden for S^r^ Robert Murrey."‡

An order§ had on 10th April, 1636, been given for the erection of a "still house & a roome to keepe the Clocks in in ye privy garden at Whitehall for David Ramsey."|| References to "the lower rome" and "the twoe Ceelings of the roomes"¶ suggest that the building consisted of two rooms, one above the other, but there is no evidence as to its position in the garden. It seems likely, however, that the two rooms in question were those granted to Murray in 1660.

Murray died in 1673 at "the leaded pavillion in the garden at Whitehall."**

The building seems to have passed into the occupation of the Earl of Dorset, whose lodgings must have been on this site. In September, 1681, an order was issued to†† Wren stating that the King had given "to the Right hono^ble^ the Earle of Dorsett liberty to build over his Lodgings in ye Privy Garden; and that you permitt the same to be done at his Lopps owne Costs, . . . yet that you see the same to be done regular and not prejudiciall to ye Kings Gallery." Dorset had not, however, reckoned with the Duchess

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* "Makeing a pertition in ye old waynscott in ye Kings old Bathing Roome where ye New Elaboratory is Made for Doctor Dickinson use." (P.R.O., Works, 5/31—April, 1678.)

† W. N. Blomberg's *Life of Edmund Dickinson*, 1737 edn., p. 64.

‡ P.R.O., L.C. 5/137.

§ *Ibid.*, 5/134, p. 107.

|| Ramsey had been appointed clock-maker extraordinary to James I in 1613. In the *Fortunes of Nigel* Scott introduces a David Ramsay, "maker of watches and horologes to his Majesty," as the keeper of a shop "a few yards to the eastward of Saint Dunstan's Church," Fleet Street.

¶ P.R.O., E. 351/3269—1635–6.

** Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, 1898 edn., II, p. 82.

†† P.R.O., L.C. 5/144, p. 124.

of Cleveland, who occupied rooms over and near the Holbein Gate, and in December a further order[*] was issued " to stop the building that is in the Privy Garden at the Earle of Dorsetts Lodgings from goeing any further, and that you suffer none of the lights of the Dutchesse of Clevelands lodgings to bee stopped up or any wayes changed . . . and if any shall presume to worke contrary to this order I shall grant my Warrant to send the Workemen to the prison of the Marshalsea."

Matters seem to have been accommodated with the duchess, for when, a few years later, the earl's premises were demolished[†] in connection with the rebuilding of the Privy Gallery, he petitioned for compensation in view of the fact that he had " expended severall summes in New building and making additions thereunto."[‡] An item in the Secret Service Expenses[§] shows that the earl obtained a sum of £300.

On his accession in 1685 James II at once took steps for the demolition of the Privy Gallery and all the rooms connected with it, and for the construction in their place of a new building for the Queen, as well as of a Roman Catholic Chapel adjoining, at the north-west corner of the Privy Garden. The estimate submitted by Wren was as follows:[||]

> An Estimate of a Building to be erected for her Majesty, Being the whole south[¶] side of the Privy Garden double; the ground story eleven ft high; the second story nineteen, containing the gallery and the Queen's apartment, and the chapel the heighth of both stories. The ground story to be fitted with deal wainscot into lodgings and offices for the Treasury, Secretaries, Lord Chamberlain and others: the second story and galleries to be finished as the King's new lodgings,[**] and the chapel decently adorned.

For the Queen's apartment, with the rooms under and in the roof, and the chapel, containing 84 squares and ¼, at 100*l* the square,	8425	0	0
For the gallery and rooms under, containing 52 squares at 75*l* the square,	3900	0	0
For altering, raising and adorning the Vane-room,	500	0	0
For alterations that may happen in piecing the old works to the new, and			

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[*] P.R.O., L.C. 5/144.

[†] " Taking downe the floors and roofe of my Lord Dorsets Lodgings at the end of the gallery next the Street." (P.R.O., Works, 5/54, July, 1685.)

[‡] P.R.O., Ind. 4617—8th February, 1685–6.

[§] Akerman's *Secret Service Expenses of Charles II and James II*, p. 152.

[||] *Clarendon State Papers*, I, p. 271.

[¶] A mistake for " north."

[**] *i.e.* the Volary lodgings.

joining the Banqueting-house, the Council-chamber, the Lord Chamberlain's and the old lodgings	1500	0	0
Sum	14325	0	0
The old buildings to be pulled down, when the charge of carting away the useless rubbish is defrayed, may be valued at	1020	0	0
Which being deducted, remains	13305	0	0

May 15th, 1635.*

(Sgd.) Chr. Wren.

An agreement was made with Maurice Emmett to carry out the building work,† and a contract was entered into with Nicholas Goodwin for the supply of bricks.‡ The work was put in hand without delay.§ Very full details of the new buildings are given in the records.||

The Privy Gallery block was 200 feet long, and comprised two storeys¶ with garrets above, over cellars, and was faced with brickwork with rubbed quoins to the openings and some stone dressings, and a modillion cornice "answerable to that on the Banqueting House." The roof was high-pitched, with dormer windows affording light to the garrets, which were allocated to the maids of honour and the mother of the maids. The chimney-stacks were evidently carefully considered in the general composition, as 21 stacks are mentioned, as well as "a great stack" next the Banqueting House.

The foundations (6 feet wide and 8 feet deep) were of an unusual

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* Obviously an error (printer's or otherwise) for 1685. In May, 1635, Wren was not three years old.

† "Agreed then with Morris Emmett . . . to build the new Range of Building for her Mat^{ys} lodgings and Chappell with the Gallaries, Councill Chamber and lodgings adjoyning." (P.R.O., Works, 5/145—6th June, 1685.)

‡ "Agreed then . . . wth Nicholas Goodwin, of Hammersmith, . . . Middx., Brickmaker, for makeing, Burning and Delivering into his Ma^{ts} new building next the Privie garden that is now building Eighteene hundred thousand of good well burned Square Streight and even Bricks, as good as those by him supplyed for his late Ma^{ts} new building in the volary, or those by him Delivered for the building of ye Roy^{ll} Hospitall at Chelsey, and that the Bricks for the said building in the privie garden shall be more sufficient and fitt for use, then those by him Delivered for either of those two other buildings." (*Ibid.*, 5/145, p. 174—13th June, 1685.)

§ Under date of 18th October in the same year Evelyn writes: "The King was now building all that range from east to west by the court and garden to the street, and making a new chapel for the Queen, whose lodgings were to be in his new building, as also a new Council-chamber and offices next the south end of the Banqueting-house."

|| P.R.O., Works, 5/54 and P.R.O., E. 351/3462.

¶ The estimate was for a two-storey building, but the view of 1695–8 (Plate 5) shows one of three storeys.

size for this type of building and were probably necessitated by the bad state of the subsoil and the proximity of the river.

In connection with the work it was found necessary to remove "two great buttrisses" which were against the Banqueting House.

The old materials, including certain internal fittings, were carefully sorted and used again, as far as possible, in the new building.*

Wren's estimate had provided for the ground-floor rooms being wainscotted in deal. The rooms in the floor above were panelled, with the chief mouldings picked out in gilt, the gallery being further decorated with 36 pilasters with carved capitals. The mantelpieces were in marble, some being brought by water from Greenwich.

The Queen's great bedchamber had a mantelpiece in white and veined marble, with a 10-inch moulding, and the overmantel contained a mirror within a carved frame, while above was a large picture-panel enriched with carved leaves, flowers and husks, surmounted by the crown and Royal arms with draped festoons all of which were gilded. The gilding with "burnisht gould" was carried out by Rene Cousin. Grinling Gibbons received £48 for carving work in connection with this chimneypiece.† The ceiling was painted by Antonio Verrio, who was paid £200 for the work. Verrio also painted the ceilings of the Queen's closet and private chapel, both of which were further embellished by Rene Cousin with 3316 leaves of gold.

Other rooms provided with marble chimneypieces were:

(i) The Queen's little bedchamber (purple, with an 8-inch mould).
(ii) The eating-room (black and yellow, with 9-inch mould).
(iii) The Council Chamber (white and veined marble, with 12½-inch mould, with slab and slips "wrought out of the Ks Stone," Reigate stone being used for the hearth and curb).
(iv) The Duchesse Mazarin's room (white and veined).
(v) The Duchesse's low-room "next ye garden" (statuary marble).
(vi) The Treasury Office (Egyptian marble).

The great staircase was in Portland stone, with the landings in black and white marble. The iron balustrading and rail were composed of 97 iron scrolls and 92 twisted balusters.‡ The ceiling had a fret decoration with a coved cornice and a guilloche on the ribs, with panels containing shields, trophies and wreaths of flowers. It was surmounted by a lantern.

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* "Labourers Imployed in helping the Carpenters, Joyners, Bricklayers and Plombers to take down the old building of the privy Gallery, and storing old tiles, bricks, timber and boards in the privy garden, and storing the wanscot in a hoord there."

† An interesting item is that "For a panell glewd for Mr. Gibbons 6 fot long 5 foote high to Draw upon."

‡ Another item records the employment of joiners "in glewing boards together & ledging them on the backside, . . . and smoothing them for the Smith to draw a pattern of the iron railes for the great stone Staires."

A general idea of the external appearance of the buildings is given in the view of 1695–8 (Plate 5).

The buildings were finished in the course of 1686, and early in 1687 the Queen took possession of her new apartments.* On the arrival of the Princess of Orange at Whitehall on 12th February, 1688–9, she was met at the Privy Stairs "by the Prince and divers of the Nobility, and was led to the new Apartment facing the Privy Garden, by her Sister, the Princess of *Denmark*."† Nine years later the buildings were entirely consumed in the Fire of 1698, and the fact that thenceforth the Pebble Court was merged in the Privy Garden, without a trace of the large block of buildings that had formed the division between, shows how complete was the destruction.

The Roman Catholic Chapel.

Included in the scheme for rebuilding the Privy Gallery and the rooms adjacent thereto was the erection of a Roman Catholic Chapel in the north-west corner of the Privy Garden. From the details contained in the records it is possible to form a fairly accurate idea of this splendidly-appointed but short-lived building.

The chapel, which was 80 feet long, and extended westwards to the street side, contained a porch, vestry, ante-chapel and stairs, with priests' lodgings over the ante-chapel. A paved chapel-yard is also mentioned.

The original scheme seems to have been departed from after the work had been begun, for part of the walls and some of the marble pillars were taken down, and the roof shored up, to admit of an additional building on the garden side.

The exterior was in brickwork, with Portland stone quoins and dressings, a modillion cornice at the eaves and a pediment at the end. The windows were semi-circular headed, and the roof was covered with "blew" slates. The building generally was in harmony with the gallery block adjoining.

According to Wren's estimate the height of the chapel was to be equal to the sum of the storeys of the privy gallery block, and the building was to be "decently adorned." The latter condition seems to have been well fulfilled.

The floor of the chapel was paved with six-angled white marble stones and "amandolis," which were brought from the store at Greenwich. The level of the floor was raised, earth having to be carted in for this purpose.

The altar-rails consisted of carved pedestal panels between balusters, and an item in the accounts records these as being painted to look like marble. The paving within the rails was lozenge-shaped, with moulded steps in white marble. A tabernacle for the altar was made by John Heisenbuttle for £15, further charges being recorded for gilding and carving. The latter work was carried out by Grinling Gibbons for £38. Gibbons also received £12 for the "marble holy water Pott."

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* "These are to require you to give off and marke All the new Buildings next ye Garden above staires for the Queenes Ma^{ties} Service, And that you cause the keyes of ye Queenes Apartment to bee given to ye Lord Godolphin, Lord Chamberlayne to the Queene. That hee may appoynt the Queenes Servants to take care of the furniture and prepareing the roomes for Her Ma^{tie}." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/147, p. 265, 8th January, 1686–7.)

† *The London Mercury, or Moderate Intelligencer*, Feb. 11–14th, 1688–9.

The King's seat (also referred to as the throne)* had a modillion cornice with "leafe & O.G.," as well as "lace" and other carving, and two fluted marble columns with capitals and bases.

Verrio was paid £1250 for painting the ceiling and walls of the chapel, except the organ lofts, and Rene Cousin received £67 for gold leafwork to the ceiling, comprising 8132 leaves of gold.

Some of the mouldings were also picked out in "burnisht gould," and an interesting item in the accounts refers to "preparing and glewing ye Limetree for the Carving in the great Chappell, £11. 2. 0."

Twenty-eight carved Doric capitals were used, probably for dividing the wall surfaces into bays.

Benedicto Gennari received sums amounting to £590 for providing pictures for the chapel.† One of these representing the Nativity, and costing £150, was placed over the altar, the frame for it being carved by Grinling Gibbons.

The chapel was opened on Christmas Day, 1686,‡ and a few days later Evelyn attended service there.§ There are not many records relating to it during its brief existence.‖ At the Revolution it became to a large extent derelict. After the Fire of 1691 had consumed the Earl of Devonshire's rooms by the Stone Gallery, Queen Mary, it is said, gave him the chapel as lodgings.¶ This seems rather unlikely, and it is possible that the reference is rather to rooms adjoining[*] or even over the chapel.[†] Devonshire was still in the neighbourhood of the chapel in 1695.[‡]

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* "The throne where the King and Queen sit is very glorious, in a closet above, just opposite to the altar." (Evelyn's *Diary*, 29th Decr., 1686.) A model of this throne was made at a cost of £5.

† *Secret Service Expenses of James II.*, pp. 175, 209.

‡ "On Christmas Day, before one in the morninge, this year, 1686, was mass sayd in the New Chappel at Whitehall, which had no other forme of consecration that I can hear of, but a marble stone consecrated at Rome, and blest by the Pope, was brought and placed under the altar (sufficient, no doubt, to sanctifie the whole chappel)." (*Autobiography of Sir John Bramston*, Camden Socy., p. 253.)

§ "I went to hear the music of the Italians in the new chapel, now first opened publicly at Whitehall for the Popish Service. Nothing can be finer than the magnificent marble work and architecture at the end, where are four statues, representing St John, St Peter, St Paul and the Church, in white marble, the work of Mr. Gibbon, with all the carving and pillars of exquisite art and great cost. The altar-piece is the Salutation; the volto in *fresco*, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, according to their tradition, with our Blessed Saviour, and a world of figures painted by Verrio." (29th Decr., 1686.)

‖ One is: "Father Dada, the popes nuntio here, was consecrated archbishop of Amasia in Greece, the 1st instant [May, 1687] in St. James chappel at Whitehall." (Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, I, p. 402.)

¶ "La Reyne a donné à my Lord Devencher comme grand maître la chapelle du Roy Jaques, où il se logera assez commodement pour tenir table." (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 8th Report, pt. I., 563^a.)

In November, 1691, we hear of a plan to convert the chapel into a library, but apparently it came to nothing.[§] The building lasted until the Fire of 1698, when it was swept out of existence.

In the meantime, it had been gradually dismantled, and two at least of its more important fittings, the altar-piece and the organ, being transferred elsewhere, have survived, while a third, the pulpit, is probably still in existence in some unknown church.

In 1685 an agreement had been entered into with Grinling Gibbons and Arnold Quellan "to erect an Altar peice in his Ma^{ts} new Chappell in Whitehall . . . with clean white marble, free from Vents, with pillastors of white, well veind marble, and Collums of purple Rance, the Shafts of both to be in whole stones and the work adorned with Statues and other Sculptures according to a . . . designe . . . made . . . by S^{r} Christopher Wren Knt." It was stipulated that the work should be completed on or before 25th September, 1686. The contract price was £1800.[||]

At some time in 1694–6 the altar-piece was taken down, loaded into barges and sent to Hampton Court.[¶] There it remained in store, until in 1706 Queen Anne, on the petition of the Dean and Chapter, granted it to Westminster Abbey.[**]

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[*] After the Revolution the Earl of Shrewsbury was granted lodgings adjoining the Chapel ("work done in my L^{d} Shrewsburys lodgings behind the new Chappell"—P.R.O., Works, 5/42, Feby., 1688–9). In October, 1690, after he had resigned the office of Secretary of State, his rooms were granted to the Marquess of Caermarthen. (P.R.O., L.C. 5/150, p. 157.)

[†] "Warrant to deliver the possession of foure roomes over the Kings Chappell Royall to Mr Peters which the Lady Freschenille and Mons Rorqui did possesse" (P.R.O., L.C. 5/148, p. 19—6th Octr., 1687); "These are to require you to marke the roomes wherein the priests did lodge neere the new Chappel in Whitehall, with the roomes formerly the Lady Freschoills, with the use of the Great Anteroome to that Chappell for the use of the Rt Hono^{ble} the Lord Mountague, Master of ye Greate Wardrobe." (*Ibid.*, 5/149, p. 29—16th March, 1688–9.)

[‡] "Cutting through a brickwall at the Duke of Devonsheirs, 8 foot long, 5 foot wide, 8 foot high, for a new do^{r}way into a room next the Popish Chapell." (P.R.O., Works, 5/48—Decr., 1695.)

[§] "Tis said his majestie designs to turn the popish chappel at Whitehal into a library, and to furnish it with a good collection of books." (Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, II, p. 307.)

[||] "To Grinling Gibbons & Arnold Quillin their task for the gt. Altarpeice of White marble veind wrought according to a design & contract finding all materialls & workmp, 1800. 00. 00." There is also an item "for marble and making an Arme and Shoulder and altering the Leg of the Angell over the great Altar . . . 014. 0. 0."

[¶] "Grinlin Gibbons, Master Carver, for takeing down the Marble Altar peece with ye Columns Ornaments and Figures thereto belonging in the late King James ye Seconds Chappell at Whitehall & loading ye same into Barges, and delivering thereof at Hampton Court according to Contract. Cxxx^{li} ." (P.R.O., E. 351/3464.)

[**] "Whereas the dean and chapter of the collegiate church of St Peter Westminster have by their petition set forth that there was formerly standing in a chapel at Whitehall a marble altar-piece, which was afterwards removed to our palace at Hampton Court, and has remained in the stores there unused for many years, which might be very ornamental to our said collegiate church: And have humbly prayed us to grant the same to our said collegiate church, *etc.* . . ."—21st February, 1705–6 (Ackermann's *History of the Abbey Church of St Peter's, Westminster*, I, App. XIV).

It is obvious that the altar-piece in its entirety would not have been thought suitable for inclusion in a Protestant place of worship, and we have Thoresby's testimony to the effect that it was deprived of its two chief figures before being erected in the Abbey.[*]

Ackermann's description[†] of the altar-piece, as it was in 1812, is as follows:

"It is of white marble, faintly veined with blue, and consists of a basement of the Tuscan order in three compartments; of which that in the center is semicircular and the largest. It is formed by twelve pilasters, with their architrave, frieze, and cornice. On the frieze of a slight projection over the altar is inscribed, 'ANNA REGINA, PIA, FELIX, AUGUSTA, PARENS PATRIAE, D.' On either side is an arched door, which communicates with Edward the Confessor's chapel. The spaces over them, and beneath the architrave, are filled by alto-relievos of children on clouds, in the act of adoration, with glories above them. On each side of the table are empty niches. Above them are two children; the one with a thuribulum incensing the altar, and the other on one knee bearing the paten, on which are two cruets. On the cornice is a tablet, whose base is enriched with carvings, in fruit and flowers. Within a frame of black marble is a glory in gold and the words, 'GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST, ON EARTH, PEACE, GOODWILL TOWARDS MEN.' Two palm branches enclose the ever-memorable command, 'DO THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME.' On the tablet is a pediment, with a crown in the tympanum, and over it another tablet, with four pilasters and a circular pediment, containing a basso-relievo of ten cherubim surrounding a gilded glory, on which is written יהוה.[‡] On the apex of the pediment three boys support the *Holy Bible*. The central figure waves a branch of palm over it. Six beautiful Corinthian columns of variegated marble, with their entablature, extend over the center compartment to the great tablet, adorned by kneeling angels, in attitudes of reverence to the altar below. Festoons of flowers hang in the open inter-columniations, and round the upper part of the altar-piece."

A view of the choir of Westminster Abbey in Ackermann's volume shows the altar-piece at the end.

At the beginning of the reign of George IV a new altar-piece was set up, and the old one was presented to Walter King, Bishop of Rochester, who was also a canon of Westminster and Vicar of Burnham, Somerset. He erected it in Burnham church, and a pamphlet published by him in 1826 contains an illustration (reproduced in Plate 10) of it *in situ*. "It reached almost to the roof and entirely concealed the east window. In later years it was felt that the Italian style of this massive work was unsuitable in the small Gothic chancel. So it was taken to pieces. Four panels remained on the east wall, but the panel containing the Sacred Name surrounded by cherubs was removed to the south wall beneath the tower, and the two large figures of angels were placed on either side of the west door. Parts of the work were practically destroyed, and many fragments were recently found in a lumber room at the old vicarage."* Details of the altar-piece as now existing in Burnham church are given in Plates 10 to 12, and below is a sketch based on the present remains and on the view in Ackermann's volume, showing its appearance when in Westminster Abbey.

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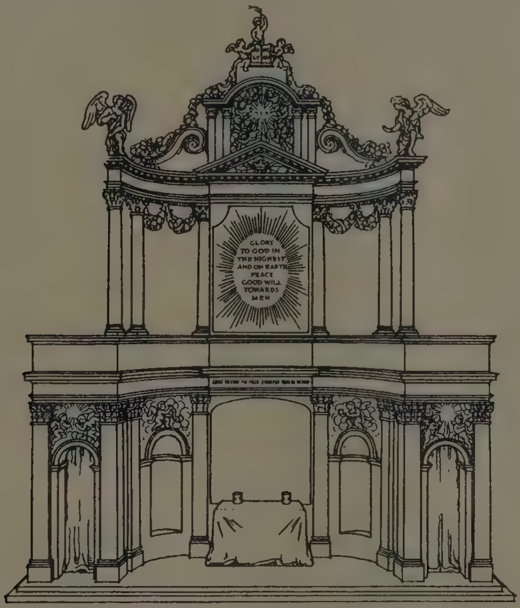
[*] "Went . . . to the Bishop of Rochester's [*i.e.* Thomas Sprat, also Dean of Westminster], who showed me some noble original paintings of great value; I saw also there that part of the white marble altar-peice, with the heads of the Virgin Mary and our Saviour, etc., that the late king James [?] had placed in Westminster Abbey, but was not suffered to continue." (*Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, 8th February, 1708–9.)

[†] *Op. cit.*, II. 21–2.

[‡] The sacred name *Yahweh* (usually transcribed *Jehovah*).



Altar-piece as erected in Westminster Abbey.

The pulpit, which was also the work of Gibbons,† was in 1696 presented to the Danish church then building in Wellclose Square.‡ An account of the expenditure connected with the building and fitting up of the church* contains an item of £5 3s. 3d. for "charges on the pulpit," and mentions that "the Pulpit was given by Prince George of Denmark." This was not quite the fact, as the pulpit was not his to give, but it is probable that the granting of the request of the Danish congregation was largely due to his influential support.

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* *The Parish Church of S. Andrew, Burnham,* by G. L. Porcher.

† "To Grinling Gibbons, Carver . . . For carving the pulpitt and for wood for the carver . . . 90 0. 0."

‡ "Whereas the Congregacon of Danes residing in this Kingdom have represented unto us, that there is a Pulpit now remaining in the Chappel of the late King James at Whitehall not any waies made use of and have prayed that the same may be bestowed on them for the service of their Church : These are to authorise and require you to cause the said pulpit to be forthw^th^ delivered to such person . . . as shalbe authorized to receive the same for the use of the said Congregacon." (P.R.O., T. 54/15, p. 158—22nd July, 1696.)

A drawing of the interior of the Danish church by Kip in 1697 shows the pulpit. The church was demolished in 1869, and most of the fittings were sold by auction on 3rd March in that year. Among them was a "fine old oak pulpit, with richly carved panels containing figures representing the four evangelists, and elaborately decorated with carvings of fruit, flowers, cherubim, etc., on pedestal, and the sound board with carved mouldings." The pulpit was purchased for £24, and tradition has it that it was bought for a church in the south of England, but so far endeavours to trace it have been in vain. Some day no doubt the authorities of some country church will awake to the fact that they possess a genuine Grinling Gibbons pulpit with an interesting history, and it will then be possible to complete the story.

There were two organs (great and little) in the chapel. Among the Secret Service Expenses of James II are items: (i) "To Rene Harris, by advance, the same being intended to be employed in the making and buying a new organ for the chappel in Whitehall . . . 200. 0. 0." (ii) "To Giles Campion for gilding the organ in the chappell at Whitehall . . . 100. 0. 0." Grinling Gibbons also was paid £40 "for carving the front before the great Organ on the side of the Chappell." In 1691 the organ "in ye Greate Chappell at Whitehall, which heretofore ye Papist possessed"† was presented by Queen Mary to the church of St. James, Piccadilly. In 1852 an entirely new inside (with the exception of two stops) was provided, but the handsome old case is still preserved.

THE HOLBEIN AND KING STREET GATES.

The account of these two gates, as well as of the buildings of Whitehall Palace on the west side of the road, will be given in the next volume.

THE GUN PLATFORM.

In the copies of the plan of 1670 in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries and in the Crace Collection (but not in Vertue's reproduction) the centre building of the short range between the Holbein Gate and the Banqueting House is marked "The Platform." According to a plan of 1722 the "Platforme of Guns" at that time occupied the whole of this range, measuring about 90 feet. It was probably constructed in 1643 (see p. 31), but a reference‡ in 1660–1 to "setting a new roofe over the Gunns at the banquetting house and makeing a roome to put powder and shott in" is the earliest official allusion to it that has been found. It was taken down in 1685 in connection with the rebuilding of the Privy Gallery,* and a new platform was set up in 1688.† The guns are shown in Terrason's engraving of the Banqueting House (Plate 16). When, in 1723, the King Street Gate was demolished and the wall of the Privy Garden set back to the Banqueting House frontage, the gun-platform was pulled down.

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* B.M. Add. MS. 37232 R.

† Hopkins and Rimbault, *The Organ*, 1877 edn., p. 475.

‡ P.R.O., E. 351/3274.

The Banqueting House.

The Banqueting House is dealt with separately in the next chapter, and with that the circuit of the Palace between the road and the river (so far as it was situated in the Parish of St. Margaret's) is completed.

View of the Palace in 1695–8.

Before finally leaving the Palace buildings, however, it is necessary to refer to a remarkable view of Whitehall and the neighbourhood which has hardly received fair treatment. This view exists in two versions. (i) The first is a pen-and-ink drawing, ascribed to Kip, and preserved in the British Museum. It is not quite finished, certain of the buildings in different portions of the view not having been inked in. (ii) The second is also a pen-and-ink drawing, ascribed to Knyff, formerly in the Gardner Collection, and now preserved in the Westminster Public Library. It is complete, and while remarkably like (i), differs from it in certain minor details. The fact that it extends a trifle further to the south than (i) shows that it is not dependent on the latter, and the further fact that (i) includes a niche in the centre of the Queen's riverside apartments which is not given in (ii), but which is almost certainly correct, as it is shown in the Wren design (Plate 8), suggests that (i) is not merely based on (ii). Both are therefore either based on an unknown original, or, more probably, are independent drawings made about the same time by the same artist, either Knyff or Kip.

An engraving of (i) was included in the supplement to J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*. Smith assigned the view to the early part of the 18th century (thereby to a great extent depriving it of any value as a representation of the buildings at Whitehall which had been swept away in 1698) on the ground that it showed the first Pembroke House. This, as is shown below, is a complete misapprehension. A reproduction of (ii) has recently been published in Beeton and Chancellor's edition of Defoe's *Tour thro' London*, where (apparently following the lead given by J. T. Smith) it is dated "*circa* 1720." Of the two views, the latter has been selected for reproduction in this volume (Plate 5).

There can be little doubt that the drawing is a fairly accurate representation of the Palace made in the closing years of the latter's existence.

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* "Taking downe the Building for the great guns between the Gatehouse & ye Banquetting house in the month of September 1685." (P.R.O., Works, 5/54.)

† "Charges in erecting a new Building for the Guns adjoyning to the Privy Gallery Building in the yeare 1688." (*Ibid.*, 5/42.) In the following year further work was carried out: "Pulling downe the covering of boards over the Guns, and new making and raising it six foot higher, and making a Shed with standers and boards over the Guns 90 foot long, 18 foot wide." (*Ibid.*, 5/43.)

The Privy Gallery (and its adjunct, the Council Chamber) is shown as a much more regular and imposing building than would be gathered from the plan of 1670 and the elevation sketch in Morden and Lea's Map of 1682. It is in fact the new building designed by Wren and erected in 1686–7, albeit it appears a storey higher than was provided for in the original design.

At the south-western end of the Privy Gallery is a building which is obviously the Roman Catholic Chapel and its vestry.

According to the plan of 1670 there were four rows of grass plots in the Privy Garden, but in the drawing the northernmost row has been done away with. The sundial remains in its original position. The destruction of at least the westernmost of these grass plots must have been a necessary consequence of the building of the chapel, and the others may have been removed for the sake of uniformity or possibly because of a southward extension of the line of the Privy Gallery.

The Bowling Green and the terrace separating it from the Privy Garden are not shown. Instead, a part of the former is laid out as part of the Privy Garden. This work was in fact carried out in 1673–5, and the view is in accordance with the representation in Morden and Lea's Map.

The sites of the Stone Gallery and the Prince's lodgings which had been burnt down in 1691 are vacant.

Queen Mary's Terrace, formed in 1693, is shown.

The most conclusive evidence of the general accuracy of the drawing, however, is to be found in the delineation of the very building which has heretofore been regarded as fatal to its genuineness. Fronting the terrace, towards the northern end, it occupies the site of the Queen's apartments. It is quite unlike the views of the Queen's lodgings in 1682 and 1683, and as stated above, has been identified as the first Pembroke House. It bears, however, little resemblance to that house, but is markedly similar to one of the designs for the Queen's drawing room (Plate 8) made probably in 1687–8, when this part of the Palace was ordered to be rebuilt (see p. 71).

In fact the only possible objection to regarding the drawing as made shortly before 1698 is the view of the Admiralty, which is somewhat like the present building erected in 1724–6 on the site of Wallingford House. The present Admiralty is not, however, as usually stated, the immediate successor of Wallingford House. The latter was pulled down in 1694,* and on its site were erected buildings along four sides of an open courtyard. The western range was built for use as an Admiralty, and the eastern range, facing the street, was of only a single storey.† These one-storey buildings are clearly shown in the drawing, and it will be noticed that the Admiralty itself lacks the portico which is a notable feature in the present building. It may be taken, therefore, that the building shown is that which was erected in 1695,* and the drawing must have been made some time between that date and 1698, when the Palace buildings were destroyed.

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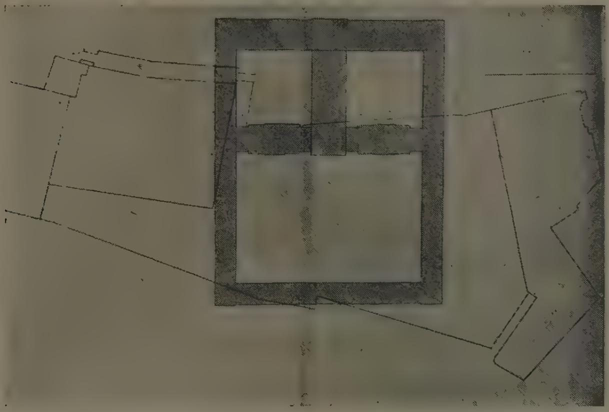
* Treasury reference "to Sir Christopher Wren of the memorial of Wm. Blathwayt [the lessee of the adjoining premises] shewing . . . that by the pulling down of Wallingford House there is occasion for some new building." 22nd May, 1694 (*Cal. of Treasury Books*, 1693–6, p. 628).

† See agreements with John Evans dated 1st September, 1694 (P.R.O., T. 1/29, No. 18), and 23rd March, 1694–5 (P.R.O., T. 1/59, No. 18).

Proposals for Rebuilding.

Drawings illustrating schemes (academic or otherwise) for the rebuilding of the Palace on a vast scale have figured prominently in most of the published works on Whitehall, but have been deliberately excluded from this volume. A few remarks on the subject, however, may not be out of place.



Block plan of a scheme for building a new Palace.

The principal drawings in question are preserved at Worcester College, Oxford, Chatsworth, and the British Museum. They comprise at least seven sets of differently worked-out schemes attributed to Inigo Jones and his pupil John Webb; and there are a number of others. According to J. Alfred Gotch† the drawings in these collections have at some period become intermixed, for he states that "the Chatsworth drawings and those at Worcester College evidently at one time formed one collection, because there are elevations in one which correspond with plans in the other, and *vice versa*." Colin Campbell published *c.* 1720 a selection in Vol. II of his *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and Kent in 1727 published a series of drawings in *Designs of Inigo Jones*. Schemes were at various times submitted to Charles I,

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* The back of this building is well shown in Kip's *Prospect of the City of London, Westminster and St. James's Park,* 1710.

† *The Original Drawings for the Palace at Whitehall attributed to Inigo Jones.* This work contains a full account of the drawings from a critical point of view, and is definitely unfavourable to the "Inigo Jones" authorship.

Charles II and William III. One set was described by Webb, who claims the authorship for himself, and states that the set was accepted. In a petition to Charles II by Webb for the position of Surveyor of His Majesty's Works shortly after the Restoration the latter mentions: "That he was Mr. Jones Deputy and in actuall possession of the office upon his leaving London, and attended his Ma^{tie} in that Capacity at Hampton Courte and in ye Isle of Wight, where he received his Ma^{ties} comand to designe a Pallace for Whitehall, w^{ch} he did untill his Ma^{ties} unfortunate calamity caused him to desist." This definitely connects Webb with the Royal authority to prepare a scheme.

Wren was also called in, being commissioned to prepare plans during the reign of Charles II, and again in that of William III after the Fire of 1698. Details of these will be found in the *Parentalia.*

A block plan of one of the schemes in the Chatsworth Collection is reproduced on p. 113. It shows the relationship of the proposed palace buildings to the properties existing according to the plan of 1670. The new buildings extend from the river across Whitehall to the Park, and the Banqueting House is shown on the east side of the south-west court.

Lack of funds would not permit of any of these grandiose schemes being put into execution, but had they been carried out London's Royal Palace would have equalled the Louvre or the Escorial, or in fact any other European palace, in dignity and grandeur of conception.

In the Council's collection are:—

*The Palace of Whitehall in 1683 (photograph of picture in the Royal Collection).

Plan of Whitehall in Charles II's reign (photograph of drawing in the Crace Collection).

Plan of Whitehall in Charles II's reign (photograph of drawing in possession of the Society of Antiquaries).

*Whitehall in 1695-8 (photograph of drawing preserved in the Westminster Public Library).

Whitehall in 1695-8 (photograph of drawing preserved in the British Museum).

*Hollar's View of the Banqueting House etc. (photograph of drawing preserved in the Pepysian Library).

*The "Cosimo" View of the Banqueting House, etc. (photograph of drawing preserved in the British Museum).

*The Great Hall arranged for a Pastoral (photograph of drawing preserved in the British Museum).

*A design for Queen Mary's Terrace (photograph of drawing in the Wren Collection in the Library of All Souls' College, Oxford).

*"A description of Maister Latimer preaching" (photograph of engraving in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, British Museum).

*Wren's designs for the Queen's Drawing Room (photograph of drawing in the Wren Collection in the Library of All Souls' College, Oxford).

*Sketch of altar-piece from Roman Catholic Chapel (pen-and-ink drawing).

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

*Altar-piece from Roman Catholic Chapel as originally set up in the church of St. Andrew, Burnham (photograph of engraving preserved in the Library of the Dean and Chapter, Westminster).

*Portions of the altar-piece as now in the church of St. Andrew, Burnham (five) (photographs).

Organ from Roman Catholic Chapel now in the church of St. James, Piccadilly (photograph).

*Plan of enclosure of part of Privy Garden (copied from plan preserved in the Public Record Office).

* Reproduced here.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 4

LXIV—THE BANQUETING HOUSE

GROUND LANDLORDS, ETC.

The premises are the freehold of the Crown, and are at present used by the Royal United Service Institution as a Museum.

BANQUETING HOUSES BEFORE 1607.

Henry VIII's Whitehall undoubtedly contained a Banqueting House. This is evidenced by two items in the building accounts dealing with (i) the provision of mats for two chambers "in the lowe galarye directly undre the banquette Chaumbre," and (ii) "the setting of xxviij foote of olde glasse in newe leade with Seemente, and for setting up of the same in the Galarye next unto the Banckette house."* The mention of the "low gallery" suggests that the building was over the Stone Gallery, and the fact that the maps of "Agas" and Braun and Hogenberg† show the site of the present structure unoccupied also points to Henry VIII's Banqueting House being in another portion of the Palace.

Elizabeth built at least two Banqueting Houses of a more or less temporary character.‡ In 1572, on the occasion of the visit of the French embassy, a Banqueting House was erected "all breaded and decked with flowers on the forrests, and also covered with canvas on the head."§

A more sumptuous building was provided in 1581 in connection with the visit of the embassy from France to negotiate a marriage between Elizabeth and the Duc d'Alençon. A description of it is given in an account‖ endorsed: "The manore and Charge of the makynge of the greate banketyng house at Whythall at the Intertaym^{t} of mounsere by Queen Elyzabethe, 1581, 23 Eliz." It runs as follows: "Against the Coming of serteyn Com-

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* P.R.O., E. 36/251, pp. 118, 172.

† As both maps are, in all probability, based on the same (unknown) original, the evidence is that of a single (not double) authority.

‡ Something of the kind (though no details are given) seems also to have been done in 1559. "Charges done for & uppon the Banket howses and other necessaries at thaccesse of the Straungers." (P.R.O., E. 101/474/26.)

§ Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, I. p. 305*n*. An account of the expenses is given in Feuillerat's *Documents relating to the office of the Revels*: "The Banketting Howse made at White Hall (then) for Thentertaynement of the seide duke did drawe the Charges ens[u]ing for the Covering thereof with Canvasse; The decking therof with Birche & Ivie: and the ffretting, and garnishing therof, with fflowers, & Compartementes, with pendentes & armes paynted & gilded for the purpose. The ffloore therof being all strewed with Roze leaves pickt & sweetned with sweete waters &c." The details include money for "basketmakers that made the frettes," "plasterers & others that Lathed the howse all the Inside to fasten the birche unto," "deckers of the howse with Birche & Ivie," "fflowers . . . gathered in the feeldes," "Crowne garlandes of Roses," 4 gallons of rosewater, and Vandelas to "cover the Banketting howse."

‖ B.M. Harl. MS. 293, f. 217.

“ missioners out of Fraunce into England ther was a banquet howse made
“ in manner & fourme of a long square 332 foot in measure about; 30
“ principalls made of great masts, being xl foot in length apeece, standing
“ upright; betwene every one of theis masts x foot a sunder & more. The
“ walls of this howse was closed wth canvas, and painted all the out sides of
“ the same howse most arteficially wth a worke called rustick, much like
“ unto stone. This howse hath 292 lights of Glas. The sides wthin the same
“ howse was made wth x heights of degrees, for men & weomen to stand
“ upon; and in the top of this howse was wrought most cuninglie upon
“ canvas works of Ivie & holy, wth pendants made of wicker rods, &
“ garnished wth baies, Rue & all manner of strang flowers, and garnished
“ wth spangs of gould, as also garnished wth hanging Toseans made of holly
“ & Ivie, wth all manner of strang fruits, as pomegarnetts, orrengs, pompions,
“ Cowcombers, grapes, carretts, Peaes wth such other like, spanged wth
“ gould & most ritchlie hanged. Betwene thes works of baies & Ivie
“ were great spaces of Canvas, w^{ch} was most cuninglie painted, the cloudes
“ wth the starrs, the sunne and sunne beames, w^{t} diverse other coats of
“ sundry sorts belonging to Qs ma^{tie}, most ritchlie garnished wth gould.
“ This banquet howse was begunne on *ye 26 day of marche beinge** Easter Day
“ in the morning. ij men had mischaunces, the one brake his leg & so did
“ the other. Ther were of all manner persons 375. This howse was made in
“ 3 weeks & 3 daies *and ended on the 18 day of Aprell.** It cost 1744 li 19s
“ ijd ob., as I was credebly enformed by Tho: Grave, S^{r}veior unto her ma^{ties}
“ works, who served and gave orders for the same, as appereth by records.”

Holinshed† states that the building was “ on the southwest side of hir maiesties palace of Whitehall,” which, if taken quite literally, means that it was on the Cockpit side. Looked at from the point of view of the main entrance to the Palace, however, the expression might be interpreted as pointing to a site more or less that of the present Banqueting House, and that such is the correct interpretation is suggested by a marginal note (which has, however, been crossed through) on the document cited above, to the effect that the site was “ in the entry of hir maiesties palace.”

The natural impression conveyed by the description of the building is of a structure erected merely to meet the requirements of a particular occasion, and destined, like its predecessor of 1572, to be demolished when that occasion was past. There is, however, reason to think that the building lasted for a quarter of a century.

That a more or less substantial Banqueting House existed at Whitehall during the closing years of Elizabeth's reign and the early years of James I is shown by allusions in 1597–8‡ to (i) “ Cutting out a way of a Chymney in the great Banquetting house,” and (ii) “ breaking downe a waye in a stone walle under the Banquett house to make a Chymney in Doctor James Office and bringinge upp the same to the battlements,” and in

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* Interpolated in a different hand.

† *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland.*

‡ P.R.O., E. 351/3233.

1603–4* to "making . . . a bottlehouse under the Banquetting house . . . for the king."

This building was almost certainly on the site of that erected in 1607 (and consequently of the present structure). (i). The account of the erection of the 1607 Banqueting House in Howe's continuation of Stow's *Chronicle* runs : "The last yeare [1606] the king puld downe the old rotten, sleight builded Banqueting house at White hall, and new builded the same this yeare very strong and statlie, being every way larger than the first." It should be noted that the new structure was a "new building" of the old one, which implies that it was on the same site. This impression is confirmed by (ii) the statement of James I himself when, on the occasion of the Queen's masque given in the new building in January, 1607–8, he remarked to the Venetian ambassador that "he intended this function to consecrate the birth of the Great Hall, which his predecessors had left him built merely in wood, but which he had converted into stone."† (iii) In the accounts of the Paymaster of Works for 1606–7‡ is an item : "Takeinge downe the olde roofes, flores, partitions and side walles of the oulde buildinges betwene the banquettinge house and Councell chamber, frameinge and settinge upp the greate flore and roofe of the Banquettinge house, and doinge sondrye other woorkes in the newe buildinge of the same." Not only does this confirm the fact that it was a "new building" of the old Banqueting House, but, the position of the Council chamber being known (see p. 98), the reference to the buildings between it and the Banqueting House is almost conclusive in fixing the latter at or near the present site.

Von Wedel in the account of his visit to Whitehall in 1584§ describes how, after leaving the Preaching Court, he was conducted "into a high and spacious house with many windows, and inside full of seats and benches one above the other, so that many people may be seated there. The ceiling is hung with leaves and thick bushes. When foreign gentlemen are present the queen orders all sorts of amusements to be arranged here, while above in the bushes birds sing beautifully." The building described by Von Wedel might well be the 1581 Banqueting House, and its site (after leaving the Preaching Court) corresponds generally with that of the pre-1607 Banqueting House. It is, moreover, reasonable to assume that the latter, which could be described as "old" in 1606, was in existence in 1584. On the whole therefore it seems probable that the Banqueting House built by Elizabeth in 1581 was (i) the building visited by Von Wedel in 1584, and (ii) the "old rotten, sleight builded" structure pulled down by James in 1606.

The 1607–19 banqueting house.

As mentioned above, a new Banqueting House was built in 1606–7. Among the Smithson drawings is a plan (here reproduced) of "The

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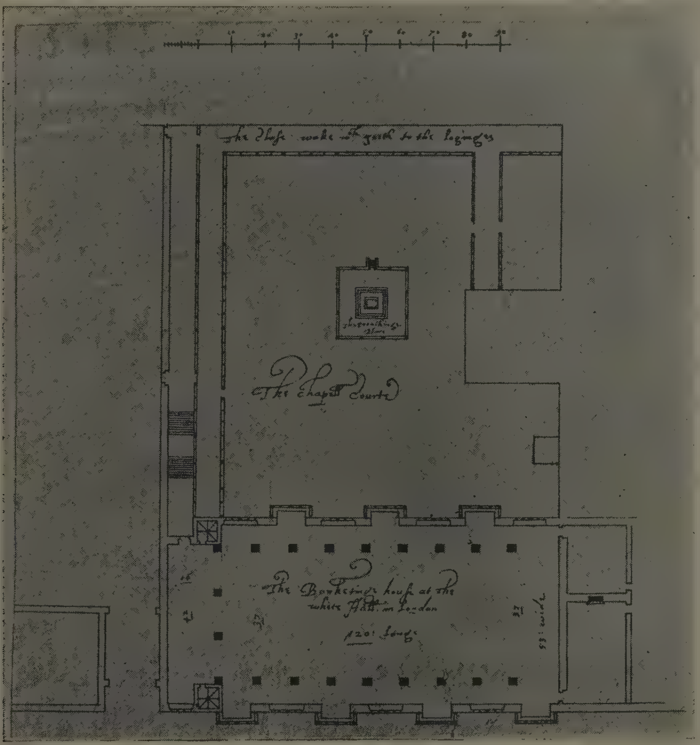
* P.R.O., E. 351/3239.

† *Cal. of S.P., Venetian*, 1607–10, No. 154.

‡ P.R.O., E. 351/3242.

§ *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, 2nd Ser. IX, p. 236.

Banketinge house at the White Hall in London," showing its relation to the Chapel (or Preaching) Court behind. The dimensions are 120 feet by 53 feet (differing from those of the present building), and the way in which the internal pillars are arranged bears out the royal criticism on the 1607 building mentioned in a letter from Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain on 16th September, 1607*: "The K. in his crossing from Windsore to



Wales toucht at Whitehall for no greater busines then to see his new building, w^ch^ when he came into it he could scarce see by reason of certaine pillars w^ch^ are sett up before the windowes, and he is nothing pleased w^th^ his L^d^ Architect for that device."

It is evident from the plan that the building stood on the site of the present Banqueting House.

The only description of the interior is that given by Orazio Busino, almoner to the Venetian ambassador, who was present at a masque on 6th

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[*] S.P., 14/28/51.

January, 1617–18. He says[*]: "A large hall is fitted up like a theatre, with well secured boxes all round. The stage is at one end, and his Majesty's chair in front under an ample canopy. Near him are stools for the foreign ambassadors. . . . Whilst waiting for the king we amused ourselves by admiring the decorations and beauty of the house, with its two orders of columns, one above the other, their distance from the wall equalling the breadth of the passage, that of the second row being upheld by Doric pillars, while above these rise Ionic columns supporting the roof. The whole is of wood, including even the shafts, which are carved and gilt with much skill. From the roof of these hang festoons and angels in relief, with two rows of lights."

The building of 1607 had but a brief existence, being totally consumed by fire on 12th January, 1618–19. An account of the disaster is contained in a letter[†] written by Gerard Herbert to Dr. Ward on 21st January. "I doubt not but you heard of the great mischance by fire at Whitehall ten days past, which burnt all the Banqueting-house, and was feared the whole house of Whitehall would also have been consumed; but that my Lord Chamberlain and his brother being present, whose industry, pains, and great providence, all the time, through the abundance of water brought and pulling down of some places, God be thanked! prevented any more hurt. The fire arising by the neglect and heedlessness of two men that were appointed to sweep the room; and, having candles, firing some oily clothes of the devices of the mask (which the King had commanded should all remain to be again at Shrove-tide), that fire inflaming suddenly about and to the roof, which the two men not able to quench, and fearing to be known that they did it, shut the doors, parting away without speaking thereof, till at last perceived by others, when too late and irrecoverable. The two, since confessing the truth, are put to prison."

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[*] *Anglopotrida* in *Cal. of Venetian S.P.*, 1617–19. No. 188. Chambers (*The Elizabethan Stage*, I, p. 202) refers the description to the Great Hall, but this presents great difficulties. (1) Busino does not say "*the* Great Hall," but "*a* large hall." (2) The account, by its description of two orders of columns, one above the other, implies the existence of permanent galleries, and there were no permanent galleries in the Great Hall until after the Restoration (see p. 50). (3) The statement that the roof was supported by the topmost series of columns is not in accordance with the known architecture of the Great Hall, the roof of which would naturally spring from the sides of the building. It seems more than probable that the building referred to was the Banqueting House.

[†] *The Court of King James* (ed. J. S Brewer), II, pp. 187–8. Another account in a letter to Dudley Carleton, dated 15th January (S.P., 14/105/40), gives some further particulars:

"On Tuesday about halfe an hower after IV a Clocke in the forenoone the Banquetting
"house at Whytehall was burnt downe to the Ground, and the rest of the Kings house preserv'd
"by Miracle; Thys ill Accident fell by the forgettfulnes of some laborer, that came in wth a
"Candle to looke out in a hole somethinges that he had stole and hid there; and for hast left hys
"Candle burning behind him; w^{ch} sett fyr on that the Masquers come out of, w^{ch} being of a
"Combustible stuffe oyle and new Painting fyrd and dispersed ytselfe instantly, the scaffolds being
"also of fyrre, the Fire was suddingly carryed from one End unto another; So that all was burnt
"in lesse then an hour; w^{ch} had yt lasted but a whyle longer, the whole Court had bin riffiled.
"In thys Time they brake in all roomes, even to the King & Princes lodgying, tor downe the
"hangings, stole the Kings bed he lay himselfe in; All the Pilferers in Towne were gott thither,
"But God was mercifull, otherwise there was no saving of y^{e} house. The Signett office lost most
"of theyre Papers being just under yt And many have receavd great losses, the King the Greatest."

Underneath the building were the offices of the Signet and Privy Seal "in 3 romes with the Records of both offices in presses. . . . In w^ch^ fire perished all the said Records, viz^t^. the bills signed by K. H. 8, K. Edw. 6, Queene Mary, Queene Elizabeth & King James, together with the Signets & ancient docquet bookes of those times."*

THE PRESENT BUILDING—HISTORY.

Without delay steps were taken for the erection of a new Banqueting House, and on 19th April, only three months after the fire, Inigo Jones, the King's surveyor-general, had the plans of a new building ready, together with an estimate of the cost. "The whole Charge of the Banquetting howse to be newe builte accordinge to a modell thereof made, beinge in Lengthe 110 foote, and in breadth 55 foote, the under story being arched 16 foote in haight, the upper story 55 foote highe, the masons worck, carpenters worcke, bricklayers worck, plumbers, plastorers, Joyners, Smithes worcke, glasinge and Labourers worcke with digginge, Ramminge and making ye foundacons, with scaffouldinge to all the saide worcks, will amount unto the some of 9,850 li."† Two designs (Plates 13 and 14), probably by Inigo Jones,‡ are extant at Chatsworth, both showing a large pediment, which was not carried out. One of them contains "suggested alterations in red chalk, showing the carved swags under the top cornice, which were actually carried out, and may be seen to-day; and there are pencil lines indicating the balustrade which was adopted in lieu of the large pediment." The other design shows a low annexe at each end.

In the Burlington-Devonshire Collection in the possession of the Royal Institute of British Architects are two drawings, reproduced in Plate 15, which seem to have been made in connection with the preparation of the designs for the Banqueting House. One is inscribed, in writing probably of Inigo Jones, "The upper windows of ye modell." It agrees with the windows in the upper storey showed in the altered Chatsworth design mentioned above. The other drawing inscribed (also in writing, probably of Inigo Jones) "Elevation of the Great Doure, Ban. Ho. 1619", cannot be connected definitely with any features in the present building.

The cost exceeded the estimate, the expenditure in connection with the Banqueting House being returned in 1633 as £14,940 4s. 1d. to date.§ The same document gives the following account of the building:

"Accompte to sondry Masons, Carpenters, Brickleyors . . . ymploied "in new building of a banquetting House at Whitehall w^th^ a vaulte under

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* *Cott. Titus*, B. VIII, f. 376.

† P.R.O., S.P. 14/108/55.

‡ *The Original Drawings for the Palace of Whitehall*, by J. A. Gotch.

§ P.R.O., E. 351/3391. This sum includes the cost of "making a new cartwaye at Portland Quarry for the more easy conveyance of stone to the Peere for the use of the said building." The building of the "new Peere in the Isle of Portland" cost an additional £712 19s. 2d.

“the same, in length cx foote and in width lv foote wthin, The wall of the Foundacion being in thicknes xiiij foote and in depth x foote wthin ground brought up wth bricks. The first story to the height of xvj foote wrought of Oxfordshire stone cutt into Rustique on the outside and bricks on the inside, the walles viij foote thicke wth a vault turned over on greate square pillers of bricks and paved in the bottome wth purbeck-stone, the walles and vaulting layd wth finishing morter. The upper story being the banquetting House lv foote in height to the laying on of the roofe, the walles five foote di. thicke and wrought of Nōrthtonshire stone cutt in rustique wth twoe orders of Collomes and Pillasters Jonique and Composita, wth theire Architrave Freize and Cornish and other ornamts, alsoe railes and ballasters round aboute the top of the building all of Portland stone, wth xiiij windowes of eache side and one greate windowe at the upper end, and five Doores of stone wth Frontespeeces and Cartoozes, the inside brought up wth bricks finished over wth twoe orders of Collomes and pillasters, parte of stone and parte of Bricks, wth theire Architrave Freize and Cornish, wth a gallerie upon the twoe sides and the lower end borne upon greate Cartoozes of Tymber carved wth Railes and ballasters of Tymber, and the floore layd wth Spruce Deales, a strong Tymber roofe covered wth Lead, and under it a Ceeling divided into a Frett made of greate Cornishes inrichd wth carvings wth painting glazing ⁊c For performaunce whereof aswell a greate quantitie of stone hath beene digged at Portland Quarry in the County of Dorsett and Huddleston Quarry in the County of Yorke and from thence conveyed to Whitehall; as alsoe many other provicions and Empcions have been made and provided.” The master mason was Nicholas Stone, who received 4s. 10d.a day.

It is evident that the works extended over a number of years; in fact, the painting and gilding was only carried out in 1635.[*] The building was, however, sufficiently advanced in 1623 to be used “for the maske and to give audience to the Spanish Ambassadors.”[†]

The Fire of 1698, although it inflicted some damage on the Banqueting House, spared it for the most part.[‡] The Chapel Royal having been destroyed, it was decided[§] to adapt the Banqueting House for that purpose. The work was completed by the end of the year,[||] and for nearly 200 years the building was used for ecclesiastical purposes.

[*] See S.P., 16, CCXCIII, 24; CCXCIV, 5; and CCCII, 26.

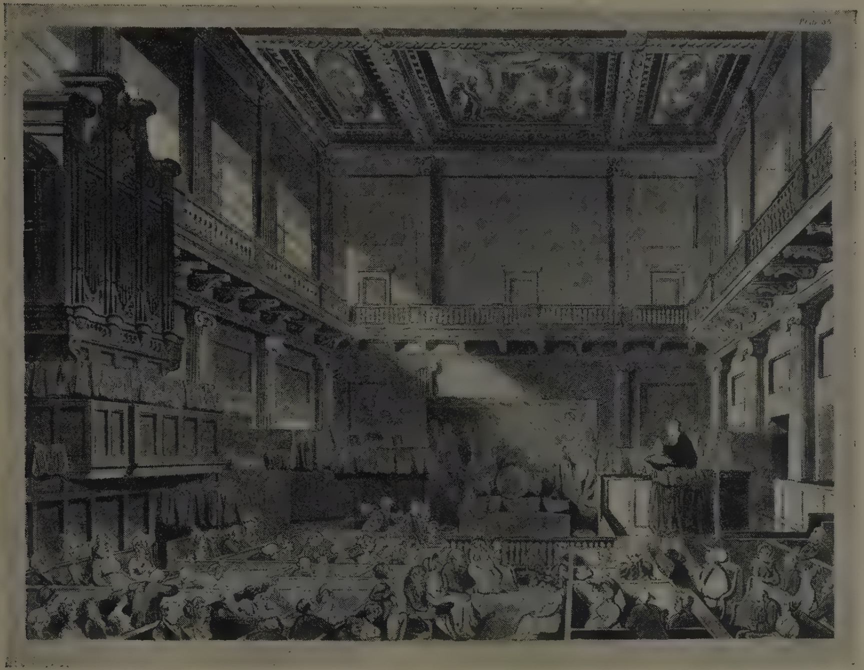
[†] P.R.O., E. 351/3257.

[‡] “The Banquetting-house, though not much injured by the fire, (except that part next Westminster) yet all parts of that renowned and ancient building are so much shattered and disordered, that it little resembles what it was the day before.” (*Harleian Misc.*, VI, p. 399.) Signs of the fire are still visible in the chipped face of the stonework of the corner pilaster to the lower Order at the south-west angle (see Plate 30).

[§] See order to Sir Christopher Wren, dated 15th March, 1697–8, “to fitt up the Banquetting house for a Chappell, and to build other Conveniences near it according to the Modell which has been approved of by his Maty.” (P.R.O., L.C. 5/152.)

[||] “The lords justices have given instructions to sir Christopher Wren to hasten the fitting up the banquetting house for a chappel royal, which he promises to compleat in 3 weeks” (Luttrell's

In 1728 the roof was discovered to be in a dangerous condition.* When, after the removal of the ceiling in 1732, closer examination was possible, " the Ends of the Beams which bear a great length " were found to be " so very much decayd by the badness of the Covering " that thorough repair of the beams and new casting of the lead were decided upon.†



Interior of the Banqueting House before adaptation as a Military Chapel.

In 1773 it was reported that the stone facing of the basement storey of the building was much decayed, and instructions were given for new casing with Portland stone at an estimated cost of £510.‡

In 1809 the accommodation of the building was enlarged by Wyatt to admit of the military attending Divine service. For this purpose a second gallery was constructed. The greater part of the upper gallery, also, owing to its condition, had to be rebuilt.

Brief Relation, etc., 8th November, 1698) ; " To morrow his majestie designs to be at the chappel royal in Whitehal " (*Ibid.*, 24th December) ; " Sunday last being *Christmas Day*, His Majesty came to the new Chapel at *Whitehall*, being the first time ; three Fires having been made in it a Day or two before to Air it." (*The Flying Post*, No. 566—24th to 27th Decr, 1698.)

* P.R.O., T. 56/18, p. 278.

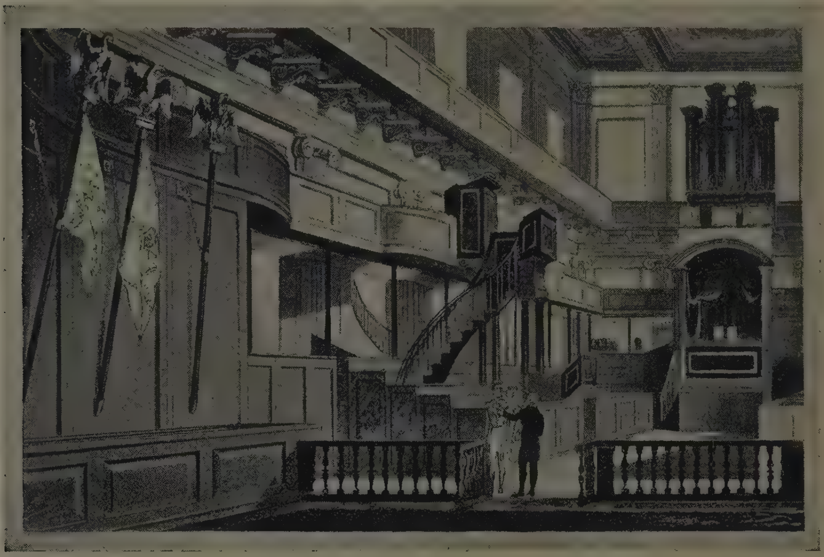
† P.R.O., Works, 6/15.

‡ *Ibid.*, 4/15.

In 1814 alterations were carried out in connection with certain musical festivals given in the building for the relief of the inhabitants of Germany who had suffered during the Napoleonic wars. Later in the year further works were authorised * to restore the building to its former condition, viz.:

(i) Alterations of the part of the chapel altered by the Committee for relief of suffering Germans £825

(ii) Alterations to make the chapel again fit for Divine Service £1419



Interior of the Banqueting House as used for a Military Chapel.

The works were completed early in the following year.†

In 1829 the use by the military ceased, and for eight years the building was closed. Soane, having received instructions to repair the exterior stonework,‡ discovered that the roof was in a most dangerous condition,§

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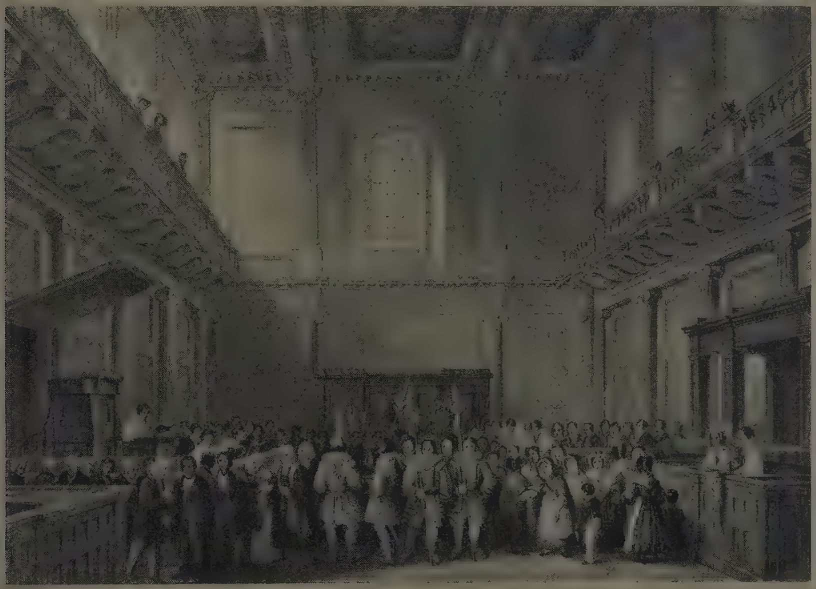
* P.R.O., Works, 1/6.

† "The Chapel Royal, Whitehall, was yesterday re-opened for Divine Service, when the Bishop of London assisted in the performance of the duty. The new alterations, decorations, improvements, and the new organ, by Elliot, attracted a very crowded Chapel." (*The Times*, 6th March, 1815.)

‡ In Britton and Pugin's *Edifices of London*, pubd. in 1826, it was stated that the front was then fast mouldering to dust, that the festoons on the third storey were entirely destroyed, and the pediments and cornices of the windows were in a most dilapidated state. The festoons were said as early as 1761 (Dodsley's *London and its Environs Described*, VI, p. 315) to be "so corroded as to be scarce intelligible."

§ "I have now to report to you that some of the Beams have sunk nine inches in the centre, that one of them is broken, and the ends of the whole of them are entirely decayed, as are likewise and a new roof was accordingly constructed. On the completion of these works the restoration of the interior was taken in hand, and it was not until 1837 that the building was re-opened as a Royal Chapel.

In 1890 the Chapel Royal Commissioners asked for permission to discontinue Whitehall Chapel as a place of worship. This was granted, and at the same time Queen Victoria graciously agreed to lend the building to the United Service Institution for the purposes of a museum as from 1st January, 1891.* The building was publicly opened by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII) on 20th February, 1895.



Interior of the Banqueting House in 1841.

The Ground Storey.

The plan of 1670 shows the ground storey of the building used for cellarage. It was divided by partitions into a number of separate compart-

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all the original Plates on which they rested, the principal Rafters and other parts are so much worm-eaten that the strength of the Timber is in a great degree destroyed and the whole of the Roof is consequently in a very dangerous state." (Letter, dated 21st February, 1829, P.R.O., Works, 1/17, p. 182.) In a further letter, dated 5th May, 1829, he says: "The wonder to me is that the whole has not long since fallen in." (P.R.O., Works, 1/17, p. 307.)

* Sheppard's *Whitehall*, pp. 50–1. The pews, altar-rails, etc., had of course to be removed. The old pew panelling was converted into the dado for the ground storey (see p. 131). The altar-rails and part of the panelling were sold, and are now in the possession of Mr. Edgar Horne, who has had them worked into his house at Shackleford, Surrey.

ments,* and in 1808, when reporting on the proposed alterations to the Banqueting House, Wyatt stated that there were then 21 different divisions underneath the building "all about 18 or 20 feet square, occupied as Cellars by different persons, paying no Rent or acknowledgment as I can discover."† In 1830 the books and records of the Lottery Office were temporarily deposited there.

The Northern Annexe.

The Banqueting House, as erected by Inigo Jones, had within it no staircase either to the floor of the house or to the gallery above. Access of this kind was provided by means of an outside staircase at the north end, and the building which enclosed it is shown on the Hollar and Cosimo Views (Plate 4). The same views show a small square structure in the middle, continuing above the balustraded parapet of the main building. This presumably gave access to the leads of the great roof. On the building of the new gallery from the Banqueting House to the Guard Chamber in 1668–9 (see p. 63) a "new stairecase up to the Banquetting house"‡ was provided. The building enclosing the stairs also contained rooms, described in 1691 as :§

Sir Tho. Duppa—2 roomes up the Banquetting house staires
L^d Great Chamberlain—1 roome 1 Clossett up the same staires
Mr. Killigrew—1 roome 1 Clossett up the same staires
L^d Almoner—up the same staires, three roomes and Clossetts.

In 1755 the rooms were occupied by the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord Almoner and the Cofferer.‖ When in 1809 the Banqueting House was altered by Wyatt to admit of its being used as a military chapel, the building at the north end was carried up higher, and made to appear "as much as possible as part of the original Building, and not as a building added at any subsequent period."¶ Further extensions were subsequently carried out when extra accommodation was provided at the north-east end of the

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* See *e.g.* (i) order, dated 11th April, 1666, to Sir John Denham "to erect . . . partitions in the cellar under the Banquetting howse at Whitehall" (P.R.O., L.C. 5/138, p. 355); (ii) order, dated 27th July, 1683, "to divide by a partition of boards two Arches of the Greate Cellar under the Banquetting house at Whitehall to be for ye use & service of Henry Saville Esq . . . & that you contrive the Entrance into it apart from ye other greate Cellar as you shall judg most convenient" (*Ibid*, 5/144, p. 450); (iii) warrant to deliver "to ye Earle of Montagu . . . that partition of a cellar under ye Banqueting house which ye Dutchess of Grafton now possesseth, when shee shall quitt it." (*Ibid.*, 5/151, p. 48.)

† P.R.O., Works, 6/24.

‡ *Ibid.*, 5/13.

§ P.R.O., L.C. 5/196.

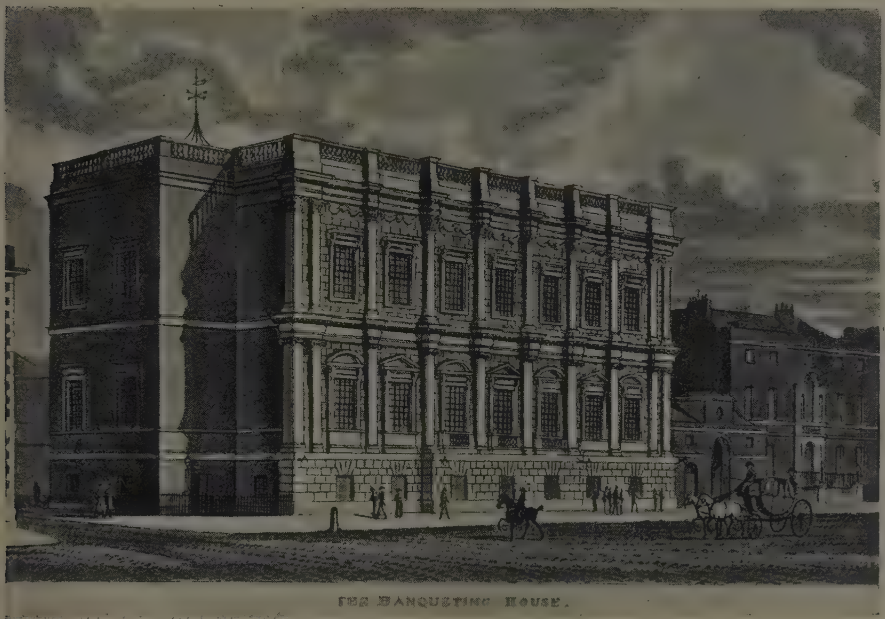
‖ "We have examined the Apartment belonging to my Lord Great Chamberlain that is adjoyning to the Banquetting House, and find that the Lord Almoner and the Cofferer have Apartments in the same Building, which were all much damaged by the late Fire; that the different Apartments are so intermixt, one can't be Repair'd without the other." 22nd July, 1755. (P.R.O., Works, 6/17, p. 137.)

¶ P.R.O., Works, 6/24.

Banqueting House, the premises assuming their present shape and size. (Plate 19.)

The Rubens Ceiling.

The great feature of the Banqueting House is the famous ceiling painted by Rubens* (see description on pp. 132–3). The suggestion that Rubens should prepare something of the kind had evidently been mooted in 1621, when the Banqueting House was in building, for on 13th September of that year the painter wrote to William Trumbull as follows :—†" Quant à Sa Majesté et son A. Mons^{r} le Prince de Galles, je seray tousjours bien ayse de reçevoir l'honneur de leurs commandemens, et touchant le sale au nouveau Palays je confesse d'estre, par un instinct naturel, plus propre à faire des ouvrages bien grandes que des petites curiositéz. Chacun a sa grace ; mon talent est tel, que jamais entreprise encore quelle fust desmesurée en quantité et diversité de suggets a surmenté mon courage."


THE BANQUETING HOUSE.

The Banqueting House, showing Wyatt's alterations at the north end.

We next hear of the paintings in 1634 when Balthasar Gerbier wrote to Charles I that they were ready. Questions concerning the payment of customs duty delayed their transmission, and meanwhile certain work was found necessary "in retouching and mending the cracks, which had been caused through their having been rolled up almost a whole year."* Rubens desired to do this before transhipment to England, "fearing, when past the seas, to be taken by the goutt, of w^{ch} often visited."† An attack of this malady at home, however, further delayed matters, and it was not until October, 1635, that the pictures were forwarded.‡ Rubens' fee amounted to £3000.§

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* Kneller states that Rubens was assisted in the work by Jordaens.

† Sainsbury's *Papers relating to Rubens*, p. 249.

The paintings have on five occasions been restored.

(i) In 1686 an order was given to Wren "to Erect Scaffolds in the Banquetting House in Whitehall for ye Mending the Pictures in the Ceelings, which are to bee done with all Convenient Speede."‖ The work was intrusted to Parry Walton, whose account was in 1688 settled for £212.¶

(ii) In 1729–32, in connection with the repairs to the roof, the ceiling was taken down by Kent.** It was found to be in such a bad condition that unless mending, new lining and cleaning were soon carried out the paintings were "in danger of totally perishing." Orders were therefore given for the work to be done at an estimated cost of £250. At the same time it was reported that "the masks, festoons and other ornaments painted all round the room and heightened with gold, are almost quite defaced." The repair and restoration of these was also decided on at an estimated cost of £200.††

(iii) In 1776–7 the ceiling was again restored by Cipriani.‡‡

(iv) The next occasion was in connection with the extensive works of restoration carried out by Soane about 1830. On 2nd July, 1831, accounts amounting to £560 for expenses incurred in packing and protecting the paintings were ordered to be paid,* and later in the year instructions were given for their repair and reinstatement. According to Sheppard the work was done under the direction of Sir Robert Smirke.

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* Sainsbury's *Papers relating to Rubens*, p. 194.

† *Ibid.*, p. 196.

‡ "S^r Peter Rubens . . . saith five of his pictures, for his Maj^{ts} Banqueting house, wilbe ready to be sent from Antwerp towards Duncquercq tomorrow sennight" (18th September, 1635); "S^r Peter Rubens man (who should have past the seas to sett up the pictures) is become soe desperate sicke, as unable to performe the journey; another is made choise of, for whom I have also sent a Passe" (9th October, 1635). (*Ibid.*, pp. 199–200).

§ 4th June, 1638. "Receipt of Lionel Wake the younger for 330*l.* in full of 3,000*l.* due by his Majesty to Sir Peter Paul Rubens for pictures bought of him long since." (*Cal. of S.P. Dom.*, 1637–8, p. 488.

‖ P.R.O., L.C. 5/147, p. 151.

¶ "To Parry Walton in satisfacōn of his extraordinary pains in repayring all the pictures in the ceiling in the banquetting house in Whitehall 212 0 0." (Akerman's *Secret Service Expenses of Charles II and James II*, p. 206.)

** "These are to require you to allow and permit Mr. Kent to take down the painting of the Ceiling in the $Banquet^g$ House in Whitehall." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/160, p. 118; 26th December, 1729.)

†† *Lord Chamberlain's Warrant Book*, I, 394.

‡‡ 26th April, 1776: "Mr. Cipriani Acquainted the Board that He was now at leisure to proceed with the painting of the Ceeling at Whitehall Chapel and could wish to begin the same directly;" 28th November, 1777: "The Board went to Whitehall Chapel to view the painting which Mr. Cipriani had compleated." (P.R.O., Works, 4/15.)

(v) In 1906-7 the ceiling was again taken down, the canvases removed from their frames, cleaned, repaired, remounted on laminated boarding and replaced on the frames, which also had been carefully repaired and restored.

The Organ.

On 23rd July, 1662, a warrant was issued† to "pay to John Hingeston, Keeper and Repayrer of his Ma^{ts} organs, the summe of seaventy six pounds five shillings for mending and repayring of his Ma^{ts} organs in his Ma^{ts} Chappell Royall at Whitehall . . . and for *errecting an organ in the Banquetting house*." It would seem that the latter organ was not a permanent fixture, but had been lent by Bernhardt Schmidt (Father Smith) for the Maundy Thursday celebration. According to Smith's biographer, an organ was lent for this purpose on thirteen occasions between 1662 and 1683.‡ On the adaptation of the Banqueting House as a chapel in 1698, a permanent organ was provided. On 5th May, 1699, an order was given for the fitting up of "a shed in Whitehall for Mr. Smith, his Majesties Musicall Instrument maker to work in during the time he is preparing an Organ for his Majesties chappell att Whitehall."§ The instrument was ready by October, the *London Post* for the 3rd of that month containing an entry: "A new Organ is set up in the Banquetting-house-Chappel, with a Dial in the middle of it [see illustration on p. 123], this being the first of that make; the other is packt up in Boxes there, in order to be sent to Barbadoes." From this it would appear that a permanent organ had been supplied for the Banqueting House at some time after 1683.||

On the discontinuance of the Banqueting House as a chapel in 1890, the organ then in use was removed to the Royal Chapel of St. Peter-ad-Vincula, in the Tower of London, where it now is (Plate 44). Affixed to it is a brass plate containing the following inscription:—

> "This organ (originally built by Father Schmidt in 1676 by command of His Majesty King Charles the Second, being the first

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* P.R.O., Works, 4/31, p. 66.

† P.R.O., L.C. 5/137, p. 217.

‡ Andrew Freeman's *Father Smith*, p. 38. The statement in the first edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Musicians* that Smith soon after his arrival in this country, about 1660, built a new organ for the Banqueting House, that this was the first organ built by him in England, and that the specification still exists, is corrected in the third edition. The specification is that of the organ erected in 1699.

§ P.R.O., L.C. 5/152, p. 187. The shed in question was probably the workshop ("workhouse") afterwards used by Christopher Shrider, Smith's son-in-law, on the site of Malmesbury House (see p. 162).

|| This is confirmed by an entry in *The Postboy* for 26–29th August, 1699: "Yesterday the Organs and Case that were in the King's Chaple in the Banquetting-House were taken down in order to be sent to the Honourable Mr. Grey, Governor of *Barbadoes*, to be set up in his Chaple."

> built by him in England) was rebuilt by Elliott in 1814 and enlarged by Hill in 1844, under the superintendence of Richard Massey Esq., Organist of Her Majesty's Chapel Royal Whitehall, from 1837 to 1877.
>
> The organ was again rebuilt and enlarged by Hill and Son, under the superintendence of Charles Sherwood Jekyll Esq., Organist of Her Majesty's Chapels Royal, St. James's and Whitehall, 1877.
>
> Some of the original pipes are in the choir organ."

From what has preceded it is clear that the organ was built in 1699, not 1676, and that it was not the first built by Smith in England, that statement properly referring to the organ built for the old Chapel Royal in 1662.

THE PRESENT BUILDING—DESCRIPTION.

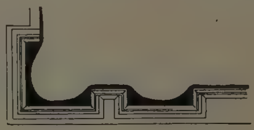
The building comprises two storeys: a vaulted ground storey and an upper storey containing the Banqueting Hall. The east and west elevations are faced with Portland stone, while the north and south ends, where exposed, are in cement with stone dressings. The south end is now hidden by the premises of the Royal United Service Institution.

With the exception of the stone balustraded parapet, and stonework to the depth of the entablature, no attempt has been made to treat the ends on the lines of the other two fronts. The south end has a large semi-circular-headed window (Plate 37), which is now converted into an internal light, with a doorway leading from the gallery floor to the main staircase of the adjoining premises.

The east and west elevations are symmetrical, each comprising seven bays.

The ground storey is treated as a podium with rusticated courses above a tooled plinth. The windows are square-headed, with rusticated arches, the centre of the head having a straight joint instead of the usual keystone or voussoir.

The upper storey is in two stages, an Ionic Order, carrying a Composite Order, with the entablatures continuous and their respective members enriched, the frieze to the lower Order being pulvinated. The central feature of the façade is formed by the middle bays being advanced, with $\frac{3}{4}$-diameter columns to the two stages, while the bays on either side have pilasters. Strength is given to the corners by the coupling of the pilasters, the outer one of each pair having a returned face. The general wall treatment to the bays is rusticated, and the windows are square-headed, those to the lower stage having alternate segmental and triangular pediments supported on shaped brackets, with panelled pilasters flanking the eared architrave to the



openings. The windows to the upper stage are similar in character, but their cornices are supported on brackets without pediments. The lower windows to the central bays have a balustraded dado, the others a plain dado. The windows have double-hung oak sashes, divided into small squares by substantial bars : they were formerly fitted with solid frames.

Between the capitals to the upper stage is a boldly carved frieze (Plate 29) representing draped female masks between swags of fruit. The modillion cornice is surmounted by an open balustraded parapet above a double plinth, which continues around the building.

The annexe at the north end contains an entrance hall and main staircase (Plate 32) leading to the Banqueting Hall, with a secondary staircase continuing from the Hall to the gallery and offices above. When carrying out his alterations (see p. 126) Wyatt presumably re-used Inigo Jones' stone parapet and cornice, and faced the wall below with cement relieved with stone bands and stone dressings to the windows. The remaining portion of the balustrade was taken down and refixed to the new parapet when the annexe was carried further eastward.

On the north end of the main roof is a wrought-iron weather-vane, said to have been erected by James II to indicate the direction of the wind while he was dreading the approach of the Dutch fleet.*

The south end of the Hall contains the large semi-circular-headed window mentioned above. The south face of the opening has a moulded archivolt and plain pilasters with moulded imposts and bases. (Plate 37).

The original roof seems to have been covered with lead, but in the restoration carried out by Soane in 1829–30 its form appears to have been altered, as it is now covered with slates, with a lead flat on top.†

The ground storey (Plate 32) is vaulted in brick, now plastered, and is divided into three longitudinal bays by a series of a double row of six square piers forming seven cross bays. Each bay has a groined vault, separated by flat ribs, which continue down to the floor, both on the wall surface and the piers. The wood dado was provided in 1891, and was formed out of the old pew panelling after the building had ceased to be used as a chapel. The Hall above (Plates 33 and 34) comprises seven bays, and is divided into two stages by a gallery, which now‡ continues all round the room, and is supported by enriched brackets projecting from the frieze of the lower Order. The moulded front to the gallery floor forms the cornice to the Order, and is surmounted by symmetrically turned balusters, with a moulded handrail as capping. The balustraded front is divided by dies into bays corresponding with the divisions to the main wall surfaces. At the north end the central bay to the gallery is advanced, and is supported on coupled fluted Ionic columns* (Plate 36). Before the construction of the present shallow gallery at the south end,† the cornice to the lower Order, which has its bed-mould enriched and frieze pulvinated, was carried across the wall, the large round-headed window above forming an end light to the hall free of obstruction. (See illustration on p. 125).

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* No reference to the erection has been found among the official records, and the earliest statement on the point that has been discovered is that in the *Nouveau Théatre de la Grande Bretagne*, Vol. IV (1729) : " La Girouette qui y est, y fut mise par le Roy *Jaques* Second en 1687 [?], afin de voir, de ses Apartemens, si le vent etoit favorable pour la flotte du Prince d'Orange."

† The timber construction of the roof as shown in drawings in the Chatsworth Collection differs somewhat from that now in existence.

‡ The account of 1633 (p. 122) states that the gallery was only to two sides and the lower end.

The windows are square-headed, inter-spaced below the gallery, with half-diameter fluted Ionic columns, and a square panel over. Above, the gallery wall is divided into bays by fluted Corinthian pilasters, supporting the heavily moulded entablature and main ribs of the painted ceiling (Plate 35).

At each end of the main floor is a central doorway, square-headed, with a moulded cornice supported on shaped brackets and a plain panel above. On each side is a doorway of smaller scale, and the panel over is consequently higher. The panel over the central door at the north end contains a decorative clockcase.

The walls are finished with an enriched entablature, comprising a modillion cornice, a frieze ornamented with the wave or crest, and a moulded architrave.

Between the pilaster capitals is a painted frieze, representing draped female masks and swags of fruit, similar to the carved frieze of the exterior (Plate 29).

The ceiling is divided into nine deep panels by decorative ribs formed by the modillion cornice and ornamental frieze being mitred around, with the guilloche to the soffits; the whole constituting a rich frame to each panel (Plate 37). The centre panel is of the oval shape favoured by Jones. The guilloche ornament on the soffit overlaps at the intersections with the main ribs, which position is marked by carved rosettes, similar features being introduced at the crossing of the ribs and intermediates. The main decorations are picked out in gilt, producing a rich effect.

The subject of the middle panel‡ (Plate 39) is the Apotheosis of James I. Justice is raising the King, who is shown holding a sceptre, with one foot on a globe and the other on the wing of a flying eagle, which is grasping a thunderbolt in its talons. In attendance are figures representing Zeal, Religion, Honour and Victory. Above the King are cherubs with the crown and orb, and others are blowing trumpets.

The large south panel (Plate 40) represents the King, seated on a

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[*] The illustration of the ante-chapel in 1773 (Plate 45) shows no columns under the gallery. From the same illustration it appears that the bronze bust of Charles I by Le Sueur, now at the head of the main staircase (see Plate 32), was then over the central doorway.

[†] From evidence kindly supplied by Sir Aston Webb and Son it appears that this gallery was constructed in 1893, when the new premises of the Royal United Service Institution were being erected.

[‡] In default of other information, the descriptions of the paintings in the panels have had to be based primarily on an old key (of unknown origin and date) preserved in the Hall. The key, however, is certainly incorrect in some particulars (which have therefore been amended), and may be so in others.

throne within an architectural composition, and pointing to Peace and Plenty embracing on his right. Angels support a laurel wreath over his head and a cherub behind him carries the crown. On his left Minerva, holding a thunderbolt in her right hand and a shield in her left, is driving Rebellion, who holds a flaring torch, down to Hell, where Satan, attended by monsters, awaits him. Mercury is pointing with his caduceus to his downfall.

The large north panel (Plate 41) is an allegorical representation of the birth and crowning of Prince Charles. The King is seated on his throne, holding the orb, and pointing with his sceptre to Prince Charles (a nude infant figure), who is attended by two draped females, of whom one, who is crowned, may be intended for the Queen. Behind is Minerva, who is holding a crown over the prince. The background shows an architectural composition, with a domed coffered ceiling. In the upper part of the picture two cherubs support a crowned cartouche, bearing the Stuart arms, with garlands of roses.

The two oval panels (Plate 42) at the south end of the ceiling represent (i) Royal Bounty, pouring, from a cornucopia, crowns, emblems and medals, and trampling on Avarice; and (ii) Government, holding a bridle, and trampling on Rebellion.

Two similar panels (Plate 42) at the north end represent (i) Hercules (Heroic Virtues) clubbing Envy; and (ii) Minerva (Heroic Chastity) with a spear destroying Lust. Above her is a flying owl holding a wreath.

On each side of the large central panel are long oblong panels (Plate 43). That on the east side shows a procession of cherubs, with a chariot laden with fruit and drawn by a ram and a wolf, the former ridden by an infant Bacchus. In front is a cherub riding a tiger, preceded by other cherubs carrying a huge cornucopia of fruit, the whole representing the Peace and Plenty of King James's reign. The other panel is supposed to represent the Harmony and Happiness of the reign, and contains gambolling cherubs on a rope of fruit which issues from a chariot drawn by a lion and a bear. Cherubs are loading up the chariot with a huge cornucopia of fruit. The lion has a cherub on his back tickling his ear, while another in front is drawing his teeth.

The scale of the figures in the whole composition is extraordinary, the cherubs being more than 9 feet high.

The stone staircase (Plate 32) in the annexe at the north end has its balustrading similar in character to the gallery front of the Hall. The staircase gives access from the ground to the main floor of the Hall, and consists of two flights of steps around an open well, with a half-space landing. A wood staircase adjoining on the east side continues above to the gallery level, and another continues to the roof of the annexe.

Access to the main roof is obtained by dwarf dormer doors on the east and west sides, which lead from the lead gutter behind the stone balustraded parapet.

The organ case (Plate 44) which is now in the Chapel of St. Peter-ad-Vincula (see p. 129), has a carved oak front in three bays with four towers of pipes polygonal on plan, the two middle towers on twin cherub-head corbels (Plate 45), the side towers on corbels of acanthus leaves and connected by panels of pierced carving with a continuous moulded cornice.

The towers are surmounted by a shaped entablature with pierced scrollwork below enclosing heads of pipes. The bays between contain the smaller pipes with similar scrollwork to heads and base. A length of moulding supports further scrollwork ramping up each side to the higher level of the middle towers. The centre is crowned by a carved cartouche bearing the Royal Arms of William and Mary.

The lower part of the case is composed of plain modern panelling.

General observations.

At the present time it is impossible even to surmise, with any approach to accuracy, the extent to which renewals and other changes have been made in the original material of the building, or as affecting its more detailed decorative treatment. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the structure, as it exists to-day, does not express with reasonable truth the original design of Inigo Jones, in both general effect and detail.

It can certainly be said of the Banqueting House that, regarded as the work of an English architect in the first quarter of the 17th century, it is a remarkable building; defining a change that can well be described as revolutionary. The Renaissance, which at this period had reached an advanced stage in Italy, and had in less degree, exerted its influence on adjacent countries, was then but little felt in England, where, at the end of the 16th century, the long-established Gothic tradition survived. Tudor architecture, it is true, had shown, in a somewhat crude and uncertain way, certain qualities and features of classic architecture, intermixed with the late phase of medievalism, but, at the beginning of the 17th century, the mature revived Classic that had become common in Italy through such masters as Sansovino, San Gallo, Vignola, Palladio and Scamozzi, was in effect unknown. Inigo Jones spent a considerable time in Italy, in diligent study both of ancient architecture and of contemporary buildings where the classic manner was adapted to modern use. He was doubtless equally familiar with the well-illustrated writings of the architect-authors, Palladio, Serlio and Vignola. When, accordingly, the commission to rebuild the Banqueting House came to him, he was well equipped for producing a building expressive of mature Renaissance, comparable, as it turned out, with the best work that the Italian masters could produce; a combination of fine proportion and sense of design with massive scale and strength, and showing a wide grasp of both the practical and ornamental functions embraced in the Art of Architecture. Only a man of exceptional merit and powers of observation could have achieved such a result. By one stroke, as it were, he prepared the way for the modern phase of architecture, on classic lines, that we have since known. He thus provided the impulse whereby Webb, his pupil and successor, and, at a later stage, Sir Christopher Wren and his successors, completed and established that revolutionary change. For this reason it can be said that Inigo Jones is rightly regarded as the Father of modern English Architecture; and the Banqueting House, by its outstanding quality, as, perhaps, the most notable of English Renaissance buildings.

Condition of repair.

Good.

Historical notes.

The original purpose for which the Banqueting House was built was not only to serve as a place for the giving of banquets, as implied by the name, but for the reception of ambassadors, the hearing of addresses and other ceremonial functions of various kinds, as well as the giving of masques and other entertainments.

The 1607 Banqueting House was opened on 10th January, 1607–8, with Ben Jonson's masque, *The Mask of Beauty*. A description of the scene has been preserved for us by the Venetian Ambassador, who a fortnight later wrote to the Doge and Senate as follows:* "I must just touch on the splendour of the spectacle, which was worthy of her Majesty's [Anne of Denmark, consort of James I] greatness. The apparatus and the cunning of the stage machinery was a miracle, the abundance and beauty of the lights immense, the music and the dance most sumptuous. But what beggared all else, and possibly exceeded the public expectation, was the wealth of pearls and jewels that adorned the Queen and her ladies, so abundant and splendid that in every one's opinion no other court could have displayed such pomp and riches."

On 27th December, 1612, the young Elector Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth were affianced "in the Banquetting-house at Whitehall." † On 14th February following the happy pair were wedded, and a masque was presented in the Banqueting House on the occasion. A detailed account of this is given by a contemporary writer,‡ who is full of admiration at the wonderful scenic effects contrived by Inigo Jones.§

Another notable masque was that performed in the present building at Candlemas, 1633–4, by members of the Inns of Court, "in joyful acknowledgment of the happy birth of the Duke of York"‖ (afterwards James II). The masquers came in magnificent procession from Ely House. "In the mean time the Banqueting-house at Whitehall was so crouded with fair Ladies, glittering with their rich Cloths and richer Jewels, and with Lords and Gentlemen of Great Quality, that there was scarce room for the King and Queen to enter in." A special stage had been provided¶ and "the King and Queen, and all their noble Train being come in, the Masque [*The Triumph of Peace*, by James Shirley] began, and was incomparably performed in the Dancing, Speeches,

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* *Cal. of S.P., Venetian*, 1607–10, No. 154.

† A full description is given in Nichols' *Progresses of James I*, II, p. 513.

‡ *The Description, Speeches and Songs of the Lords' Maske, presented in the Banquetting-House, etc.*, by Thomas Campion, M.D.

§ "According to the humour of this song ["Advance your chorall motions now, you musick-loving lights"] the starres moved in an exceeding strange and delightfull manner, and I suppose fewe have ever seene more neate artifice than Master Inigo Jones showed in contriving their motion, who in all the rest of the workmanship which belonged to the whole invention shewed extraordinarie industrie and skill, which if it be not as lively exprest in writing as it appeared in view, robbe not him of his due, but lay the blame on my want of right apprehending his instructions for the adorning of his arte."

‖ *Middle Temple Records, Calendar*, p. 64.

¶ "For framinge and setting upp a Stage of xl^{ty} foote one way and xxvij foote an other way and vij fo. in heigth, with duble stayres, in the Banquetting house, inclosing the same and covering it overhead with Firpoles & dealebourds xlij foo. in heighte . . . It being made to serve both for the Maske performed by the Inns of Courte Gentl' and alsoe for the Kings Maske afterwards to be presented there." (P.R.O., E. 351/3267.)

Musick, and Scenes; the Dances, Figures, Properties, the Voices, Instruments, Songs, Airs, Composures, the Words and Actions, were all of them exact, and none failed in their Parts of them, and the Scenes were most curious and costly.*

The accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber show that the Banqueting House was occasionally used for the performance of plays, though not as frequently as the Great Hall. Even the Elizabethan building was used for this purpose, for the accounts contain an item "for makinge readie the banquetinge house at Whitehalle for the Kinges Ma^{tie} againste the plaie . . . mense Novembris 1604." This is no doubt the play referred to in the Revels Accounts as performed on 1st November, 1604, by "the King's Ma^{tes} plaiers" in "the Banketinge House att Whithall, called The Moor of Venis."

In March, 1607–8, expenditure was incurred in "making readie the Banquetting house there likewise for the King, Queene and Prince to see the Dauncing Asse and Goate." It seems likely that the actual performance took place in the tilt-yard opposite, the Banqueting House being used simply as a place from which to view the spectacle. This was certainly the case on the many occasions when the building was prepared for bear-baiting,† the bearstake being actually set up in the tilt-yard.

Of audiences to members of Parliament given in the Banqueting House we hear on several occasions. A notable case was that in January, 1656–7, when the Speaker, with over 200 members of the House of Commons, waited on the Protector with an address of congratulation on his escape from Sindercombe's attempt at assassination (see p. 55). "As they were goeing up into the banquettinge house part of the stayrecase brake, and down fell many of the members, viz^{t}. the Lord Richard Cromwell, whose shoulder was much bruised; Mr. Sollicitor Generall Ellis, one of whose legges is broken; Lieutenant-Colonel White, whose arme is sayd to be broken, with many other members prejudiced."‡

There are many references to the reception of ambassadors in the Banqueting House. Evelyn's account of one of these is given in his *Diary* under date of 29th December, 1662. "Saw the audience of the Muscovy Ambassador, which was with extraordinary state, his retinue being numerous, all clad in vests of several colours, with buskins, after the Eastern manner; their caps of fur; tunics, richly embroidered with gold and pearls, made a glorious show. The King being seated under a canopy in the Banqueting-house, the Secretary of the Embassy went before the Ambassador in a grave march, holding up his master's letters of credence in a crimson taffeta scarf before his forehead. The Ambassador then delivered it with a profound reverence to the King, who gave it to our Secretary of State . . . Then came in the presents, borne by 165 of his retinue, consisting of mantles and other large pieces lined with sable, black fox, and ermine; Persian carpets, the ground cloth of gold and velvet; hawks . . . horses . . . etc. . . . Wind music played all the while in the galleries above."

The ceremony of touching for the King's evil seems usually to have been performed in the Banqueting House. Pepys witnessed it there on 13th April, 1661, and expresses the opinion that it was "an ugly office and a simple one." The first occasion of the kind after the Restoration was on 6th July, 1660, when Evelyn was present, and records the order of proceeding thus: "His Majesty sitting under his state in the Banqueting house, the chirurgeons caused the sick to be brought, or led, up to the throne, where they kneeling, the King strokes their faces or cheeks with both his hands at once, at which instant a chaplain in his formalities says, 'He put his hands upon them, and he healed them.'"

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* Whitelocke's *Memorials* (1732 edn.), I, p. 21.

† A few of the references in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber may be given: (i) "makeinge ready the gallery wthin the Tiltyard at Whitehall and the banquetinge house . . . one for the runinge and daunceinge on the Ropes and thother for the Bearebaytinge against St Georges Feast . . . mense Aprilis, 1609;" (ii) makeing ready the Banquetinge house twoe severall tymes for daunceinge and an other tyme for Bearebaytinge . . . mens' Martii et Aprilis, 1611;" (iii) "makeinge ready the Banquettinge house for bearebaytinge, mense Maii, 1612;" (iv) "makinge readie the bankettinge house twyce for playes and once for Bearebaytinge . . . mense Aprilis, 1613."

‡ *Clarke Papers* (Camden Society), III, p. 87.

On 20th April, 1661, a few days before the coronation of Charles II, the King in the Banqueting House created " six Earls and as many Barons."* Pepys also saw the ceremony : " Then with my Lady and my Lady Wright to White Hall ; and in the Banqueting-house saw the King create my Lord Chancellor and several others, Earls, and Mr. Crew and several others, Barons : the first being led up by Heralds and five old Earls to the King, and there the patent is read, and the King puts on his vest, and sword, and coronet, and gives him the patent. And then he kisseth the King's hand, and rises and stands covered before the king. And the same for the Barons, only he is led up but by three of the old Barons, and are girt with swords before they go to the King. That being done (which was very pleasant to see their habits) I carried my Lady back."

In 1685, when James II's new building works (see pp. 102 ff.) were proceeding, the Banqueting House was used for the storage of the contents of the old buildings.†

On occasions the Banqueting House was used for more or less private purposes. Thus on 19th July, 1664, Evelyn records : " To London, to see the event of the lottery which his Majesty had permitted Sir Arthur Slingsby to set up for one day in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, I gaining only a trifle, as well as did the King, Queen-Consort, and Queen-Mother, for nearly thirty lots ; which was thought to be contrived very unhandsomely by the master of it, who was, in truth, a mere shark."

Auctions were also held there occasionally. The *Gazette* for 20th May, 1683, mentions : " His Majesty has permitted Grinling Gibbons and Parry Walton to expose to sale, at the Banqueting house, Sir P. Lely's collection of pictures, at nine in the morning, and two in the afternoon, and so to continue from day to day ; " and Evelyn‡ gives an account of the auction there of Lord Melfort's pictures, which had been seized to satisfy his creditors.

The last great ceremonial function which took place in the Banqueting House was on the occasion of the offer of the Crown to the Prince and Princess of Orange. " The Grand Convention of the Lords and Commons of England . . . did on Wednesday morning [13th February, 1688–9] meet in both Houses of Parliament, and afterwards went in a Body with their Speakers and Maces to Whitehall to pray the Prince and Princess of Orangne [*sic*] to accept of the Crown : their Highnesses received them in the Banqueting House, where being at the upper end of the Room, and the Yeomen of the Guard ranged on both sides : The Lords and Commons entred at the lower end, and advanced between and Their Highnesses meeting them part of the way. After the ceremony on both sides were over, the Clerk of the House of Lords first read the Vote of both Lords and Commons, importing that the late King James the 2d having abdicated the Government, etc. that the Throne was thereby vacant. Then they read their Declaration to their Highnesses . . . To which their Highnesses were Graciously pleased to signifie their approbation and Consent to accept the Crown accordingly . . . Whereupon there were loud Shouts for Joy both in the Banqueting House and in all the Courts of Whitehall. Then the said Lords and Commons came down to Whitehall Gate, where . . . York Herald did in the presence of the said Lords and Commons, and Multitudes of People, proclaim the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, with all the Dominions . . . thereto belonging."§

There is little doubt that the building was used for the distribution of the Maundy from the time when it was converted into a Chapel until 1890, and it would seem that this was frequently

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[*] Evelyn's *Diary*, which, however, places the event subsequent to the Royal procession from the Tower to Whitehall, which occurred on 22nd April.

[†] " I dined at the great entertainment his Majesty gave the Venetian Ambassadors. . . . Dinner ended, I saw their procession . . . to Whitehall. . . . Thence I went to the audience which they had in the Queen's presence-chamber, the Banqueting-house being full of goods and furniture till the galleries on the garden-side, council-chamber, and new chapel, now in building were finished." (Evelyn's *Diary*, 18th November, 1685.)

[‡] *Ibid.*, 21st June, 1693. See also *London Gazette*, 7–11th March, 1694 : " A Curious Collection of Pictures belonging to Lieutenant-General Talmash Deceased, will be sold on Thursday next in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, where the Pictures may be seen the Tuesday and Wednesday before."

[§] *The Universal Intelligencer.*

the case even before 1698.† The distribution of the provisions took place normally in the ante-chapel, but the alteration of the building in 1814 made the place unsuitable. In 1815 a temporary barrack room was erected in the rear of the chapel for the purpose, but in the following year no preparation was made until a day or two before Maundy Thursday, when tents were put up. The result was disastrous. The poor people were not sufficiently protected, either from the cold or from the crowd outside, there was not nearly enough space for the distribution, and, to add to the trouble, heavy rain fell during the night before, penetrating the tent and spoiling the bread.‡ Recourse was therefore again had to the provision of a temporary building until 1837, when the gift in kind was abolished.

Musical festivals have sometimes been held in the building. In 1796 the Handel Commemoration Festival was held there,§ and on 28th June, 1814, was given the first grand concert for the benefit of the German sufferers in the Napoleonic Wars.||

On 18th May, 1811, a grand spectacle was witnessed, when twelve standards and colours taken from the enemy including the French Eagle, taken at the Battle of Barrosa, were carried with military ceremonies from the Horse Guards Parade and deposited in the chapel. Other French Eagles, captured at Salamanca, were also placed there in the following year.¶ They remained in the chapel until it was closed in 1829. The view on p. 124, which represents the interior of the building while in use as a military chapel, shows three Eagles in position.

IN THE COUNCIL'S COLLECTION ARE :—

*Elevation to Whitehall (photograph).
*Elevation to Horse Guards Avenue (photograph).
Elevation to Whitehall Gardens (photograph).
Detail of balustrading below to central windows to main floor (photograph).
*Details of bases to columns and pilasters to lower Order (photographs).
*Details of capitals to columns and pilasters to lower Order (photographs).
*Details of bases to columns and pilasters to upper Order (photographs).
*Details of capitals to columns and pilasters to upper Order (photographs).
*Details of window head to lower Order (photograph).
*Details of window head to upper Order (photograph).
Detail of main cornice and balustrading to parapet (photograph).
*Detail of carved frieze (photograph).
*General view of ground storey looking south (photograph).
General view of interior looking north (photograph).
*General view of interior looking south-west (photograph).
*General view of interior looking north-west (photograph).
*General view of central doorway at north end of Hall (photograph).
*General view of semi-circular window and doorway, from the staircase landing of the Royal United Service Institution (photograph).
*General interior view of windows above gallery to side wall (photograph).
*Detail of modillion cornice and guilloche to ribs of panels of ceiling (photograph).

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† "The queen this day, according to custome, distributed in the banquetting house, etc, money to a great many poor persons, 43 men and 31 women [the numbers corresponding to the ages of the King and Queen]; the crowd was soe great, a woman and a boy were prest to death." (Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, 13th April, 1693.) See also the statement (p. 129) as to Smith lending an organ on those occasions.

‡ P.R.O., Works, 1/7, pp. 512–3.

§ "Whitehall Chapel was yesterday honoured by their Majesties' Company, who were attended by five of the Princesses. The performance was in a grand style—Storace sung finely, though her voice was rather cracked; and Mr. Harrison even outdid his usual chastity of style and elegance of expression. In the foremost rank stood Kelly and Braham." (*The Times*, 27th May, 1796.)

|| Full account in *The Times* of 29th June, 1814.

¶ *Gentleman's Magazine.*

Descriptive key of subjects to panels of painted ceiling (photograph supplied by H.M. Office of Works).

*Engraving of the ceiling by Gribelin, 1720 (photograph supplied by H.M. Office of Works.)

*Painted ceiling. Subject of central panel (photograph supplied by H.M. Office of Works).

*Painted ceiling. Subject of middle north panel (photograph supplied by H.M. Office of Works).

*Painted ceiling. Subject of middle south panel (photograph supplied by H.M. Office of Works).

*Painted ceiling. Views of two northern oval panels (photographs supplied by H.M. Office of Works).

*Painted ceiling. Views of two southern oval panels (photographs supplied by H.M. Office of Works).

*Painted ceiling. Views of two middle oblong panels (photographs supplied by H.M. Office of Works).

*General view of staircase and entrance hall (photograph).

*"Elevation of the Great Doure, Ban. Ho., 1619" (photograph of drawing in the Burlington-Devonshire Collection, R.I.B.A.).

*"The upper windows of ye modell" (photograph of drawing in the Burlington-Devonshire Collection, R.I.B.A.).

*Plan at ground level (measured drawing).

*Plan of Hall (measured drawing).

*Plan at gallery level (measured drawing).

*Cross section (measured drawing).

Longitudinal section (measured drawing).

*Elevation to Whitehall (measured drawing).

*Detail of central bay of façade (measured drawing).

*Detail of end bay to lower Order (measured drawing).

*Detail of end bay to upper Order (measured drawing).

*Full size sections of main mouldings to façade (measured drawings).

Plan and section of balustrading and roof showing additions at north-east corner (measured drawing).

*Organ now in St. Peter-ad-Vincula, Tower of London (photograph).

*Detail of carved corbel to pipe towers of organ (photograph).

The distribution of His Majesty's Maundy . . . in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall (photograph of engraving in possession of the Westminster Public Library).

*The distribution of His Majesty's Maundy . . . in the Ante-Chapel at Whitehall (photograph of engraving in possession of the Westminster Public Library).

*Smithson's plan of 1607 Banqueting House (from photograph of drawing in the possession of the Royal Institute of British Architects.)

*Preliminary sketch for the existing Banqueting House (copy of photograph, in the possession of the R.I.B.A., of drawing in the Chatsworth Collection).

*Elevation for the existing Banqueting House (copy of photograph, in the possession of the R.I.B.A., of drawing in the Chatsworth Collection).

*Block plan of a scheme for erection of new palace at Whitehall (copy of photograph, in the possession of the R.I.B.A., of original in the Chatsworth Collection).

Four drawings of timber construction of roof (copies of photographs, in the possession of the R.I.B.A., of originals in the Chatsworth Collection).

* Reproduced here.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 5

LXV—PELHAM HOUSE (FORMERLY No. 1 WHITEHALL YARD.)

GROUND LANDLORDS.

The premises are the freehold of the Crown and are utilised for the purposes of the Ministry of Transport.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF STRUCTURE.

In 1755 Lady Catherine Pelham applied for a lease of an "old building" in the Privy Garden, part of which was occupied by the pages of the Removing Wardrobe, while the other part, next the Banqueting House, was used as a kitchen to the Cofferer's lodgings. In the report* on her petition the premises are described as lying between Whitehall Court and the Privy Garden, and containing 108¾ feet in length and 21 feet in width. Lady Catherine also asked for a strip of ground on the Privy Garden side about 25 feet wide, in order that she might "make an Add^{l} building of 16 feet 6 inches in bredth, besides the Bow Windows, on the S^{o} side of the old Building." She also desired to block up the existing gateway leading from Whitehall Court to Privy Garden, and to pull down the cofferer's kitchen and make a new gateway there 20 feet wide. The proposal as to the site for the new gateway was rejected as being too near Whitehall Gate, and it was suggested that a site at the east end of the premises would be more suitable. With this modification the lease was granted. Evidences of the new approach thus formed are to be seen in the plans of the present premises.

The view of the Privy Garden by Canaletto (Plate 7) shows the south front of the "old building" in 1746. Its appearance strikingly corresponds with that of the north front of Lady Catherine's premises as shown in Sandby's view some years later (Plate 46). In particular, the south front of the gateway corresponds very closely with the north front of the same gateway, then blocked up, in Sandby's view. It thus appears that the works carried out by Lady Catherine in 1755 were in the nature of adaptation rather than of rebuilding.

The site of the gateway as shown on the plan attached to the report on Lady Catherine's petition corresponds with that of the opening in the "new gallery" shown on the plan of 1670. Moreover, the width of the "old building" (21 feet) is also that of the "new gallery," and the "kinks" in the latter correspond exactly with those of the northern boundary of the next-door premises shown in the plan of 1759 reproduced opposite. The "old building" must therefore have been on the actual site of the "new gallery."† We are not told to what extent the latter suffered in the Fire of

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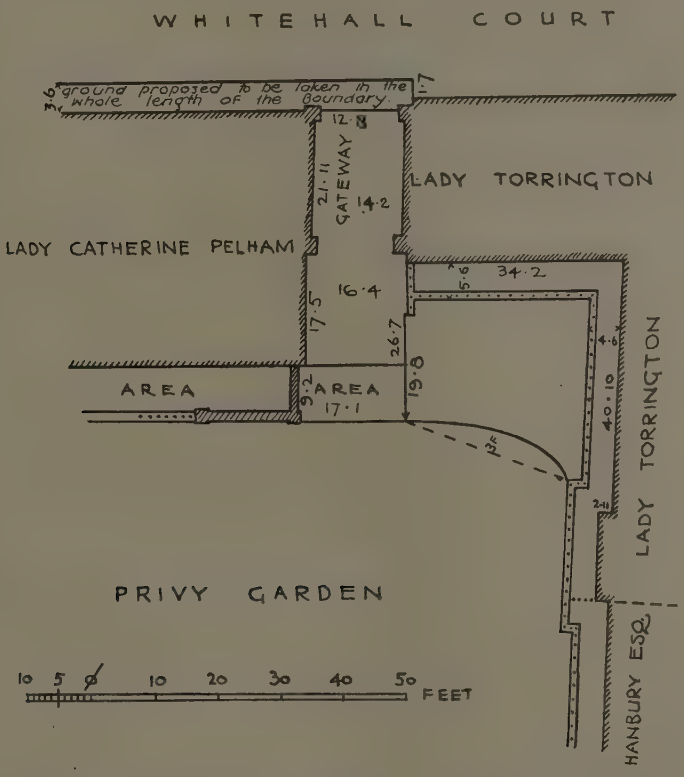
* P.R.O., T. 55/9, p. 388.

† The imposition of the plan of 1804 on that of 1670 (Plate 3) shows the north front of Lady Catherine's premises not quite corresponding with that of the "new gallery," but this is obviously due to inaccuracy in the plan of 1670.

1698, but it would seem probable from the above that it had not been entirely destroyed, and it seems likely that the building shown by Canaletto, and afterwards adapted by Lady Catherine, was substantially the "new gallery" which had been built in 1669. After the Fire it became known as "the Cowhouse," and in 1720 the western portion of it was adapted for use as a laundry.* The south front as shown by Canaletto is no longer visible, being hidden by Lady Catherine's building erected on the additional 25 feet on the Privy Garden side.


WHITEHALL COURT
ground proposed to be taken in the whole length of the Boundary.
3.6
1.7
12.8
21.11
GATEWAY
14.2
LADY TORRINGTON
LADY CATHERINE PELHAM
5.6
34.2
16.4
17.5
26.7
4.6
AREA
9.2
AREA
17.1
19.8
40.10
12F
LADY TORRINGTON
2.11
PRIVY GARDEN
HANBURY ESQ.
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET

Plan accompanying report on Lady Catherine Pelham's Memorial of 1759

In 1759 Lady Catherine presented another memorial, in which she pointed out that the new coachway into Privy Garden from the west then in contemplation would render useless the arched gateway she had provided under the terms of the lease, and asked that she might have a new lease to include the ground under the gateway, as well as a small strip of ground (3½ feet wide) fronting Whitehall Court. A new lease, embodying these alterations, was granted, to expire on 28th April, 1809.

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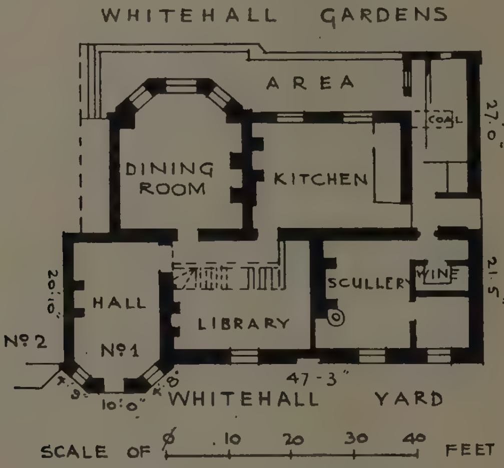
* "His Majesty has commanded Me to signify his pleasure to your Lordships that You give Orders for Enclosing and fitting up Twenty Four Foot in length and Thirteen in Breadth of that end of the Passage called the Cowhouse next to the Banquetting House Stairs, for a Landry for Ironing his Ma$^{t's}$ Linnen" (14th May, 1720, P.R.O., T. 56/18, p. 102). The cow house extended over the site of Cadogan House (see p. 145).

Sandby's view was published in 1766, but must have been drawn not later than 1765, for it shows Whitehall Gate, which was demolished in that year. The old gateway into the Privy Garden, blocked up by Lady Catherine in 1755, appears in that condition with an entrance formed therein, and the new gateway further east, formed in that year, is also bricked in and advanced to take in a portion of the additional strip, 3½ feet wide, acquired by Lady Catherine in 1759. The view therefore cannot be earlier than that year. Another portion of the strip was afterwards utilised for the existing bay window on the site of the original gateway, but although Lady Catherine probably had this in contemplation when applying for the additional strip, and would not delay unduly in carrying out the work, there is no record of when it was actually done.† In default of more precise information, therefore, the view may be dated approximately 1764.



Plan of No. 1 *Whitehall Yard in* 1856*

The front of the premises to Horse Guards Avenue now consists (Plate 48) of a brick exterior, three storeys in height, relieved by two flat brick bands, one at the level of the second floor and the other over the window-heads of the same floor. The portion over the site of the later gateway mentioned above continues an extra storey in height. Sandby's

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[*] Only the western part of No. 1 is shown here. The evidence of the directories suggests that the premises were divided about 1845 when T. W. Philipps entered into occupation.

[†] The bay window appears in the water-colour drawing, made in 1803, of Whitehall Yard, reproduced in Plate 47, but had evidently then been long in existence.

view (Plate 46) shows the house only two storeys in height, with the western corner indicated by a pediment. This western end has since been rebuilt at a distance further back from the Banqueting House. The plan (here reproduced) of part of the premises in 1856, before they were converted into offices, shows the bay, mentioned above, with an entrance doorway leading into the hall. This doorway has since been converted into a window, but the old lamp brackets still remain.

The south exterior overlooking Whitehall Gardens is symmetrical, and comprises two storeys with a central bay window. The first-floor windows of the bay are carried down, and protected by iron balconies. A brick band continues over the first-floor window-heads at similar level to the northern front, with a plain brick parapet above screening the lead gutter (Plate 49). The top-floor rooms on this side have dormer windows in a mansard roof.

Internally the premises have undergone many alterations, and contain no features of any architectural interest.

Condition of repair.

Good.

Historical notes.

Catherine, eldest daughter of John, 2nd Duke of Rutland, married in 1726 the Rt. Hon. Henry Pelham, statesman, who died on 6th March, 1754. In 1730 she was appointed Ranger of Greenwich Park, and held the position until her death. She is first shown in connection with No. 1 Whitehall Yard, in the ratebook for 1756,* but in that and the two following books "E" is placed against her name. It is possible, therefore, that she did not take up her residence here until 1758–9. She died "at her house at Whitehall"† on 17th February, 1780.

Lady Catherine's will‡ contained a provision that her "house at Whitehall" should be sold and the proceeds divided between her two unmarried daughters, Frances and Mary. After her death, however, the house is found in the possession and occupation of Mary§, who died in 1794. The issues of Boyle's *Court Guide* from 1792 (the earliest) until 1804 show "Miss Pelham" or the "Hon. Miss Pelham" at the house. It therefore appears that on her sister's death the house passed into the occupation of Frances, who died on 10th January, 1804, "at Whitehall."||

The lease did not expire until 1809, but the directories contain no entry respecting the house for some years. In 1812 it was used as the office of the Comptrollers of Army Accounts, and continued in their occupation until 1835, when it became the office of the Comptroller-General of the Receipt of the Exchequer, and so remained until 1842. After the lapse of a few years it was again used for private purposes, and in 1846 was in the occupation of Trenham Walshman Philipps, who remained there until 1855. In 1856 it was converted into offices, and has ever since been used for official purposes.

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* For her residence at No. 5 Whitehall Yard, see p. 157.

† *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

‡ *P.C.C.*, 155, Collins.

§ Her will (*P.C.C.*, 323, Holman) refers *inter alia* to "the Messuage . . . at Whitehall wherein I now [March, 1789] reside." She also mentions her "Crayons picture of Lady Sydney that is in my house at Whitehall."

|| *Annual Register.*

In the Council's collection are :—

- *View of Whitehall Court (Yard) in 1803 (photograph of water-colour drawing in possession of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands).
- *General exterior of premises to Horse Guards Avenue (photograph).
- *General exterior of premises to Whitehall Gardens (photograph).
- *Ground and first-floor plans (measured drawings).
- *Plan of premises in 1759 (copy of drawing in possession of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands).
- *Plan of premises in 1856 (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands).

* Reproduced here.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 6

LXVI—CADOGAN HOUSE AND CROMWELL HOUSE (FORMERLY Nos. 2 AND 3 WHITEHALL YARD)

Ground landlords.

The premises are the freehold of the Crown and are used for the purposes of the Ministry of Transport.

History and description of structure.

In 1721 Sir George Byng applied* for a grant of a piece of waste land between Whitehall Court and the house then in course of erection by Mr. Hanbury (on the site of Malmesbury House), but finding afterwards that a portion of the ground had been included in the latter's lease, amended his application accordingly.† In the report on his memorial,‡ the ground is said to have comprised "part of an old Cellar and an old Building called the Cowhouse and some other small parts of Ruins thereto adjoyning," abutting north on Whitehall Great Court, east in part on a way or passage leading to the lodgings in the possession of Mrs. Darcy and in other part on the ground leased to Hanbury, south on the latter, and west partly on the Privy Garden and in part "on a building dividing the said Privy Garden from Whitehall Great Court." The dimensions were: at the north end 76 feet, at the east end (to a break of 12 feet fronting the south) 58 feet, then again to the east 20 feet, to the south 32 feet, to the west 53 feet, then to the south 33 feet, and to the west 25 feet.

The plan of 1670 shows that the "old cellar" referred to was the royal wine cellar. This had not been totally destroyed in the fire of 1698. The Board of Greencloth wrote§ to Sir Christopher Wren on 25th November, 1698: "Mr. Dalton and the rest of the officers of his Mat^{s} Cellar have represented unto us, that a part of his Mat^{s} great cellar which was preserved from the late dreadfull fire at Whitehall, doth lye exposed to raine, and the wine lodged therein may receive much damage if timely care be not taken. Wee therefore desire you will give speedy order for making such a cover to the said Cellar|| as may precerve it and ye said wine from the danger of the weather." Another reference to it occurs¶ in February, 1701–2: "taking

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* P.R.O., T. 1/235, No. 32.

† *Ibid.*, 55/10, p. 1.

‡ *Ibid.*, 54/27, p. 87.

§ P.R.O., Works, 3/1.

|| But in 1721 it is referred to as "an old Cellar *without a Roof*." (P.R.O., Ind., 4624, p. 48).

¶ P.R.O., Works, 5/52.

downe the old walls in & about the old Guard chamber* over the wine cellar which were in danger of falling."

The lease to Byng (then Viscount Torrington) was granted on 26th June, 1722, for thirty-one years. In 1739 his son, the 2nd Viscount, obtained a reversionary lease for a further thirty-six years. Twenty years later the latter's widow applied for another extension, and desired the inclusion of a small strip of land between her house and the ground leased to Lady Catherine Pelham, 53 feet 10 inches long by 34 feet 2 inches wide. The house was on that occasion reported to be " a substantial building in very good repair."† A lease was granted on 28th April, 1759, and was subsequently acquired by Charles Sloane Cadogan, who in 1773 obtained a new lease to expire on 26th August, 1823. In the report‡ on his memorial it is stated that the " messuage . . . is now divided into two which are in good repair, now . . . in the tenure of James Martin, Esq^{r}., and the Memorialist." The division had evidently been carried out after 1768, when Cadogan had acquired the original lease (see p. 150).

The most remarkable feature of these premises is situated at the south-west end, and consists of the remains of a vaulted undercroft (the " old cellar " above referred to), which evidently formed part of the ancient York Place. The walls are constructed of small bricks, with stone ashlar of later date to the exterior facing Whitehall Gardens. The room (Plates 54 to 56) is two bays in width and four complete bays in length, with two incomplete bays at the southern end. Each bay has a quadripartite vault of brick, with chamfered brick ribs springing from octagonal stone piers ranging down the middle with moulded capitals, while the side ribs spring from shaped wall corbels also in stone. At some time the room was plastered, but a portion of the plaster has been removed, exposing the jointing of the red brickwork to the vaulting and the main walling.

The present floor is slightly below the road level, but according to Smirke,§ the original floor was about 5 feet 4 inches lower. His drawing also indicates that the central piers have octagonal moulded bases.

In the east wall of the northern bay is a stone doorway, which has moulded jambs and a four-centred arch in a square head, with the spandrils on its eastern face occupied with carved shields and foliage. The shields are reputed to bear the ancient arms of the see of York impaling Wolsey, but the stonework has suffered very much from weathering, and is almost undecipherable (Plates 55 and 57). It should be noted that the vaulting ribs cut into the splay mouldings of the inner face of the arch, suggesting that the vaulting is of later date than the doorway. The south-western bay has a much deeper reveal than the others, with a break forward on the external face, which bears a strong resemblance to a similar break shown on the plan of 1670 indicating a bay window to this vaulted chamber. In the east wall at the southern end is a shallow recess with chamfered jambs and a four-centred head.

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* The 1721 document mentioned above describes Byng's property as including " part of the ruins where the stairs went up to the Guard Chamber."

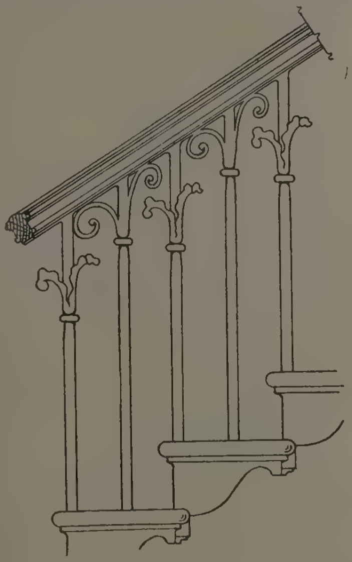
† P.R.O., T. 55/11, p. 96.

‡ *Ibid.*, 55/17, p. 287.

§ *Archæologia*, 1834.

The room is at present used as a staff luncheon-room.

The premises above the cellar, which were erected about 1722, comprise two storeys. The exterior to Whitehall Gardens (Plate 64) is in plain brickwork down to the level of the first floor, with keyed segmental arches to the fenestrations, the sashes being divided into small squares. The first-floor level is marked by a projecting stone band, and the walling below (which embraces the vaulted cellar) is faced in ashlar, with segmental arches to the windows and plain blocks in slight relief to the keys and springing. The north and east fronts overlooking Horse Guards Avenue are similar in character, but with an attic storey (Plate 48). The entrance to the portion known as Cromwell House was approached by a flight of stone steps leading from Whitehall Yard, which have now been supplemented by extra steps on account of the new levels. The doorway has stone dressings with blocked quoins, and a keyed head finished with a moulded pediment, typical of the style of Kent (Plate 52). The entrance doorway in Horse Guards Avenue to the part known as Cadogan House is adversely affected by the new pavement level, which is above that of old Whitehall Yard. The doorway has a moulded eared architrave, flanked with $\frac{3}{4}$-diameter Corinthian columns, which support an entablature with a modillion cornice, all executed in stone (Plate 52).


Balustrading to Staircase.

The premises contain some decorative features which are attributed to Kent. The staircase to Cromwell House continues around three sides of the hall to the first floor, and has wrought-iron bar balusters, ornamented alternately with scrolls and leafage, and a moulded mahogany handrail. The stair-treads are in stone, with shaped outside ends and soffits. At the first-floor level is a band with the wave ornament, which is carried round the wall of the staircase.

Room No. 78 has a deeply recessed window which corresponds with the bay to the undercroft below. The walls are panelled, while the wood mantelpiece is carved and has marble slips to the opening.

The panelling to Room No. 79 has carved mouldings, and is finished with an enriched modillion cornice (Plate 58). The north side contains a large central panel with a doorway on each side. The panel is formed by a moulded and carved architrave, with the top ramped over the centre with scrolls and swag enrichment. The door-casings have carved and moulded linings with heads comprising a pulvinated frieze and a moulded cornice decorated with egg-and-tongue ornament. The doors are double margin, six-panelled, the panels being "raised and fielded." The window reveals are also panelled, and the chair-rail and skirting moulded. On the east side of the room is a series of three semicircular arches springing above moulded and enriched imposts to shallow pilasters. The latter form the responds of piers, which, with the vaulted arcading to the passage outside (Plate 53), were originally a feature of the room. The Trial of the Pyx formerly took place here, and a view of the ceremony in the *Illustrated London News* for 16th December, 1854, shows the arcading as part of the room.

The chimneypiece to this room is very ornate, and, with the exception of the moulded jamb linings, which are in marble, is executed in carved pine. The moulded and enriched mantelshelf is supported on consoles containing eagles' heads, which have a length of guilloche ornament suspending from their beaks and finishing on their claws; the frieze contains a lion's head and forepaws between festoons of oak leaves. Above the shelf on a plinth with the crest ornament is a broad panel, formed by an architrave of the egg-and-leaf ornament, and having a decorative frieze to the head surmounted by a moulded pediment. On the outside of the frame on each side is a fringe of husk ornament with a scroll terminal.

Room No. 80 has the walls panelled as in Room 78, and a marble mantelpiece (Plate 59).

Room No. 81 originally had a carved wood mantelpiece, which is now in Room No. 25 of Pembroke House.

The walls of Room 82 are panelled, and finished with a modillion cornice. The lower part of the chimneypiece is in statuary marble, with an egg-and-leaf architrave lining to the fireplace, flanked with sculptured female Hermae supporting a moulded shelf. The frieze contains a central tablet with a conventional urn between swags, and on each side is a roundel above a festoon of oak leaves. Above the mantelshelf on a fretted plinth is a richly carved wood frame in which is a painting of the Toilet of Venus. A Mephistophelean mask in a shell crowns the frame. The whole design is typical of the style of Kent and his period (Plate 53).

Between the last two rooms is a stone staircase the full depth of the block. It starts from the entrance in Whitehall Yard and continues to the second floor, with semicircular landings and winders around an open newel. Some of the rooms on the floor above are panelled, with cornices in wood, and with bolection moulded architraves to the doors and windows.

Room 97 (Plate 58), which overlooks the entrance yard to Cromwell House, still retains the substantial sash-bars which, it is probable were originally in most of the sash windows in these premises.

Condition of repair.

Good.

Historical notes.

The occupiers of these two houses, so far as they can be ascertained, were as follows:

1725–9	Viscount Torrington
1730–1	— Byng, Esq.
1732–3	Col. Byng
1734–9	Viscount Torrington
1739–41[*]	Capt. Mordaunt
1742	Viscount Torrington
1743–4[*]	Capt. Mordaunt
1746–50	Viscount Torrington
1751–56	Lady Torrington
1756–8	Rt. Hon. Wm. Pitt
1758–9	Lady Torrington

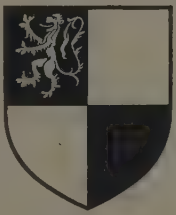
* * * * * * * * * *

Cadogan House	*Cromwell House*
1773 Chas. Sloane Cadogan (Earl Cadogan)	1773 James Martin

* * * * * * * * * *

1792–5 Evan Nepean	1792–1824 Sir William Lemon
	1825 The Misses Lemon

George Byng, 1st Viscount Torrington, was born in 1663. His career at first wavered between the army and the navy, and he actually held commissions in both services. In 1688 he was entrusted with the task of canvassing the navy captains in the interests of the Prince of Orange, and obtained the latter's goodwill. Soon after this he gave up his commission in the army, and devoted himself to service afloat. By 1703 he had risen to the rank of rear-admiral. He took part in 1704 in the capture of Gibraltar and the Battle of Malaga, and was knighted for his services. In 1705 he was made vice-admiral, and in 1708 admiral, and in the latter year repulsed the Pretender's fleet. In 1715 he was made a baronet. In 1718 he was promoted Admiral of the Fleet, and in the same year gained the notable victory of Cape Passaro, in which he entirely destroyed the Spanish fleet. On his return to England in 1721 he was appointed Rear-Admiral of Great Britain and Treasurer of the Navy, and was created Baron Southill and Viscount Torrington. In 1725 he was made K.B., and in 1727 became First Lord of the Admiralty. He died on 17th January, 1732–3. He was father of the Admiral Byng who was executed in 1757.



Byng, Viscount Torrington.

He seems to have entered into occupation of the house in Whitehall Yard in 1724 (being shown there in the 1725 ratebook), but apparently did not reside there after 1729.

Colonel Byng, who lived at the house from 1732 (perhaps 1730) to 1733, was probably his son Edward.

Pattee Byng, 2nd Viscount Torrington, Paymaster-General in Ireland, died on 24th January, 1746–7, "at his House in Whitehall."[†] His residence there had been intermittent. In the intervals the house seems to have been occupied (though the evidence of the ratebooks is not entirely clear) by Capt. Mordaunt.

The 2nd Viscount left his "house at Whitehall, with all the pictures, furniture and household goods of whatever kind" to his widow.[‡] Nevertheless the ratebooks show that he was succeeded at the house by his brother, the 3rd Viscount, and this is to some extent confirmed by the latter's will, which refers to certain of his books "at my late Brothers House at Whitehall."[§] He died on 7th April, 1750, at Southill, and the dowager viscountess* entered into occupation of the house.

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[*] Uncertain.

[†] *The Penny London Post.*

[‡] "This was recommend to me by my Father out of his great and just regard for her, and is intirely agreable to my own disposition." (*P.C.C.*, 25, Potter.)

[§] *P.C.C.*, 131, Greenly.

The ratebooks show that from Christmas, 1756, to 1758, she let the house to William Pitt.

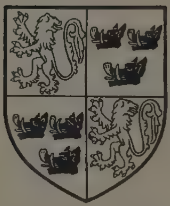
For details of the life of William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, the reader is referred to the standard biographies, which, however, contain no particulars of his residence at this house. His correspondence, on the other hand, includes a number of letters about this period, addressed from "Whitehall." It is worthy of note that when Pitt in February, 1757, was pleading with the King on behalf of Admiral Byng he was living in the house belonging to the family and rented from the admiral's sister-in-law.

The dowager viscountess died on 17th March, 1759. By her will† she left her house "situate in the Palace of Whitehall . . . now in my own Occupation" to her executors for the use of "the Person who for the time being shall be Viscount Torrington and Intitled to the capital Seat at Southill , . . belonging to the Torrington Family."

It might be presumed that George, the 4th Viscount, succeeded his aunt at once in the occupation of the house, but it is impossible to confirm this from the ratebooks, which (incorrectly) show Lady Torrington still there until 1762 (the last book containing any entries for Whitehall Yard). Moreover, he was only just of age at his aunt's death, and did not marry until 1765. It was perhaps in connection with the latter event that on 22nd April, 1765 (three months before the marriage) Lady Torrington's executor sold‡ the remainder of the lease to the viscount.§

On 24th February, 1768, the latter disposed of|| the property to the Hon. Charles Sloane Cadogan.

Charles Sloane Cadogan, 1st Earl Cadogan, son of Charles, 2nd Baron Cadogan, was born in 1728. From 1769 to 1784 he was Master of the Mint. He succeeded to the Barony in 1776 and in 1800 was created Viscount Chelsea and Earl Cadogan. He died on 3rd April, 1807, still in possession of the lease, of which he had obtained an extension.



Cadogan, Earl Cadogan.

It is known that by 1773 (see p. 146) the house had been divided into two (Nos. 2 and 3, Whitehall Yard), which were occupied respectively by Cadogan himself and James Martin. In the absence of any ratebook evidence for this period, it is not possible to say how long Cadogan remained at No. 2; but in 1792 Evan Nepean was in occupation.

Evan Nepean was born in 1751. In 1782 he became Under-Secretary of State in the Shelburne ministry, and after holding several other offices he was in 1795 appointed Secretary of the Admiralty. He was created a baronet in 1802. In 1804 he was for a few months Chief Secretary for Ireland, and then returned to the Admiralty for about eighteen months as Lord Commissioner. From 1812 to 1819 he was Governor of Bombay. He died in 1822.

He is shown in residence at No. 2 Whitehall Yard in the second (but not the first) edition of Boyle's *Court Guide* for 1792,¶ and he may therefore be presumed to have entered into occupation in that year. The last issue showing him at the house is that for 1795, so that he probably removed thence on his appointment to the Admiralty. The house does not appear to have had another tenant.

Although the lease of the premises did not expire until 1823, the house was used at least as early as 1803 (see Plate 47) as the office of the Comptroller of Army Accounts.

The issue of Boyle's *Court Guide* for 1792 shows Sir William Lemon in occupation of

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* Charlotte, daughter of Charles, 1st Duke of Manchester.

† *P.C.C.*, 312, Arran.

‡ Indenture between the Rt. Hon. Sir George Pocock, K.B., and Viscount Torrington. (*Middx. Memls.*, 1768, I, 431.)

§ George, 4th Viscount Torrington, married Lady Lucy Boyle, only daughter of John, 5th Earl of Cork and Orrery. He died on 14th December, 1812.

|| *Middx. Memls.*, 1768, II, 90.

¶ From 1785 to 1788 he had been at No. 13 Great George Street. (*Survey of London*, Vol. X, p. 35.)

No. 3, and he continued in residence until his death in 1824,† but there is nothing to indicate the date when his "term" in the property began.‡ The lease had expired in 1823, after which Lemon had continued as tenant at will, and according to the Government records was succeeded for a time by his son, Sir Charles Lemon,§ but Boyle's *Court Guide* for 1825 shows the "Misses Lemon" there. In 1826 the premises were taken over and used as an office for the auditor of the Civil List.

In the Council's collection are:—

*General exterior of premises to Horse Guards Avenue (photograph).
*General exterior of premises to Whitehall Gardens (photograph).
*Detail of entrance doorway to Cadogan House (photograph).
*Detail of entrance doorway to Cromwell House (photograph).
Detail of entrance doorway to Cromwell House (measured drawings).
Detail of iron stair balustrading, Cromwell House (measured drawings).
*Ground and first-floor plans (measured drawings).
*View of undercroft looking north (photograph).
*View of undercroft looking south (photograph).
*Detail of arched doorway in east wall to undercroft (photograph).
*Detail of arched doorway in east wall to undercroft (measured drawing).
*Plan of undercroft (measured drawing).
Room No. 77, detail of marble mantelpiece (photograph).
Room No. 78, detail of wood mantelpiece (photograph).
Room No. 79, general view looking north (photograph).
*Room No. 79, detail of chimneypiece (photograph).
Room No. 79, general view showing arcading (photograph).
*General view of arcading in passage (photograph).
Detail of arcading in passage (measured drawing).
*Room No. 80, detail of marble mantelpiece (photograph).
Room No. 82, detail of chimneypiece (photograph).
*Room No. 97, general view of panelling and windows (photograph).

* Reproduced here.

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† "At his seat at Carclew, Cornwall, aged 76, Sir William Lemon, bart., 50 years representative in Parliament for that county." (*Annual Register*, 11th December, 1824.)

‡ By his will dated 24th November, 1813, he left "unto my said Wife all that my dwelling house . . . situate at Whitehall . . . to hold . . . for . . . the term of her natural life, if the Term . . . which I have therein shall so long continue." (*P.C.C.*, 208, St. Albans.) As a matter of fact, his wife predeceased him, dying at the house in Whitehall on 16th June, 1823. (*Annual Register*.)

§ *Crown Lands: Returns relating to the Woods, Forests and Land Revenues of the Crown*, 1831, pp. 200–1.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 7

LXVII—No. 1 HORSE GUARDS AVENUE (FORMERLY No. 4 WHITEHALL YARD)

Ground landlords.

The premises are the freehold of the Crown and are used for the purposes of the Ministry of Transport.

History and description of structure.

In 1718 Robert Darcy, 3rd Earl of Holderness, applied for a lease of a piece of ground within the precincts of Whitehall. The report on his petition[*] described it as part " of the ruins of the said Pallace " and " almost covered with heaps of Rubbish,"[†] 115 feet long from east to west, and 80 feet wide, adjoining south on Lord Herbert's ground (Pembroke House), west and north on other ruins of the Palace, and east on the Thames. The lease was granted,[‡] and the earl in due course erected " for his own habitation " a house which was afterwards divided into two.[§] From some early allusions[||] it is clear that the house was practically from the beginning in the occupation of a Mrs. Darcy (perhaps the earl's mother, for his father was never during his lifetime the heir to the earldom). The earl died in 1722, and the ratebooks for 1723–4 (the earliest available) include the names of Lady Holderness[¶] and Col. Darcy, one or both of which may refer to this house.

The next occupant of whom we may feel certain[**] is the Duchess of Leeds, who is mentioned in the sale of 1744 (see below) as a previous occupant of the house. The ratebooks from 1730 to 1738 show the duchess in the vicinity, and a report,[††] dated 2nd April, 1729, on a petition by the Earl of Pembroke, gives the north-eastern boundary of Pembroke House as the house in the occupation " of the Duchess of Leeds." This last statement makes it certain that Bridget,[‡‡] wife of the 2nd Duke, is the person referred to, as she was the only Duchess of Leeds living in April, 1729.* The ratebooks must, however, be incorrect in showing her at the house as late as 1738, for she died on 11th March, 1733–4.†

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[*] P.R.O., T. 54/25, p. 90.

[†] These must have included part of the ruins of the Chapel Royal.

[‡] Letters Patent, 18th July, 4 Geo. I.

[§] P.R.O., T. 55/8, p. 420.

[||] See (i) description in 1719 of Treby's plot as bounded south by ground " in the possession of Mrs. Darcy " (p. 160), and (ii) description in 1721 of Byng's plot as abutting east " on a way or passage leading to the lodgings of Mrs. Darcy " (p. 145). In Hanbury's original application in 1720 for a lease of the site of what was afterwards Malmesbury House (see p. 162) reference is even made to the ground lately *granted* to Mrs. Darcy, but no such grant has been found.

[¶] Frederica, daughter and co-heir of Meinhardt, 3rd Duke of Schomberg. On 18th June, 1724, she married Benjamin Mildmay, Baron (afterwards Earl) Fitzwalter.

[**] It is very difficult to interpret the entries in the ratebooks before 1740, inasmuch as they do not invariably occur in the same order.

[††] P.R.O., T. 55/2, p. 18.

[‡‡] Only daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Hyde, Bt.

About the year 1738 (see p. 157) the house was divided, and the ratebook for 1742 shows Lord Holderness (the 4th Earl) in occupation of the southern (and larger) portion of the premises. In the same year the earl obtained a reversionary lease of the whole of the property for 42½ years from 18th July, 1749, and on 23rd July, 1744, he sold‡ his interest in the southern house to John Waple, in trust for Audrey, Viscountess Townshend.§ Lord Holderness seems to have remained in occupation until shortly after the sale,‖ but it was some time before Lady Townshend moved in.¶ In 1775 she (then dowager viscountess) obtained a reversionary lease of the house for 32½ years from 29th January, 1792. In the report** on her memorial it was stated that the house had been rebuilt since its separation from next door, and its front set back about 17 feet further than the old house. The measurements were 60 feet 7 inches in front and 98 feet 2 inches in length. It was still " in the tenure or occupation " of Lady Townshend, and it seems probable that she continued in residence until her death in 1788.††

In the same year the house was sold by her executors to Michael Angelo Taylor.‡‡ It was then in " so decayed a state as to be scarcely habitable,"§§ and Taylor in 1793 began the erection of a new house. In the course of the next ten years the north part of the house had been entirely " rebuilt in a most substantial manner, and the other part stripped to the walls, and entirely refitted and raised two Stories higher." Taylor had moreover enlarged the garden by embanking the Thames opposite his house.‖‖ In 1805 he obtained a new lease for a term of 89 years, commencing on 5th April, 1803. On its expiry in 1892 the premises were taken over for official use by the Board of Trade.

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* The Duke of Leeds, however, did not die until 25th June in that year.

† *Gentleman's Magazine.*

‡ *Middx. Memls.*, 1744, II, 150. " Lady T[ownshend] a acheté la maison du Holderness, et elle s'en repent." (Letter, dated 23rd June, 1744, from J. de Pesters to Countess of Denbigh, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Earl of Denbigh's MSS., Part V, p. 180).

§ Audrey, only daughter and heiress of Edward Harrison, of Balls, Herts, married in 1723 Charles, Lord Lynn, who in 1738 became 3rd Viscount Townshend.

‖ " A propos de Holderness, le Comte et la Comtesse de ce nom partent mardi prochain. Lady T[ownshend] aura sa maison vuide." (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *op. cit.*, p. 182, 26th July, 1744.)

¶ She wrote to the Countess of Denbigh on 4th October, 1744 : " I am looking out for a tolerably clean lodging, my mother's house being too small to hold us all, and mine at Whitehall not ready." (*Ibid.*, p. 257.) The earliest ratebook giving her as occupant is that for 1746, implying probably a residence begun in 1745.

** *Woods and Forests Entry Book*, W. 3, pp. 238–9.

†† The witness to the authenticity of the codicil of her will (*P.C.C.*, 160, Calvert) describes her as " late of Whitehall."

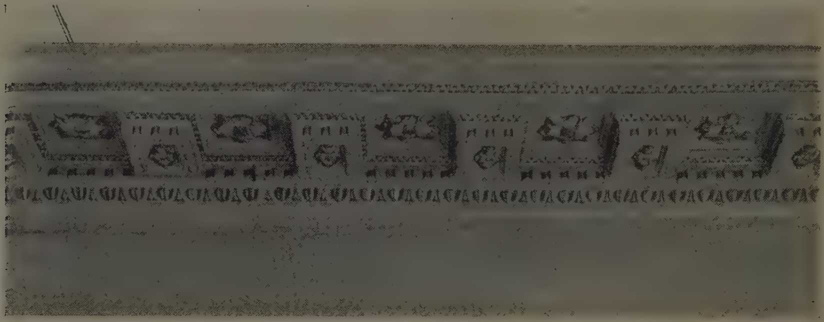
‡‡ Indenture, dated 9th October, 1788. (*Middx. Memls.*, 1788, VII, 471.)

§§ P.R.O., T. 55/25, p. 64.

‖‖ This embankment was extended by Taylor's executor (the Rev. John Vane) as far as Whitehall Stairs (see indenture of grant, dated 25th August, 1836, by the Corporation of the City of London, *Middx. Memls.*, 1836, VII, 293).

The house, known commonly as Michael Angelo Taylor's House, comprises a semi-basement with three storeys over, and an attic in a slated mansard roof to the main portion (Plate 60).

The northern part of the west front is in plain brickwork, relieved with stone bands at the old ground line and the level of the window-sills on the first floor, and is surmounted by a stone balustraded parapet above a moulded cornice. The ground-floor windows are semi-circular headed within a recessed face. The entrance doorway has a large semi-circular fanlight with radiating bars, but it has been obscured by the addition of a modern porch. The latter is faced with stucco and has Grecian Corinthian columns, which carry an entablature supporting a high balustraded parapet screening the flat roof. The southern portion of the west front is treated as a wing and is more restrained, the parapet being in plain brickwork without any balustrading. Owing to the alteration of levels due to the construction of Horse Guards Avenue, it has been necessary to form some steps to the approach, and the old party wall, which, by the demolition of the adjoining premises on the north side, has now become an external wall, has been cemented over, and attempts made at relief by the insertion of horizontal stone bands. The river or garden front is in plain brickwork, with the windows of the northern portion to the old ground and first floors carried down to their respective floor levels (Plate 61). The centre window on the ground floor originally opened out to a terrace, whence a double horse-shoe staircase led down to the garden and river beyond. This, however, was destroyed when Horse Guards Avenue was formed.



Room No. 17, Cornice.

The main staircase has a delicate iron balustrade with a mahogany hand-rail, and continues in a semi-circular sweep to each floor with a series of radiating steps. The stone treads are moulded, with shaped outer ends, which continue through to the supporting wall, forming a moulded soffit. A decorated band continues around the wall at the floor level (Plate 63).

The southern room on the ground floor (Room No. 17) is a lofty apartment extending the full depth of the floor, and having a coved ceiling springing above a wide cornice with panelled modillions and soffit. The cove finishes against a fretted band, while a floral ornament in high relief occupies the centre. The windows have panelled reveals, and the doors are double margin, six-panelled, in mahogany, with moulded and carved casings (Plate 62). The chair-rail and skirting members are complementary, and the mantelpiece is designed in wood.

The other main rooms on the ground and first floors have mahogany doors, similar in character, with decorative casings, while the mantelpieces are carved in statuary marble.

In Room No. 18, and also on the floor above, are large glazed cupboards designed in the style of the house. They are probably original fittings.

The boundary wall to the south side of the entrance forecourt is constructed in ragstone rubble (Plate 61), which, it is believed, is part of the remains of the old Palace walling and probably belonged to the buildings south of the Great Hall and Chapel.

Condition of repair.

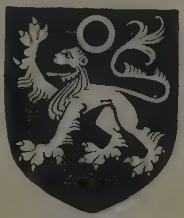
Good.

Historical notes.

The occupants of the present house, according to the ratebooks and directories, were as follows:

1793*–1801	Michael Angelo Taylor
1802–4	Lord Arden
1805–34	Michael Angelo Taylor
1837–87	Viscount Gage
1888	Viscount Gage Sir Rainald Knightley, Bt.
1889–91	Sir John Henry Puleston

Michael Angelo Taylor, son of Sir Robert Taylor, architect, was born in 1757. He was called to the Bar in 1774. In 1784 he became Recorder of Poole, and in the same year entered Parliament as member for that borough. With one or two breaks he continued a member of Parliament until his death. At first a Tory, and a supporter of Pitt, he gradually adopted Whig views, and his house in Whitehall became a favourite rendezvous of that party. He was persistent in drawing attention to the defective paving and lighting of the streets of London, and the Act† which he carried dealing with such matters is still known as Michael Angelo Taylor's Act. He died on 16th July, 1834, at his house in Whitehall.‡



Michael Angelo Taylor.

According to the ratebooks Taylor's residence at the house was broken during the years 1802–4, when Lord Arden is shown in occupation. This was Charles George Perceval, 3rd son of the Earl of Egmont and brother of Spencer Perceval, created Baron Arden in 1802. He died on 5th July, 1840, aged 83.

On 22nd October, 1836, the Rev. John Vane, Taylor's executor, sold§ the house to Viscount Gage.

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* Taylor entered into occupation in 1788, but the existing house was not begun until 1793.

† Metropolitan Paving Act, 1817 (57 Geo. III, c. CXXIX, Local and Personal).

‡ *Annual Register.*

§ *Middx. Memls.*, 1836, VII, 294.

Henry Hall, 4th Viscount Gage, was born in 1791, and succeeded to the title in 1808. He was an accomplished mathematician, and at the time of his death in 1877 was the father of the House of Lords.

The directories show that he was succeeded in the occupation of the house in Whitehall by his son, Henry Charles, the 5th Viscount, born in 1854. He died in 1912. His residence at the house lasted until 1888. For the latter year he is bracketed with Sir Rainald Knightley, Bt., who was a connection by marriage, his sister having in 1840 married the Hon. Henry Edward Hall Gage, eldest son of the 4th Viscount. Sir Rainald, who was born in 1819, was in 1892 created Baron Knightley. He died in 1895.

Sir John Henry Puleston was born at Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, North Wales, in 1830. He was M.P. for Devonport from 1874 to 1892, and constable of Carnarvon Castle. He died in 1908.

In the Council's collection are:—

*West elevation of premises (photograph).
*East elevation of premises (photograph).
*General view of staircase (photograph).
*Cornice to Room No. 17 (photograph).
*Detail of door-casing, Room No. 17 (photograph).
*Detail of door-casing, Room No. 18 (photograph).
Detail of door-casing, Room No. 19 (photograph).
*Ground and first-floor plans (measured drawing).
*View of old rubble walling, south side of forecourt (photograph).

* Reproduced here.

CHAPTER 8

No. 5 WHITEHALL YARD (DEMOLISHED)

The smaller (and northern) of the two portions into which the Holderness property was divided was in 1749 assigned* to Sir Thomas Robinson, Bt., of Rokeby Park. In an indenture of mortgage† effected by Sir Thomas on the day following his purchase the house is said to be "now or late in the possession of Wardell George Westby," and, as the ratebooks from 1739 to 1750 show Westby in occupation, it would appear that the division of the original premises into two dates from about 1738.

Robinson‡ was notorious for his love of building, and he immediately set to work to pull down his house at Whitehall and build a new one. In 1753 he applied for a new lease of the premises, together with "a piece of vacant ground adjoining thereto of 9 feet by 18 feet 6 inches . . . to enable him to square his house with that of his neighbour, Sir Thos. Robinson, Knt. of the Bath."§ Two years before he had obtained from the latter‖ a lease of a portion of ground 38 feet 9 inches by 33 feet, commencing at a distance of 10 feet from the south-east corner of the latter's house. This must have comprised the greater part of his neighbour's garden.

Robinson obtained his lease,¶ to expire on 8th August, 1803. His residence is confirmed by the ratebooks for 1751–4 and 1761–2. During a part of 1754–5 Lady Catherine Pelham was at the house,** and the ratebook shows that from Michaelmas, 1755, to 1759 it was let furnished to "Miss Shepard." The ratebooks after 1762 contain no entries for Whitehall Yard, so that it is possible that Robinson remained there during 1763, but in 1764 he agreed to a reversionary lease of the premises for a further 11 years being granted to Richard Binion†† of Gidea Hall, Essex, who a few weeks later acquired the existing lease by mortgage. In the report‡‡ on

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* Indenture, dated 12th June, 1749, between (i) Sir Conyers Darcy, (ii) Wardell George Westby and the Hon. Charlotte Westby, and (iii) Sir Thomas Robinson (*Middx. Memls.*, 1749, II, 7). How Darcy and the Westbys (Sir Conyers Darcy and Charlotte Westby were brother and sister of the 3rd Earl of Holderness) had obtained the property has not been ascertained.

† *Middx. Memls.*, 1749, I, 514.

‡ "Long Sir Thomas," governor of Barbadoes, 1742–7. After his return he acquired a considerable interest in Ranelagh Gardens, where he became director of the entertainments. The Rokeby of Scott's poem was practically his creation, but he was forced to dispose of it in 1769. He died at Chelsea in 1777.

§ P.R.O., T. 55/8, p. 419.

‖ Particulars given in indenture of mortgage, dated 16th June, 1753, between Francis Blake Delaval and Richard Prince. (*Middx. Memls.*, 1753, II, 595.)

¶ Letters Patent, 9th August, 27 Geo. II.

** "The Hon. Lady Catherine Pelham has taken the House of Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart., in Privy Garden" (*The Public Advertiser*, 18th November, 1754); "The Hon. the Lady Catherine Pelham lies dangerously ill at her House at Whitehall." (*Ibid.*, 1st March, 1755.)

†† Formerly Governor of Fort St. George.

‡‡ P.R.O., T. 55/13, p. 226.

Binion's application it is stated that "the house is in good repair and now in the occupation of Jas. Harris Esq^{r}."

In 1775 Richard Binion, son of the above-mentioned, sold[*] the house to the Rt. Hon. Thos. Conolly[†], whose widow, Lady Louisa Augusta Conolly,[‡] in 1810 obtained a fresh lease to expire on 10th October, 1870. The premises are said[§] to have been "heretofore in the tenure . . . of Sir Thomas Robinson, Baronet, and late of . . . Cornwall, widow."

This was evidently "Elizabeth Cornwall,[||] of Whitehall Court, widow," whose will[¶] was proved on 23rd March, 1809. She was the widow of Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Speaker of the House of Commons, who died in 1789, and the surmise that he also had occupied the house is made probable by the affidavit[**] sworn by the Rev. P. Williams and John Beardwell "that they knew and were well acquainted with the Right Honorable Charles Wolfran Cornwall, *late of Whitehall*."

From 1809 the occupiers, so far as they can be ascertained from Boyle's *Court Guide* and other directories, were:

1812–16[††]	Hon. Geo. Lamb[‡‡]
1817–18[††]	George Jackson
1818–24[††]	Hon. Geo. Lamb
1825	Hon. Fred. Eden
1826–32	Hon. Edward Geoffrey Stanley[§§]
1833	H. H. Joy, K.C.
1834	Hon. Geo. Lamb
1835	Rt. Hon. Sir A. J. Foster[||||]
1836–7	Sir J. Copley
1838	Henry Broadwood
1839	Sir Joseph Copley Henry Broadwood
1840–8	Henry Broadwood
1851	Henry Windsor

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[*] Indenture, dated 31st March, 1775. (*Middx. Memls.*, 1775, III, 77.)

[†] Thomas Conolly, Irish politician, d. 1803. In a mortgage of the premises, dated 2nd May, 1775 (*Ibid.*, III, 347) the house is said to be in his occupation. His residence there lasted at least until 1783, for a letter from Lady Sarah Napier (formerly Bunbury) is dated "Mr. Conolly's, Whitehall, 22nd Sept., 1783" (*Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox*, 1745–1826, II, p. 38.)

[‡] Daughter of the 2nd Duke of Richmond.

[§] P.R.O., T. 55/29, p. 125.

[||] Daughter of Charles Jenkinson and sister of Charles, who afterwards became Lord Hawkesbury and Earl of Liverpool.

[¶] *P.C.C.*, 178, Loveday.

[**] *Ibid.*, 15, Macham.

[††] There is some doubt whether these entries refer to this house.

[‡‡] 4th son of the 1st Viscount Melbourne, b. 1784, writer and politician. Died 2nd January, 1834, "in Whitehall Yard." (*Annual Register.*)

[§§] Afterwards 14th Earl of Derby.

[||||] Diplomatist, created Bt. 1831, d. 1848.

1852–7	Sir Frederick Foster*
1859–68	William Tomline
1873–84	Oscar Leslie Stephen
1886	Robert Carr

In 1887 the premises were taken over for the use of the Board of Trade. They were demolished in connection with the formation of Horse Guards Avenue about 1896.

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* Son of Sir A. J. Foster, d. 25th December, 1857.

CHAPTER 9

GRANTHAM HOUSE (No. 6 WHITEHALL YARD)
(DEMOLISHED)

In 1719* George Treby† obtained a lease of a piece of ground 120 feet long from east to west, 50 feet wide at the west end and $48\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide on the east, bounded north by a passage leading to the Thames (*i.e.* the way to Whitehall Stairs), east by the river, south by a piece of ground in the possession of Mrs. Darcy, and west by other waste ground within the Palace. A few weeks later Treby applied for‡ and obtained leave to take down a piece of old wall,§ "part of the Ruines of Whitehall" on the west side of his premises, and in the following year asked|| to be allowed to surrender his lease and take out a fresh lease of the premises to include a piece of ground adjoining the west side, 53 feet by 52 feet.¶ The petition was granted.

It appears from the report on the petition that Treby had already put in hand building, which "when finisht will cost upwards of £3,000," but it is not until 1725 that the house appears in the ratebooks. From that date until 1745 (with a few breaks) Treby is shown in occupation. In 1738 he obtained a reversionary lease of 35 years from 1st April, 1752. The ratebooks for 1746 to 1750 show the Earl of Dysart** at the house.

In 1749 Sir Thomas Robinson†† (afterwards 1st Baron Grantham), who had recently returned from his diplomatic career on the Continent, and was on the look-out for a permanent residence in London, acquired Treby's interest in the house and applied for a new lease, as well as for permission to build over the covered passage to Whitehall Stairs for a distance of 36 feet. The report on his application‡‡ states that Treby had erected "a substantial house," and that Robinson was then making considerable improvements to it. The lease (and the necessary permission to build over the passage) was granted in the following year. Grantham died at the house in Whitehall on 30th September, 1770.

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[*] P.R.O., T. 54/26.

[†] Son of Sir George Treby, judge. He was M.P. for Plympton, 1708–34, appointed Secretary at War, 1718, Teller of the Exchequer, 1724.

[‡] P.R.O., T. 54/25, p. 330.

[§] Evidently the eastern wall of the Great Hall. Treby's ground included the sites of the two vestries and a portion of the site of the Chapel Royal.

[||] P.R.O., T. 54/26, p. 117.

[¶] Part of the site of the Great Hall. This was not built on.

[**] Lionel, the 4th Earl, b. 1708, d. 1770.

[††] Sir Thomas Robinson, K.B., born 1695, 4th son of Sir Wm. Robinson of Newby, Yorks, was ambassador at Vienna from 1730 to 1748. From 1749 to 1754 and again from 1755 to 1760 he was Master of the Wardrobe, and during the interval was Secretary of State for the southern department and leader of the House of Commons. In 1755–6 he was Postmaster-General, and in 1761 was created Baron Grantham.

[‡‡] P.R.O., T. 55/7, p. 374.

In 1779 his son, 2nd Baron Grantham,* applied for a reversionary lease, which was duly granted,† to run for 29½ years from 9th April, 1800. On his marriage in 1780 he settled‡ the house on his wife, and after his death Lady Grantham§ continued to reside there until her death, which took place in the house at Whitehall on 7th January, 1830. The lease expired in the same year, and the premises were taken over by the Crown, being at first used for the Earl Marshal's office. They were demolished on the formation of Horse Guards Avenue about 1896.

A view of the house in 1803 is contained in Plate 47.

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* Born at Vienna in 1738. He was ambassador at Madrid 1771–9, 1st Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, 1780–2, and Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, 1782–3. He died at Grantham House, Putney Heath, on 20th July, 1786.

† 23rd March, 1780.

‡ *Middx. Memls.*, 1781, II, 322.

§ Lady Jemima Grey, youngest daughter of Philip, Earl of Hardwicke.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 10

LXVIII—MALMESBURY HOUSE (FORMERLY No. 8 WHITEHALL GARDENS)

GROUND LANDLORDS.

The premises are the freehold of the Crown and are used for the purposes of the Ministry of Transport.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF STRUCTURE.

In 1721 John Hanbury applied* for and obtained a building lease of a vacant piece of land next to the house of Lord Herbert, extending northward towards the building called the Cowhouse, and in depth to the ground lately granted to Mrs. Darcy. The ground was described† as abutting west on the Privy Garden and north partly "upon an Old Building or Cellar" (see p. 145). The measurements were given as from north to south fronting the Privy Garden 58¼ feet, in depth on the south side 84 feet, at the east end 73 feet, on the north side 52¾ feet, "then abutts west on the said cellar 31 feet, then north on the said cellar 14 feet and south on the same 14 feet, and north on the same, returning to the Privy Garden, 15 feet 3 inches." An old building occupied as a workshop by Christopher Shrider, the King's organ maker (see p. 129), was standing on part of the ground.

On the site thus obtained Hanbury built a house, a view of which in 1741 is contained in Plate 6. A reversionary lease was granted to his widow in 1737 (when it was reported‡ that "a good house" had been erected which was in good repair), and another (to expire in 1816) to Jane Hanbury in 1767. On the latter occasion the house was said to be "old but in good repair."§ In 1788–9 the then owner (the Hon. Frederick Robinson) laid out more than £3000 in repairing and improving the house, and on the further renewal of the lease to his widow in 1806 it was stated that "the body of the house" had of late years been chiefly rebuilt and was very substantial, but that the offices were old and needed repair, as did also the roof of the house.|| A reversionary lease was granted to expire on 5th April, 1845.

In 1829 Mrs. Robinson applied for a new lease. Having regard, however, to the fact that the next-door house and the whole of the range of buildings (Nos. 1–3 Whitehall Yard) separating Whitehall Gardens from Whitehall Court were in official occupation, and "with a view to future improvements," it was decided not to grant Mrs. Robinson's application. The matter came up again in 1835, when the Earl of Malmesbury, the then

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* P.R.O., Ind. 4624, p. 1.

† P.R.O., T. 54/26, p. 269.

‡ *Ibid.*, 55/4, p. 188.

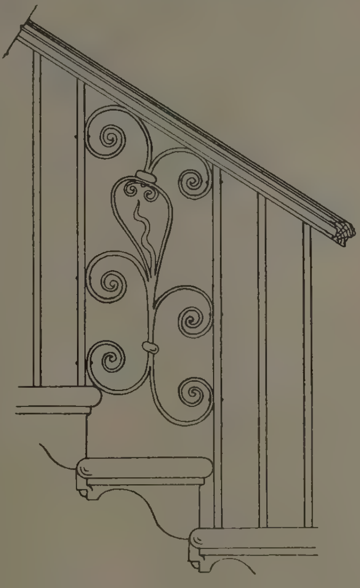
§ *Ibid.*, 55/14, p. 343.

|| *Ibid.*, 55/26, p. 231.

owner of the house, pointed out that the lease of Pembroke House would not expire until 1866,* and asked that he might be allowed a new lease to expire at the same time. This was agreed to, and a new reversionary lease granted for 21½ years. Before this expired, however, the house was taken over by the Crown.

The premises adjoin on the south the entrance lodge to Pembroke House, and on the north are connected with Cromwell House and abut against the old cellar or undercroft of York Place. They comprise a semi-basement and two storeys over, with a tiled roof.

The main front to Whitehall Gardens is symmetrical and executed in brick, with plain stone bands across the width of the front, defining the general floor levels and the gutter level behind the roof parapet. The entrance door is approached by a broad flight of stone steps reducing in width to the top, while the importance of the entrance is enhanced by an ornamental iron lamp-standard on each side continuing above the iron railings to the fore-court. The doorway has moulded stone linings with carved trusses supporting the head, which intersects with the soffit of the stone balcony (Plate 63). The first-floor windows are brought down to the level of the floor, and lead out on to the balcony, which continues across the full front of the house, and is provided with a light wrought-iron railing (Plate 64). The premises were probably refronted in 1788, when the other improvements were in hand. Examination shows that the jointing of the brickwork differs from that of the southern wall, and the return pilaster treatment at the corner was consequently found necessary.



Balustrading to Staircase.

The back elevation, now overlooking an internal yard, is probably a remnant of the earlier house and corresponds to the early front as shown on Plate 6. It has a brick face with a moulded brick cornice and rubbed quoins to the dressings of the openings, and a chamfered brick plinth returned to each side of the garden door. The first-floor windows have recessed brick apron panels below their sills. The walling on the return to the north side of the yard is of similar date and treatment, while the windows have substantial sash bars.

Internally the premises have been much altered, and connections made with properties on either side.

The staircase, which continues from the ground to the first floor in two flights, is in stone, the balustrading consisting of panels of wrought-iron scrollwork, interspaced with plain square bars, and finished with a moulded mahogany handrail. The stone treads have moulded nosings and shaped ends, which form a moulded soffit.

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* *Woods and Forests Entry Book,* C. 8, pp. 205, etc.

Rooms Nos. 76 and 77 on the ground floor are panelled and finished with a moulded wood cornice. No. 77 also contains a marble mantelpiece with a bolection moulding to the opening.

Room No. 74 has a marble mantelpiece with carved consoles supporting the shelf and a pulvinated frieze with oak leaves and crossed ribbands (Plate 59).

On the floor above, Room No. 87 is panelled, and Rooms Nos. 89 and 90 have a decorative plaster cornice and frieze, and ornamental mantelpieces in marble. It is said that Room No. 90 was at one time lined with Chinese wallpaper, a small portion of which can still be seen on the walls of the alcove in Room No. 13 of Pembroke House.

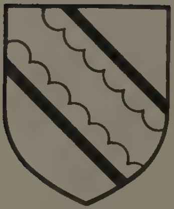
Condition of repair.

Good.

Historical notes.

The occupiers of this house so far as they can be ascertained were as follows:

1728–34	Major John Hanbury
1735–39	"John Hanbury Williams"[*]
1739–44	"Lady Hanbury"[†]
1744–45	—— Hanbury, Esq.
1746–65	Capt. Hanbury
1765–87	Jane Hanbury
1788–92	The Hon. Fredk. Robinson
1792–1834	The Hon. Mrs. Robinson
1834–61	Earl of Malmesbury



Hanbury.

The builder and first occupant of Malmesbury House was John Hanbury, known as Major Hanbury, of Pontypool Park in Monmouthshire. He was the son of Capel Hanbury, and was born in 1664. The fortune which his first wife (Albinia Selwyn) brought him he used in developing the ironworks on his Pontypool estate, and his wealth was further increased by his second marriage, and a legacy from Charles Williams of Caerleon, whom he had befriended. Williams left him his entire real estate, with remainder to his sons in succession, the latter to assume the surname of Williams.[‡] Hanbury was appointed one of the new directors of the South Sea Company when reconstructed after the great crash, and was one of Marlborough's executors. He was M.P. for Gloucester during 1701–15, and from 1720 until his death represented Monmouthshire. He died in 1734.

By his will[§] Hanbury left his "dwelling house . . . scituate . . . near Whitehall" to trustees on behalf of his widow Bridget.[||] According to the ratebooks, however, she did not reside in the house, which was occupied from 1735 to 1739 by "John Hanbury Williams."

This name is probably a mistake. The eldest son of John and Bridget Hanbury was named John, and the provision in the will of Charles Williams above referred to might suggest that John was the first of the family to take the estate and surname of Williams. There are, however, several objections to this view. (i) His brother Charles is said to have taken the name of Williams and so fulfilled the conditions of the bequest when he came of age in 1729.[*] As there could have been only one "Hanbury Williams" at a time, John is apparently excluded. (ii) John died in 1740; in his will[†] he describes himself simply as John Hanbury. (iii) An entry in the baptismal register[‡] of St. Margaret, dated 22nd March, 1734–5, relates to "Frances, daughter to *Charles* Hanbury Williams, Esq., by Lady Frances his wife, Privy Garden." It therefore appears that John Hanbury was never "Hanbury Williams," and that in 1735, when the ratebook shows "John Hanbury Williams" in occupation of the house, Charles Hanbury Williams was actually living there. It is therefore probable that "John" in the ratebooks is throughout a mistake for "Charles," and in that case "Lady Hanbury," whose name is given in the ratebooks from 1739 to 1744, was the latter's wife.[§]

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[*] According to the ratebooks. Probably a mistake for Charles Hanbury Williams.

[†] According to the ratebooks. Probably a mistake for Lady Hanbury Williams.

[‡] Chester's *Registers of Westminster Abbey*, p. 300.

[§] *P.C.C.*, 159, Ockham.

[||] Eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir Edward Ayscough, of Stallingborough, Lincs.

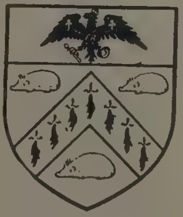
Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, satirical writer and diplomatist, was born in 1708. He represented Monmouthshire from 1734 to 1747, and Leominster from 1754 to 1759. He was paymaster of the Marine forces from 1739 to 1742, Lord-Lieutenant of Herefordshire, 1742–7, and was created K.B. in 1744. He was noted for his wit and gallantries, and published numerous satirical verses and other writings. His diplomatic career lasted from 1746 to 1757, when he was envoy to the courts of Dresden, Berlin, Vienna and St. Petersburg. He died by his own hand in 1759.

In 1740 Bridget Hanbury died,[‖] leaving[¶] the house to her second son Capel, who, however, according to the ratebooks, did not take up his residence there until 1743–4. Capel Hanbury died in 1765, and by his will[**] bequeathed to his widow Jane[††] "all my Household furniture, Jewels, Plate, which shall be in my House in Privy Garden, Whitehall, at the time of my Decease."

Jane Hanbury resided at the house until her death in 1787.[‡‡]

On 10th April, 1788, the premises were purchased[§§] by the Hon. Frederick Robinson, second son of Thomas, 1st Baron Grantham. He died on 28th December, 1792, "in Privy Gardens."[‖‖] His widow[¶¶] continued to reside at the house until her death, on 8th June, 1834, also "in Privy Gardens."[***]

She was succeeded in the occupancy of the house by her nephew, the Earl of Malmesbury.


Harris, Earl of Malmesbury.

James Edward, 2nd Earl of Malmesbury, was born in 1778. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1802 entered Parliament as member for Helston. In 1807 he was Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and shortly afterwards was appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight. He succeeded to the earldom in 1820, and died in 1841 at Earl de Grey's residence on Putney Heath.

James Howard, 3rd Earl of Malmesbury, was born in 1807. After an education at Eton and Oriel College, Oxford, he spent some time abroad, returning to England in 1829. He was for a short time in 1841 a member of the House of Commons (for Wilton), but his father's death in the same year raised him to the Upper House. He gradually came to the front in the Conservative party, and on its accession to power in 1852 became Foreign Secretary. The outstanding event of his term of office, which only lasted till the end of the year, was the recognition of Napoleon III. He again held the same office in 1858–9. During this period he re-established good relations with Napoleon, helped to compose the dispute between France and Portugal, and delayed the outbreak of the Italian war of liberation. His policy was one of strict neutrality. On his retirement he was made G.C.B. On his party coming into power once more in 1866, he declined the Foreign Office on the plea of ill-health, and was made Lord Privy Seal. In 1868 he was for a time leader of the House of Lords. He died on 17th May, 1889.

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[*] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* On Charles' death in 1759 the estate and surname reverted to his brother George.

[†] *P.C.C.*, 172, Browne.

[‡] *Parochial Rates Trial*, p. 81.

[§] Frances, youngest daughter and eventually sole heiress of Earl Coningsby.

[‖] "Mrs. Hanbury, relict of John Hanbury, Esq., late member for Monmouthshire." (*Gentleman's Magazine*, under date of 26th September, 1740.)

[¶] *P.C.C.*, 345, Spurway.

[**] *Ibid.*, 60, Tyndall.

[††] Daughter of Charles Thomas, 5th Viscount Tracey.

[‡‡] In her will (*P.C.C.*, 128, Major) she describes herself as "the Honorable Jane Hanbury, of Privy Garden, Whitehall."

[§§] *Middx. Memls.*, 1788, IV, 173.

[‖‖] *Annual Register.*

[¶¶] Catherine Gertrude, daugher of James, 1st Earl of Malmesbury.

[***] *Annual Register.*

The last issue of the *Post Office Directory* which shows the earl at No. 8 Whitehall Gardens is that for 1861. The issue for 1863 shows the house as used for the purposes of the Passport Office.

In the Council's collection are :—

*General exterior to Whitehall Gardens (photograph).
*Detail of entrance doorway and lamp-standards (photograph).
View of back elevation (photograph).
General back exterior (measured drawing).
Detail of mantelpiece and panelling in Room No. 77 (measured drawing).
*Marble mantelpiece in Room No. 74 (photograph).
Marble mantelpiece in Room No. 89 (photograph).
Marble mantelpiece in Room No. 90 (photograph).
*Ground and first-floor plans (measured drawings).
*Sketch of staircase balustrading (measured drawing).

* Reproduced here.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 11

LXIX—PEMBROKE HOUSE (No. 7 WHITEHALL GARDENS)

GROUND LANDLORDS.

The premises are the freehold of the Crown, and are utilised for the purposes of the Ministry of Transport.

THE FIRST PEMBROKE HOUSE.

Pembroke House covers the site of the Queen's riverside apartments in the old Palace, as well as of other lodgings mentioned on p. 72.

This part of the Palace was completely destroyed in the Fire of 1698, and nearly twenty years later the ground was still "almost covered with heaps of rubbish, part of the ruines of the said Pallace." In 1717 Henry, Lord Herbert, applied for and obtained a lease of the site,* described as abutting south-east on "a little Garden, called Queen Marys Garden," and south-west on a passage leading to the latter from the Privy Garden, and containing in length 127 feet and 120 feet on the south-east and north-west respectively, and in width 78 feet at each end. On this ground Lord Herbert built "a very good house, of 58 feet 4 inches in front & 36 feet 7 inches in depth." It was designed by Colin Campbell. The western elevation is shown in Plate 67 and the river front in an illustration entitled "A View of Whitehall from the River Thames" reproduced in J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*.

In 1729, Herbert applied for a fresh lease in consideration of the great expense to which he had been put, and the further expenditure he had in view. It was then found that he had enclosed a larger site than he was entitled to do, "so that the said messuage with the yards, terrasse, terrase walks & stables thereto belonging contain . . . at the south-east end 129 feet 3 inches & in depth on the south-west side 159 feet 6 inches." A new lease, including the additional ground, was granted in 1730.†

In 1744 Lord Herbert, now 9th Earl of Pembroke, asked to be allowed to surrender his lease and to be granted a new one‡ to include a portion of Queen Mary's Terrace (see p. 59). On this occasion also it was discovered that an encroachment had been made, the earl having enclosed a piece of the Privy Garden, 45 feet 10 inches by 10 feet, on which he had erected a portal at the entrance into the courtyard. A new lease was granted including the site of the portal and that portion of Queen Mary's Terrace which immediately adjoined the property.§ The plan of the premises included in the lease shows the position of the earl's house. This was evidently the building which had been erected soon after 1717. On obtaining his new lease the earl enlarged the house, carrying it across the whole width of the property, and including therein the site of the second bastion of the river wall.

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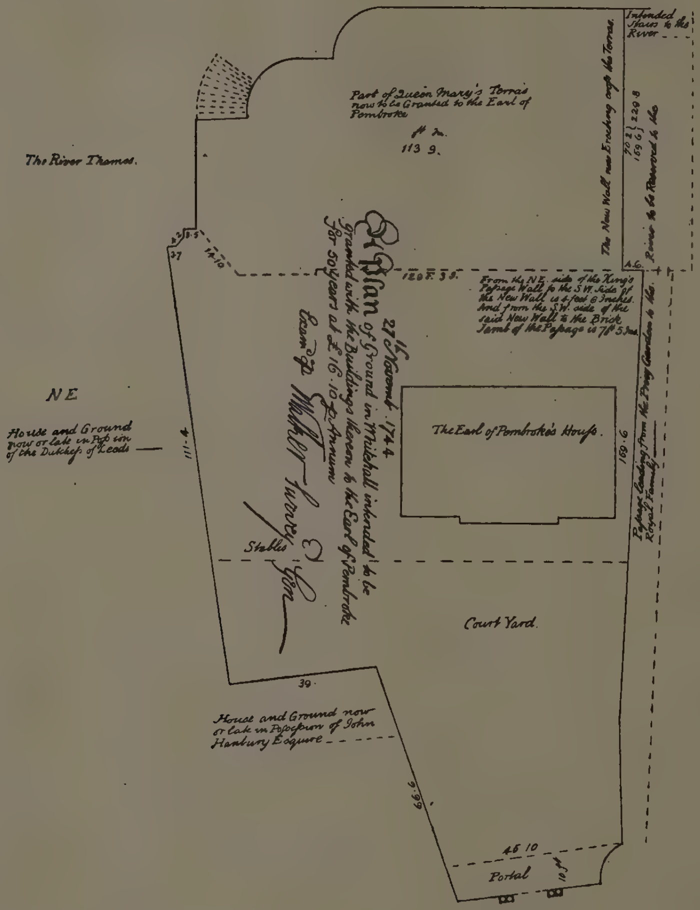
* P.R.O., T. 54/24, pp. 185, 223.

† *Ibid.*, 55/2, pp. 18–19, 24–5.

‡ *Ibid.*, 29/30, p. 86.

§ *Ibid.*, 55/7, pp. 13, 18.

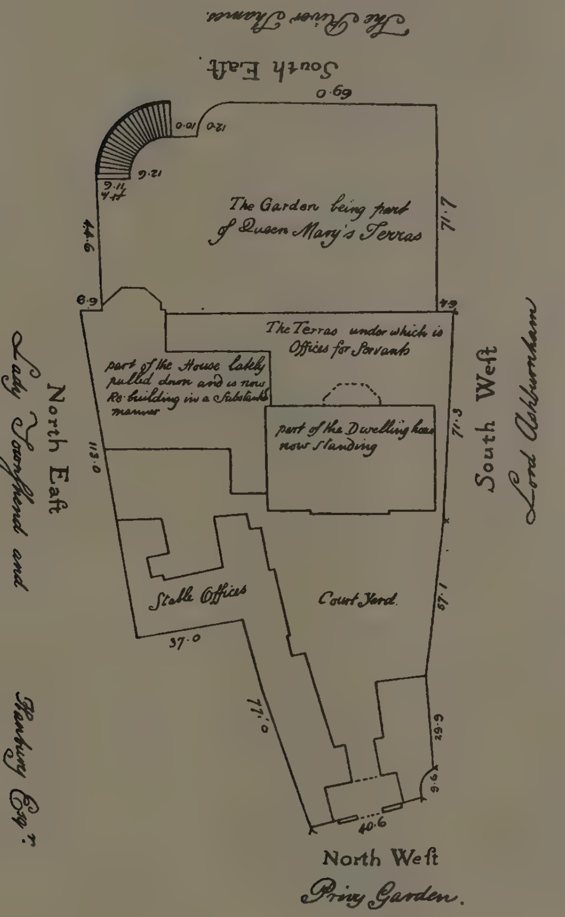

Intended Stairs to the River
Part of Queen Mary's Terras now to be Granted to the Earl of Pembroke
ft in.
113 9.
The New Wall now Erecting over the Terras.
70 2 } 229 8
159 6 }
Passage to be Reserved to the
A.G.
The River Thames.
27
14.10
120 F. 3 8.
From the N.E. side of the King's Passage Wall to the S.W. Side of the New Wall is 4 feet 6 Inches. And from the S.W. side of the said New Wall to the Brick Jamb of the Passage is 7ft 5 Ins.
A Plan of Ground in Whitehall intended to be Granted with the Buildings thereon to the Earl of Pembroke For 50 years at £16.10 p. Annum
27th Novemb. 1744
Exam'd p.
NE
House and Ground now or late in Possession of the Dutchess of Leeds
111.4
The Earl of Pembroke's House.
169.6
Passage Leading from the Privy Garden to the Royal Family
Stables
Court Yard.
39.
House and Ground now or late in Possession of John Hanbury Esquire
99.9
45 10
Portal

The Second Pembroke House.

These additional premises were not destined to last for long. In 1756 the 10th Earl presented a petition stating that he was taking down the house built by his father and rebuilding it in a more substantial manner, and asking for a fresh lease.* According to the official report, part of the

* P.R.O., T. 55/10, p. 81.

brick messuage had already been pulled down and the other part was in bad repair, and a comparison of the plan (reproduced below) with that made in 1744 shows that the building demolished was the comparatively recent enlargement of the original premises. A new lease was granted, and in 1757 or


The River Thames
South East
69.0
12.0
10.0
12.6
9.11
4 ft
44.6
The Garden being part of Queen Mary's Terras
71.7
6.9
4.9
The Terras under which is Offices for Servants
part of the House lately pulled down and is now Re-building in a Substantial manner
part of the Dwelling house now standing
North East
Lady Townshend and Hanbury Esqr.
113.0
71.3
South West
Lord Ashburnham
Stable Offices
Court Yard
37.0
57.1
77.0
29.9
9.6
40.6
North West
Privy Garden.

shortly afterwards the earl pulled down the rest of the building and erected the present house and lodge to the design of Sir William Chambers, R.A., at a cost, it was estimated, of upwards of £22,000. With regard to this figure the surveyor-general in 1802 expressed the opinion that the money had been "injudiciously expended," and pointed to the great disadvantage to the Crown "of having the property revert at the end of the lease, covered with a mass of building so very disproportionate in value, both to the sum it has cost and to the extent and situation of the ground it occupies."[*]

Besides the stables in the front of the house, further stabling and a riding-house were constructed on the east side and covered with a lead flat, forming a broad terrace extending to the river. A water-gate was formed at the northern corner and a curved flight of steps to the river.

Before the expiry of the lease a new lease was on 28th July, 1803, granted, to expire in October, 1866.

In 1818 the riding-house and stabling were demolished and the ground laid out as gardens. The terrace to the house at the principal-floor level was retained, including the portion over the water-gate.

Description of structure.

The main building is approached through the arched entrance to the lodge (Plate 65). The latter consists of two storeys, and is designed in the Roman Ionic Order in brick and stone. It comprises a wide central doorway, with a moulded and keyed semi-circular arch springing above the cornice to the Order. The archway contains a pair of folding doors with spandril filling, the whole surfaces being formed into panels by oak studs representing iron nails. Cast-lead masks adorn the panels, together with a pair of heavy bronze lion's-head knockers. A coronetted iron lamp is supported on wrought-iron brackets springing from each side of the entrance. The wall surface is treated with semi-attached columns and pilasters supporting a dentilled cornice and frieze, and the attic storey is finished with a moulded cornice and stone blocking course. The south-west corner is concave on plan, similar to that shown on the earlier plans. The east wall of the lodge facing the courtyard is also in brick and stone, with rusticated quoins to the archway. The old coachhouses on either side have elliptical-headed openings, and the door hinges can still be seen.

The ceiling of the carriageway is groin-vaulted in three bays, the middle bay being now occupied by a bridge connecting the upper rooms. The courtyard beyond has been covered by a slate-and-glass roof, which greatly disfigures the general appearance of the front of the main building so ably designed by Chambers.

The general exterior is executed in brick with stone dressings, and consists of four storeys. The front is symmetrical, with the centre slightly advanced, forming a break which terminates with the cornice and pediment at the level of the top floor. A balustraded parapet completes the general façade (Plates 69 and 70).

The ground floor comprises three arched openings with moulded architraves between blocked quoins which contain the entrance, with a window on each side containing squared panes of glass (Plate 72). The flanks have square-headed windows, but are otherwise similarly treated.

On either side of the entrance are still fixed the old iron link extinguishers, reminiscent of days when runners carried torches by the carriages or chairs, and extinguished them on the completion of the journey.

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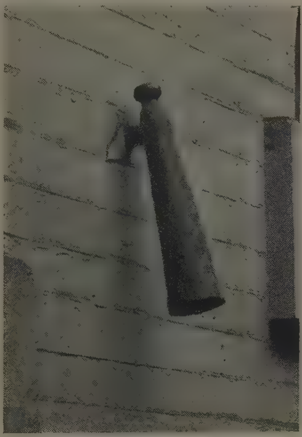
[*] P.R.O., T. 55/24, pp. 303–8.

The central feature of the main storey (Plate 69) is a large three-light Venetian window with Doric columns and entablature, within an arched recess. Below the window-sill is a balustraded panel on a plain plinth which continues across the main front. The flanks have square-headed windows with moulded architrave and carved brackets, and panels below. The floor above has a range of square windows,* the central one being ornamented with an eared architrave. The main cornice is enriched with modillions, and continues across the front at the level of the top floor, forming a pediment to the centre as already mentioned. The attic storey has a stone balustraded parapet on a high plinth above a dentilled moulding course.

The general treatment of this façade bears a strong resemblance to the design of the first Pembroke House by Colin Campbell (Plate 67), though on a larger scale.

The east front is in three advanced faces, with the northern treated as a canted bay. The exterior is in plain brickwork relieved at the second floor by stone bands, and completed with a stone modillion cornice and blocking course, behind which rises the slate roof. This front is sober and restrained, no attempt having been made to carry out any of the features introduced in the west front (Plate 71). The broad terrace at the chief floor level extends eastwards over the water-gate, a one-storey building known as Queen Mary's boat-house. The latter structure has a stone front, divided into three bays by attached Doric columns, decorated with heavy rustications, and supporting a plain frieze with a moulded pediment, containing a bricked-up lunette in the tympanum (Plate 66).


Link extinguisher.

The premises contain some handsome rooms, the principal floor being high and planned in the grand manner to accommodate with comfort the crowds which attended the great receptions at the house. The plaster ceilings are highly ornamental, and the mantelpieces and door-cases are features of decorative interest and importance.

The entrance vestibule has arcaded walls and is finished with a Doric cornice with mutules and guttae. The mantelpiece is in mottled marble, with a mitred bolection moulded architrave around the fireplace, which contains a grate of the period in cast iron (Plate 72).

The main staircase has panelled walls, and an ornamental plaster ceiling with a decorative modillion cornice (Plate 85). The wall-surfaces to the landings on the first and second floors have Corinthian pilasters supporting an enriched entablature, and form an arcaded treatment of two bays containing the entrance to the lobby and a complementary door (Plates 73 and 74). The stairs, which are in stone, continue around an open well to the second floor, and have their moulded nosings returned over their outer ends. From the first to the second floor the ends are shaped similar to their soffits. The handrail is in mahogany, with a similar section to that of the dado rail, while the balustrading is in wrought iron of a scroll design. The secondary, or service, staircase is in stone, with a plain iron bar balustrading.

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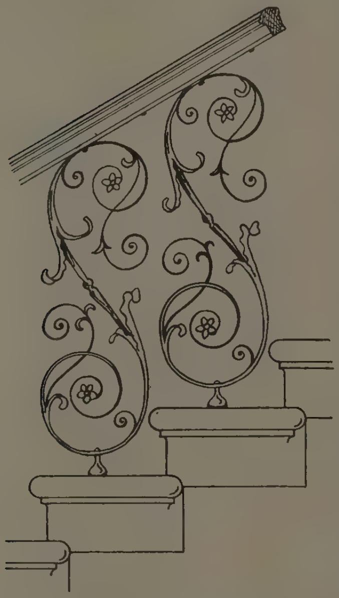
* The window on the south side has been enlarged.


Balustrading to Staircase.

The lobby on the first floor (Room No. 29) (Plates 75 and 76) leading to the Salon (Room No. 27) has the walls decorated with plaster panels containing festoons, masks and trophies of the chase, and also a carved chair-rail and skirting. The ceiling is barrel-vaulted with panels and coffers, springing above a cornice with a bold egg and dart ornament. The door-cases have carved pulvinated friezes representing bay and oak leaves with crinkled crossed ribands, and enriched cornices supported on shaped brackets (the end doors have broken pediments), the doors themselves and all others to the chief rooms on this floor being double-moulded, six-panelled, in mahogany. The Salon (No. 27) measures 52 feet in length and 32 feet at the widest part, including the bay, and 15 feet in height; unfortunately it is now divided by partitions. The ceiling* to this room is an elaborate piece of ornamental plaster work (Plates 80 and 81). The design is divided by a decorated band into four panels around a circle, and conforms to the shape of the room. The field of the panels is occupied by foliated scrolls, which issue from elongated vases with entwining festoons of drapery and husks suspended from skulls of bulls. A decorative cornice and frieze complete the general composition. The door leading from the lobby (Plate 79) has attached Corinthian columns supporting a pedimented head, the frieze being occupied with a scroll repeat design, and a lower frieze with swags of laurel. The whole is picked out in gold, and when the room was furnished with suitable surroundings the effect must have been imposing.

Room No. 28 contains an ornamental plaster ceiling in light relief, divided into panels, and the field occupied with scrolls and leafage.

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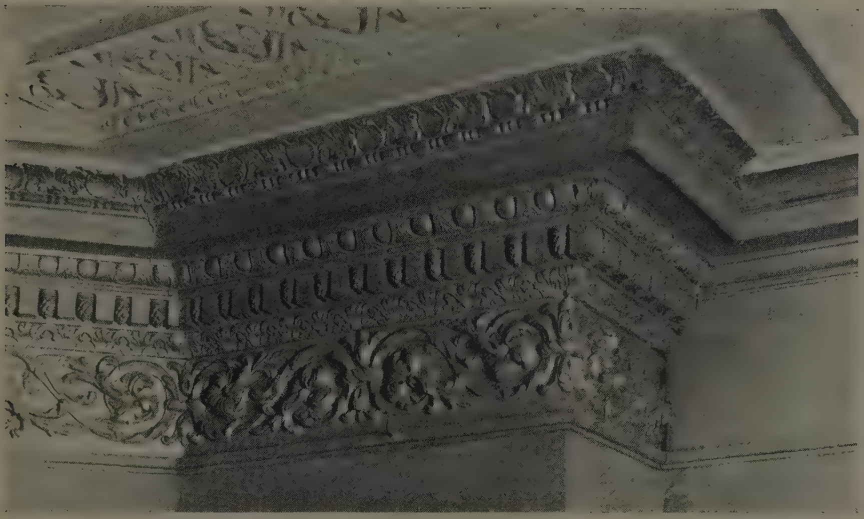
* In the Victoria and Albert Museum is Sir Wm. Chambers' original coloured design, inscribed "ceiling of the Saloon at Lord Pembroke's, Whitehall," and dated 1760—also a sketch of cornice and frieze.

In Room No. 25 the chief features are the carved pine chimneypiece and the ornamental ceiling. The chimneypiece (Plate 82) has marble slips with egg-and-tongue ornament to the fire opening. On each side is a carved tapering panel containing strings of fruit in high relief, a bust of a child with head slightly turned inwards supporting the shelf. The frieze contains a central panel adorned with a shell between swags of laurel. Above the mantel is a carved frame enclosing a picture,* and having tapering panelled pilasters which support an enriched pediment of irregular shape containing a coronet and laurel swags. The frieze also contains a shell on a central tablet between a scroll design. This chimneypiece is said to have been removed from Room No. 81 of Cadogan House, and to have been designed by Kent.



Cornice and frieze in Salon.

The ceiling to this room is very decorative (Plates 83 and 84). The centre of the design comprises a rosette of scrolled leaf radiations, while an outer circle of ornament, almost the width of the room, is formed by a band of acanthus repeat design, with a wider band of running floral ornament, and an outer band representing a reeded coil. The outer band has looped festoons of laurel, with a deeper loop at the corners supporting a cluster of martial trophies. Four motive tripods, with a plume of burning incense rising into the field, divide up the outer band. Further panels occupy the ends of the ceiling, and contain scroll designs with sphinxes and burning lamps, while the border comprises husks and foliage. Decorative mouldings and modillions to the cornice of the room complete the composition.

Room No. 24 has its end opposite the bay window divided into three bays by attached fluted Doric columns on pedestals. The centre contains a deep alcove (Plates 77 and 78) with decorative doors to the flanks, the whole suggesting a small stage for private theatricals. This suggestion is supported by the presence of carved masks in circular panels over the doors, and by the general enrichment of the mouldings, which are picked out in gilt.

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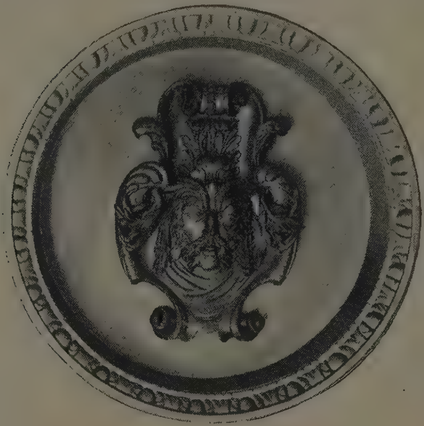
* Portrait in oils of Montague Bertie, 2nd Earl of Lindsey—artist unknown.

The ceiling to the main portion of this room is designed on the lines of a spider's web with an entwining vine, while a large rope of fruit and flowers encircles the ceiling, looping over as a wreath in each corner (Plate 85). The ceiling to the bay window has a similar composition, but is treated independently. The main cornice has decorated members with modillions. The mantelpiece is in Sienna and statuary marbles, and has shaped consoles supporting the moulded shelf, while the frieze contains a central tablet with a carved draped urn. The boxed linings to the windows containing the shutters are interesting, each reveal consisting of a carved panel between mirrors. The architrave around has the egg-and-tongue and cable ornament. The passage adjoining this room has a small domed ceiling. The staircase adjacent is in oak with turned balusters, and continues around an open well to the third floor.



Carved Mask.

The lobby (No. 19) to Room No. 17 on the second floor has a decorative ceiling, comprising a small dome on panelled pendentives between groin-vaulted bays springing from panelled pilasters. The window jambs and head are panelled with Gothic tracery decoration (Plate 75), a treatment which is also applied to the windows in Rooms Nos. 17 and 18.

Room No. 17 contains an Italian breccia marble mantelpiece designed in the French rococo style, with a cast-iron grate (Plate 87).

Room No. 18 also contains a Sienna and statuary marble mantelpiece with a rococo outline (Plate 88).

In Room No. 16 is a decorative looking-glass panel door, which is the back of the cupboard in No. 17, and has the glass covered with a geometrical arabesque pattern in metal on wood, with the top corners rounded (Plate 87).

Room No. 15 has a Sienna and statuary marble mantelpiece, with shaped consoles on each side of the opening, and a ram's head on a tablet to the frieze (Plate 86).

Room No. 14 contains a Sicilian jasper and statuary marble mantelpiece with a mirror above in a carved oak frame. In this room is also a break-fronted oak bookcase or cupboard, comprising three compartments in two heights with a broken pediment over the centre compartment, which contains a mirror. The main mouldings are carved, and the whole design is contemporary with the building.

Room No. 13 has a decorative plaster ceiling, lightly modelled, and a modillion cornice (Plate 86). The end of the room opposite to the bay window contains an alcove similar to that in Room No. 24 on the floor below. It has a groin-vaulted ceiling, with modelled plaster masks to the wall surfaces of the tympani. The front of the alcove contains a female mask on the keystone of the opening, and is flanked by fluted Doric columns and pilasters supporting an entablature. The bays on each side contain a six-panelled door, with a circular panel above (Plate 77).

The back of the alcove is faced with some Chinese wallpaper, mounted on canvas and varnished, which is said to have been removed from Malmesbury House (Room No. 90). The mantelpiece is in Sienna and statuary marble, with a wave architrave with egg-and-tongue enrichment which terminates with a scroll at the base.

The top floor also has an alcove in Room No. 2, which is over Room No. 13, and has a flat ceiling. The doors have carved architraves and decorated consoles supporting a moulded head. The mantelpiece is in mottled grey marble, with a carved wood overmantel, surmounted with a decorative circular panel, which probably once contained a dial. The ceiling to the room is designed in light relief, with the cornice mouldings enriched.

In Room No. 7 is a carved wood fireplace with cross palm leaves and rosettes to the frieze.

Panel of Window Shutter.

Condition of repair.

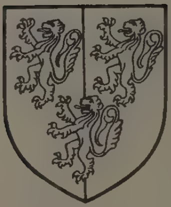
Good

Historical notes.

The occupiers of Pembroke House as shown by the ratebooks and Boyle's *Court Guide* up to the time of its occupation for Government purposes were as follows :

1717(?)–51	Lord Herbert (Earl of Pembroke).
1752–55	Earl of Buckinghamshire.
1758–95	Earl of Pembroke.
1796	Marquess of Cornwallis.
1797–99	Marquess of Cornwallis and Mark Singleton.
1800	Earl of Pembroke.
1801–04	Marquess of Exeter.
1806–16	Earl of Tankerville.

1817–27	Earl of Pembroke.
1828–31	Lord Goderich.
1832–51	Earl of Harrington.



Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.

Henry Herbert, 9th Earl of Pembroke, was born in 1693, and succeeded his father in the earldom in 1733. From his skill in architecture he was known as "the architect earl," and Marble Hill and the Lodge in Richmond Park remain as "incontestable proofs of Lord Pembroke's taste."* He was active in promoting the erection of the first Westminster Bridge, and it was largely due to him that Labelye was employed to design it. He died suddenly on 9th January, 1750–1 at Pembroke House.

A few weeks later, on 2nd April, Horace Walpole wrote :† "Mr. Whithed has taken my Lord Pembroke's house at Whitehall, a glorious situation, but as madly built as my Lord himself was." If Walpole is correct, Whithed's residence must have been very brief, for the ratebooks from 1752 to 1755 show the Earl of Buckinghamshire at the house.

John Hobart, 1st Earl of Buckinghamshire, born about 1694, was son of Sir Henry Hobart, and brother of Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, favourite of George II. He died in September, 1756. The ratebook entry for 1755 is "E[mpty] Ld. Buckinghamshire"; and that for 1756 "E[mpty] Earle Pembroke rebuilding."

Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke, was born in 1734, and was thus only 16 years old at his father's death. After that event he travelled on the Continent, and in 1752 obtained a cornetcy in the army. In 1759 he was made lieutenant-colonel of Elliot's light horse and proceeded with his regiment to Germany. In 1760 and 1761 he commanded the cavalry brigade under Lord Granby, and in the latter year was promoted to be major-general. In 1762 he published a treatise on the *Method of Breaking Horses*, and in the same year scandalised society by eloping with Miss Hunter.‡ He afterwards returned, and was restored to favour. He attained the rank of general in 1782, and died in 1794 at Wilton. His residence at Pembroke House seems to have lasted from 1756 to his death.§

George Augustus, 11th Earl of Pembroke, was born in 1759, and like his father, adopted a military career, being appointed ensign in 1775. In 1784 he entered Parliament as member for Wilton, and though he vacated his seat on his appointment as Vice-Chamberlain of the Household in 1785, he was again returned for Wilton in 1788 and 1790. In 1783 he had been made lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, and in 1793 went with his regiment to Flanders and was in command of the British and Hanoverian troops which took part in the fighting at Hundssluyt. In the following year he returned home on the death of his father. He became lieutenant-general in 1802, K.G. in 1805, Governor of Guernsey in 1807, and general in 1812. In 1807 he went as Ambassador-Extraordinary to the Court of Vienna. He died in 1827.

He occupied Pembroke House only at intervals. The appearance of the "Earl of Pembroke" in the issue of Boyle's *Court Guide* for 1795 suggests that he was there for a short time after his father's death. Five years later he again was in residence for a short while, but in 1816 (implied by an entry in the *Court Guide* for 1817) he made it his town house for the remainder of his life.

Charles, 1st Marquess Cornwallis, eldest son of the 1st Earl Cornwallis, was born in 1738. At the age of 18 he was appointed ensign, and in 1758–9 served as aide-de-camp to Granby in Germany, being present at the battle of Minden. In 1761 he was made lieutenant-colonel and saw much active service. In the following year he succeeded to the earldom, and took his seat in the House of Lords, but the American War of Independence recalled him to his military duties. After serving one campaign as major-general he returned to America in 1778 as second in command.

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* Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, 1888 edn., III., p. 52.

† Walpole's *Letters*, 1903 edn., II, p. 445.

‡ "In all your reading, true or false, have you ever heard of a young Earl, married to the most beautiful woman in the world [Elizabeth, daughter of the 2nd earl of Marlborough], a Lord of the Bedchamber, a general officer, and with a great estate, quitting everything, resigning wife and world, and embarking for life in a packet-boat with a miss?" (*Ibid.*, V, p. 177.)

§ "Yesterday morning the Queen and three elder Princesses breakfasted with the Countess of Pembroke, at her house in Privy Gardens." (*The Morning Chronicle*, 11th February, 1792.)

After some successes he was besieged in Yorktown in 1781, and forced to capitulate. It seems to have been generally recognised that he was not to blame, and in 1786, after being twice refused Pitt prevailed on him to go to India as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. In this position he carried out many reforms, and broke the power of Tippoo Sahib in the Third Mysore War. For the latter service he was created a marquess in 1792. In 1794 he returned to England, and in the following year was made Master-General of the Ordnance, with a seat in the cabinet. From 1798 to 1801 he was Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief of Ireland, where a rebellion, assisted by a French army, was in progress. He restored order to the country, but the experience he gained made him an ardent advocate for Catholic emancipation and Union with Great Britain. The latter was granted, but the refusal of the former brought about his resignation. In 1802 he was appointed plenipotentiary to negotiate the Treaty of Amiens. After three years of peaceful retirement he was prevailed on to go to India in 1805 for the second time, but died soon after his arrival. Cornwallis' residence at Pembroke House seems to have begun in 1795, and to have continued until his appointment as Viceroy of Ireland in 1798. *

Mark Singleton, who is bracketed with Cornwallis in Boyle's *Court Guide* for the years 1797 to 1799, was his son-in-law, and principal Storekeeper to the Ordnance.

Henry Cecil, 1st Marquess of Exeter, was born in 1754, and succeeded his uncle as 10th Earl of Exeter in 1793. On 19th August, 1800, he married (as his third wife) Elizabeth, Dowager Duchess of Hamilton, and *The Times* for the following day contains a notice that "the Earl of Exeter has taken the house of the Earl of Pembroke in Privy Gardens." In the following year he was created a marquess. Pembroke House served as his town residence until his death, which occurred "at Pembroke-house, in Privy-gardens, Whitehall"† in 1804.

The marchioness, one of the daughters of Peter Burrell, and sister of the 1st Lord Gwydir, had in 1778 married Douglas, 8th Duke of Hamilton, from whom she obtained a divorce in 1794. After the death of the marquess she removed to the southern portion of the Countess of Portland's house (see p. 183), and afterwards to No. 2 Whitehall Gardens, where she died in 1837.

The next occupant of Pembroke House was Charles, 4th Earl of Tankerville, born in 1743, whose residence lasted for 10 years. He died in 1822.

Frederick John Robinson (Viscount Goderich, afterwards 1st Earl of Ripon), second son of the second Lord Grantham, was born in 1782. In 1806 he entered Parliament as member for Carlow, and in the following year was returned for Ripon, which borough he represented for nearly 20 years. In 1809 he was for some months Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and in 1810 was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty, a position which in 1812 he exchanged for a seat on the Treasury Board. In the following year he was made joint Paymaster-General of the Forces. In 1818 he became President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy, with a seat in the cabinet. At the beginning of 1823 he succeeded Vansittart as Chancellor of the Exchequer. During his tenure of office he introduced a number of fiscal reforms (for the most part suggested by Huskisson), and from his optimistic views on the condition of the country he came to be known as "Prosperity Robinson."‡ When Canning took office in 1827, Robinson was raised to the peerage as Viscount Goderich, and became Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, and Leader of the House of Lords. On Canning's death later in the year Goderich became Prime Minister. He resigned at the beginning of 1828. In 1830 he resumed his old appointment for War and the Colonies, but his scheme for the abolition of negro slavery not being acceptable to the cabinet, he resigned in 1833, when he became Lord Privy Seal, being at the same time created Earl of Ripon. He resigned office in the following year. His subsequent appointments were: President of the Board of Trade, 1841–3, and President of the Board of Control, 1843–6. He died at Putney in 1859. He had come to Pembroke House on leaving No. 10, Downing Street, in 1828 and his residence there terminated in 1831.

Charles Stanhope, 4th Earl of Harrington, was born in 1780. In his early years (as Lord Petersham) he was an intimate companion of George IV, and a distinguished leader of fashion. "His habits and tastes were eccentric. . . . He designed the Petersham overcoat and the Petersham snuff-mixture, and mixed his own blacking."† He succeeded to the earldom in 1829. In 1831 he married Maria Foote, the actress, and in the same year came to Pembroke House, which continued to be his town residence until his death, which occurred at Brighton in 1851.‡

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* Letters from Cornwallis, headed "Whitehall" range from 28th January, 1796, to 18th June, 1798. (*Cornwallis Correspondence*, III, pp. 297–351).

† *Gentleman's Magazine.*

‡ In contrast to "Adversity Hume."

The house was then taken over by the Government for use at first as the Copyhold, Enclosure and Tithe Commission Office, and afterwards as the War Office, and has ever since been utilised for official purposes.

IN THE COUNCIL'S COLLECTION ARE :—

*Plan of ground applied for to be leased by the Earl of Pembroke in 1744. (Copy of plan in possession of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands.)
*Survey of land in Privy Garden belonging to Rt. Hon. the Earl of Pembroke, dated 1756. (Copy of plan in the possession of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands.)
*Plan (1803) of entrance or basement floor. (Copy of plan in possession of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands.)
*Ground and first-floor plans (measured drawings).
*Elevation and plan of the Rt. Hon. Lord Herbert's house in Whitehall. Copied from *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Vol. 3, 1725.
*General view of entrance lodge (photograph).
West elevation of entrance lodge (measured drawing).
East elevation of entrance lodge (measured drawing).
Detail of stone mouldings to west front (measured drawing).
View of passageway looking towards Whitehall (photograph).
*West elevation of house (photograph).
*Elevation of west front (measured drawing).
*Entrance doorway and side windows (photograph).
View of entrance doorway looking south-east (photograph).
*East elevation and water-gate (photograph).
*Exterior of water-gate (photograph).
Elevation of water-gate (measured drawing).
*General view of entrance hall (photograph).
Detail of panelling to entrance hall (measured drawing).
*General views (2) of staircase at first and second-floor landings (photographs).
*View of ceiling to staircase (photograph).
*View of wall decoration to staircase (measured drawing).
*Detail of iron balustrading to staircase (measured drawing).
*General view of lobby (room No. 29) on first floor (photograph).
*Detail of lobby on first floor (measured drawing).
Detail of ornamental plaster ceiling in room No. 28 (photograph).
*General view of bay window and ceiling in room No. 27 (photograph).
*General view of ornamental plaster ceiling in room No. 27 (photograph).
*Detail of frieze and cornice in room No. 27 (photograph).
*General view of door and casing in room No. 27 (photograph).
*General view of ornamental plaster ceiling in room No. 25 (photograph).
*Detail of panel to ceiling in room No. 25 (photograph).
*View of chimneypiece in room No. 25 (photograph).
*General view of ornamental plaster ceiling in room No. 24 (photograph).
*General view of alcove to room No. 24 (photograph).
General view of ceiling to alcove to room No. 24 (photograph).
*General details of alcove with plan, room No. 24 (measured drawing).
*View of mask over door to alcove front, room No. 24 (photograph).

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† *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

‡ On 29th February, 1840, the Hon. Lincoln Edwin Robert Stanhope, major-general, a brother of the earl, died "at Harrington House, Privy-gardens." (*Annual Register.*)

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

*Detail of carved shutter to windows (photograph).
*View of lobby (No. 19) on second floor (photograph).
Detail of lobby (measured drawing).
*Detail of marble mantelpiece, room No. 18 (photograph).
View of archway and panelling to passage outside room No. 18 (photograph).
Detail of decorated pilaster, room No. 18 (photograph).
*Detail of marble mantelpiece in room No. 17 (photograph).
View showing Gothic tracery decoration to window jambs, room No. 17 (photograph).
View of panelled door to cupboard, room No. 17 (photograph).
*Mirror-door to rooms Nos. 16 and 17 (photograph).
*Marble mantelpiece to room No. 15 (photograph).
General view of oak fitting and mantelpiece, room No. 14 (photograph).
Plaster ceiling to room No. 13 (photograph).
*General view of bay window and ceiling, room No. 13 (photograph).
*Front of alcove, room No. 13 (photograph).
Marble mantelpiece, room No. 13 (photograph).
Wood mantelpiece to room No. 7 (photograph).
General view of alcove and plaster ceiling, room No. 2 (photograph).
Marble mantelpiece and wood overmantel in room No. 2 (photograph).

* Reproduced here.

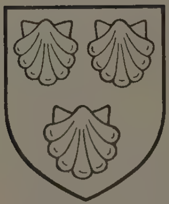
CHAPTER 12

FORMER HOUSES BETWEEN THE SITES OF PEMBROKE HOUSE AND MONTAGU HOUSE

The present chapter contains an account of the buildings lying between the sites of Pembroke House and Montagu House, from about 1690 to the erection of the present houses in Whitehall Gardens early in the nineteenth century.

Residence of the Earl of Albemarle and the Countess of Portland.—The northernmost of the residences in question consisted originally of a portion of the palace buildings immediately south of the Privy Stairs, and extending westward as far as the Stone Gallery. It comprised part of the King's apartments, together with those marked on the plan of 1670 as belonging to Mr. Chiffinch and the Countess of Suffolk, as well as the rooms in the occupation of the Queen's Wardrobe and the Groom of the Privy Chamber.

Our earliest information as to the occupier of this house is derived from the plan of the adjoining premises in 1696 (see p. 186), which describes their northern boundary as "Mr. Keppel's lodgings."



Keppel, Earl of Albemarle.

Arnold Joast Van Keppel* was created Earl of Albemarle on 10th February, 1695–6, and from the wording of the above reference it appears that he was in occupation of the lodgings at Whitehall before that date. Two years later the Great Fire occurred, and if the accounts of that calamity are to be relied on, the earl's residence was destroyed. It is, however, doubtful whether the destruction was complete, for instructions given less than two months later (4th March, 1697–8) for certain furnishing arrangements† imply the existence of a house to be furnished. Extensive works were carried out to the premises about 1702.‡

On the death of William III in that year Albemarle returned to Holland. His subsequent visits to England were very few, and on these occasions the house in Whitehall may have served as his residence, but it seems probable that he parted with his interest in it in 1709 or 1710.*

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* Came to England with William III in 1688, created Earl of Albemarle in 1696, K.G. in 1700. Died in 1718. Was William's constant companion while the King lived, and was Portland's rival in his affections.

† "These are to Signifie . . . his Ma^{ts} pleasure that you provide & deliver . . . the following particulars for ye Earl of Albemarl's Lodgings at Whitehall, Viz^{t}, Two Glasses to be sett in the Pannels between ye Windows of the Closets, Three large Looking glasses for the three rooms above stairs suitable to ye Table & Stands there; Two white Damask Window Curtains to draw up in ye Closet above; One for the passage room and another for ye Window in the back room; Two Window Curtains to draw up (of some Indian Stuff) for ye first Room below; and Two white draw up Curtains wth green Fringe for ye Closet hung with Green Velvet"; also an order for locks and keys for the same. (P.R.O., L.C. 5/152, pp. 66–67.)

‡ "Before ye 8th of March 1701[–2]. Workes done att the Right Honourable the Earle of Albemarles Lodgings att Whitehall and passed Aug. 5 1702 . . . building a new kitchin and laundry & raising another story over the old kitchin & laundry, building a new passage to go to the house, building a new porters lodge . . . sinking two roomes next ye Terrace Walke" (P.R.O., Works, 5/52.)

The next occupant of the house was the Dowager Countess of Portland,† who removed there presumably on the death of her husband at the end of 1709. At any rate she had for some time been in occupation of the premises in 1719,‡ when she applied for a lease in consideration of the expenditure she had incurred in repairs. The report on the application§ describes the premises as "formerly enjoyed by the Earl of Albemarle . . . scituate on the east side of the Privy Garden, and are in front to the west 82 feet and in depth from the said Privy Garden to the Terras [Queen Mary's Terrace] . . . 148 feet." A lease was granted which included "the Terras walk scituate between the aforesaid lodgings and the river of Thames."

The countess proceeded to erect a new building "60 foot in front & 26 foot in depth adjoining to ye . . . Terras Walk" in addition to the lodgings, and in 1725 applied for a new lease, with permission to cover the passage leading from the Privy Garden to the Privy Stairs "to prevent the rains falling thereon, in regard the Memst has a way thro' it into ye said lodgings." The surveyor's report|| stated that the "carkoss" of the new building had been erected, but that a considerable sum would be required to finish the building, and that "the messuage or lodgings are old and decayed, and will want great repairs."¶ The lease was granted, and permission given to cover the passage, on conditions that the roof was not to be more than 10 feet high and the passage not narrower than 7 feet at any point, and that the Royal Family should have free passage through it to the water stairs.

In 1744 the countess again applied** for a lease, when it was found that she was in possession of "a piece of ground containing in front towards Privy Garden 28 feet, with some old buildings standing thereon," to which she was not entitled. The new lease, which was granted on 22nd January, 1745, for a period of fifty years, included this additional piece (see plan on p. 182).

The countess had, ere this, divided the premises into two, and the

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* In 1708 the house was still regarded as his: "*Albemarle* (the Lord) his house is situate near *White Hall.*" (Hatton's *New View of London*, II, p. 623.)

† Jane Martha, daughter of Sir John Temple, Solicitor-General and afterwards Attorney-General of Ireland, and niece of Sir William Temple, statesman, married (1) John, 3rd Baron Berkeley, of Stratton, and (2) in 1700, as his 3rd wife, the 1st Earl of Portland.

‡ "Countess Dowager of Portland Represents that she is now and hath for some time by his Ma^{ts} permission been in possession of a house Enjoyed by the Earl of Albemarle." (P.R.O., Ind. 4623, p. 431.)

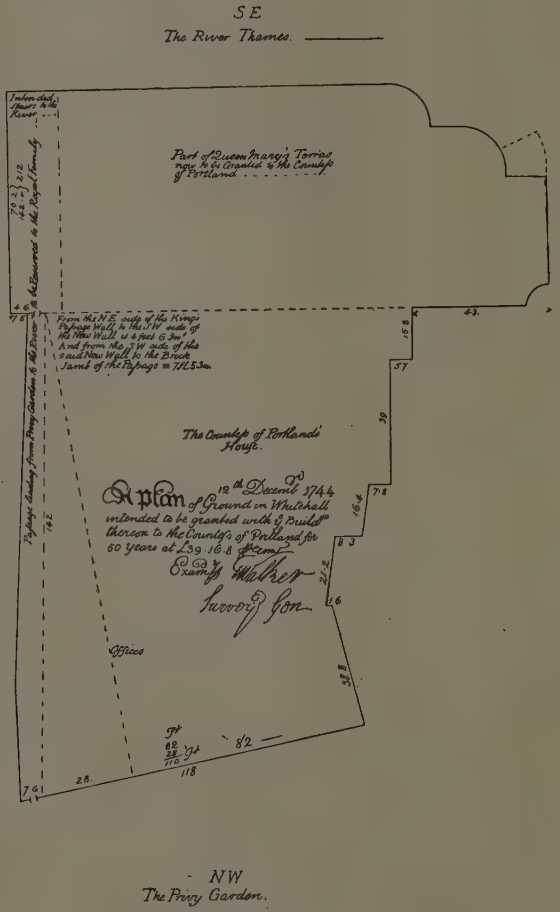
§ P.R.O., T. 54/25, p. 206.

|| *Ibid.*, 54/29, p. 200.

¶ The description seems hardly applicable to buildings erected since 1698, and supports the suggestion that the fire of that year could not have completely destroyed the old buildings.

** See report thereon in P.R.O., T. 55/7, p. 9.

southern portion had been occupied by Viscount Limerick,* her son-in-law. The ratebooks from 1732 to 1745 show him at the house, thus implying a residence begun in 1731.†


SE
The River Thames.
Intended Stairs to the River
Part of Queen Mary's Terrace now to be Granted to the Countess of Portland
70 2
142 0} 212
to be Reserved to the Royal Family
4 6
7 6
Passage leading from Privy Garden to the River
From the N E side of the Kings Passage Wall to the S W side of the New Wall is 4 feet 6 In.
And from the S W side of the said New Wall to the Brick Jamb of the Passage = 7 ft 5 3 in
43
15 8
57
39
The Countess of Portland's House.
A plan of Ground in Whitehall 12th Decemb 1744 intended to be granted with ye Buildgs thereon to the Countess of Portland for 50 years at £39.16.8 p Ann
Examd T Walker Surveyr Gen
7 8
16 4
8 3
21 2
16
38 8
142
Offices
Ft
82
28
110 Ft
82
118
28
7 6
NW
The Privy Garden.

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* "Which said piece . . . of ground, messuage or lodgings were late in the tenure . . . of . . . Lord Viscount Limerick." (Report on Andrew Stone's application for lease, P.R.O., T. 55/10, p. 412.) James Hamilton, heir to a younger branch of the Hamiltons, Earls of Clanbrassill, was in 1719 created Baron Claneboye and Viscount Limerick. In 1728 he married Henrietta, daughter of the Earl of Portland, and in 1756 was made Earl of Clanbrassill.

† This is confirmed by an entry in the parish register for 25th March, 1730–1, recording the birth of "Ann Hamilton, daughter to the . . . Lord Viscount Lymerick by Lady Harriott, *Privy Garden*." (*Parochial Rates Trial*, p. 81.)

From 1746 to 1750 the house is shown "empty" in the ratebooks, and in 1751 the name of Andrew Stone* appears.

Some time before the death of the Countess of Portland in 1751 she had assigned to Stone her interest in the southern house, and in 1758 he obtained a reversionary lease of the premises to expire in 1807. Just before he died he made application for a further lease, which was granted in 1774 to his widow, Hannah Stone, extending the period to 1824. The latter continued to reside at the house until her death in 1782, when it passed into the possession of her sister-in-law, Mrs. Sarah Mauvillain.† The earliest issue of Boyle's *Court Guide* (for 1792) shows the latter in occupation, and she continued in residence until 1804, when she was succeeded by the Marchioness of Exeter, who had moved from Pembroke House on the death of her husband. Her residence lasted until the demolition of the house in 1823.

We now turn to the northern portion of the premises, which remained in the occupation of the Countess of Portland until her death at the house on 25th March, 1751.‡ For information as to subsequent occupiers we have to depend on the ratebooks. The book for 1752 shows the "Bishop of Durham" as residing there. This must have been Bishop Butler of *Analogy* fame, who died on 16th June, 1752. The entry cannot refer to his successor, Richard Trevor, for he was not elected until 9th November in that year. No other record, however, has been found of Butler's residence in Privy Garden.

According to the ratebooks for 1753–5 the next tenant was Lord Ashburnham.§ The plan of Pembroke House made in 1756 (see p. 169), shows Lord Ashburnham's premises as the south-west boundary.

In 1756 Welbore Ellis|| entered into occupation. How long he stayed at the house cannot be ascertained, for ratebook evidence is available only to 1762, but he seems to have left before 1771, as in the memorial

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* Andrew Stone, born in 1703, became private secretary to the Duke of Newcastle, and exercised great influence over both the duke and his brother, Henry Pelham. In 1734 he was made Under-Secretary of State, and in 1751 tutor to the future King (George III). After the accession of the latter he attached himself to Bute, and in 1763 Horace Walpole mentions (*Memoirs of the Reign of King George III*, ed. Barker, I, p. 334) that the Bute "junto" met "daily at Mr. Stone's." He died "at his house in Privy Garden" (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*) on 16th December, 1773.

† In her will (*P.C.C.*, 318, Gostling) Mrs. Stone (*née* Mauvillain) describes herself as "of Whitehall" and alludes to furniture "in Privy Garden." She left the residue of her estate to her "dear sister, Mrs. Sarah Mauvillain."

‡ "Monday night died at her House in Privy Garden, aged upwards of 80, the Right Hon. the Countess of Portland, formerly Governess to the Princesses Amelia and Caroline." (*Penny London Post*, 27th–29th March, 1751.)

§ John, 2nd Earl of Ashburnham, born 1724, died 1812.

|| Born in 1713, was a Lord of the Admiralty 1747–55, Secretary at War 1762–5, Treasurer of the Navy 1777, and Secretary of State for America 1782. He was the "little mannikin Ellis" and "Grildrig" of the *Letters of Junius*. In 1794 he was created Baron Mendip, and he died in 1802.

presented by the inhabitants of Privy Garden in that year (see p. 223) his signature does not occur.

The Countess of Portland's lease had meanwhile passed into the hands of her eldest son William,* who on his death in 1774 left† to his youngest son, John Albert,‡ his "house at Whitehall." On the latter's death in the following year the house passed into the possession of his eldest son, William.§ It was, however, provided|| that the widow should continue to "live and reside" in the house "in Privy Garden, Whitehall," so long as she chose, paying rent therefor to her son. In the absence of ratebook and directory evidence for the period it is impossible to say whether she availed herself of the provision. She died in 1792, and Boyle's *Court Guide* for that year shows "Capt. John Bentinck" at the house.

In 1795, when the lease expired, the premises were in the occupation of Lord Sheffield,¶ who continued to live there until 1808. In that year Sir John Thomas Stanley** applied for a lease to expire at the same time (1824) as that granted to Hannah Stone of the adjoining premises, as well as for a further lease of the site after 1824 for the purpose of building two new houses. A warrant to this effect was accordingly issued on 15th October, 1808, but no lease was actually passed. On the authority of the warrant, however, Stanley obtained, and remained in, possession until 1823. The issues of Boyle's *Court Guide* show that he occupied the house at intervals during that period. The other occupants were Sir John Nicholl, 1810††; Lord Clancarty,‡‡ 1811–17; Richard Dawkins, 1822.

In 1823 Stanley sold his interest to Alexander Cray Grant, and about the same time the residue of Hannah Stone's lease in the adjoining house became vested in the Rt. Hon. Robert Peel. Both Peel and Grant expressed their readiness to proceed immediately with the completion of the approved

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* Born 1704. Created Count of the Holy Roman Empire, 1732.

† *P.C.C.*, 3, Alexander.

‡ Born 1737. Captain in the Navy and Count of the Empire.

§ Born 1764. Vice-admiral of the Blue. Died 1813 of typhus at St. Petersburg.

|| See will of John Albert Bentinck. (*P.C.C.*, 336, Alexander.)

¶ P.R.O., T. 55/28, p. 245. John Baber Holroyd, born in 1735, was raised to the Irish peerage in 1781 as Baron Sheffield of Dunamore. In 1802 he was created Baron Sheffield of Sheffield, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, and in 1816 became Earl of Sheffield. He was President of the Board of Agriculture in 1803, and was one of the foremost authorities of the time on commerce and agriculture. He died in 1821.

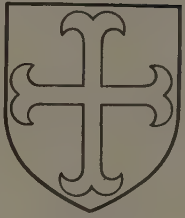
** Born 1766. Succeeded to the baronetcy 1807. Created Baron Stanley of Alderley, 1839. Died 1850.

†† At the time Dean of Arches and Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. In 1833 Judge of the High Court of Admiralty. Died 1838.

‡‡ Richard, 2nd Earl of Clancarty. In 1815 created Baron Trench and in 1823 Viscount Clancarty in the peerage of the United Kingdom. He held several important offices, but is chiefly notable for his diplomatic services. In 1813–14 and again in 1816–22 he was ambassador to the Netherlands, and in 1814–15 was one of the four English plenipotentiaries to the Congress of Vienna. He died in 1837. The issues of Boyle's *Court Guide* for 1811 to 1817 show him at the house in Privy Garden, but it is obvious that he himself could have been there for only a portion of the time.

scheme for the improvement of Whitehall Gardens (see p. 191) on receiving an assurance of a Crown lease of the premises from 1824. This was given, and in the latter part of 1823 the two old houses were demolished.*

Residence of the Dukes of Portland.—Shortly after the accession of William and Mary an order† was issued to "deliver unto the Earle of Mulgrave the Possession of the lodgings in Whitehall called the Duke and Duches Lodgings with the roomes above and under those lodgings." Subsequently these and other rooms came into the occupation of the Earl of Portland.‡ In the description of the latter's premises which is given in the report,§ made in 1696, on his application for a lease, they are said to consist of "severall rooms and lodgings at Whitehall, part whereof were lately possessed by the Marq^s^ of Normanby,|| and other part by Mr. Graham, all now enjoyed by my Lord Portland except one ground Roome and a Closet under my Lord's Lodgings w^ch^ has been lately used by Mr. Godfrey (Dep^ty^ or Agent to Mr. Nicholas) for the late Queen's Treāry (by my L^d^ Portland's permission as I am informed) and two other little rooms on the same floor next the Terras Walk in ye custody of Mr. Sunneas¶ for keeping his Ma^ts^ pictures & prints."



Bentinck, Earl of Portland.

Portland had certainly been supplied with apartments in Whitehall by July, 1689,** but although it is probable that they were the same as those which he occupied in 1696, it is not possible to prove this. He was, however, in occupation of the latter when the Fire of 1691 occurred. In the list of lodgings compiled in that year three sets of rooms in his occupation are given:

(i) "Conteining 10 roomes, 4 garretts, in the Stone Gallery."††

(ii) "6 roomes and garretts."

(iii) "3 roomes and clossetts with a kitchin and shedds on the Dukes side, burnt downe." Against this a later entry remarks: "now rebuilt."

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* The information is taken from *Woods and Forests Entry Books*, U. 6, pp. 246 ff.

† P.R.O., L.C., 5/148, p. 359 (4th February, 1688–9).

‡ William Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland. William III's trusted counsellor. It is strange that his residence should have been next door to that of his rival, the Earl of Albemarle.

§ P.R.O., T. 54/15, p. 77.

|| John Sheffield, 3rd Earl of Mulgrave, was created Marquess of Normanby in 1694, and Duke of Buckingham and Normanby in 1703.

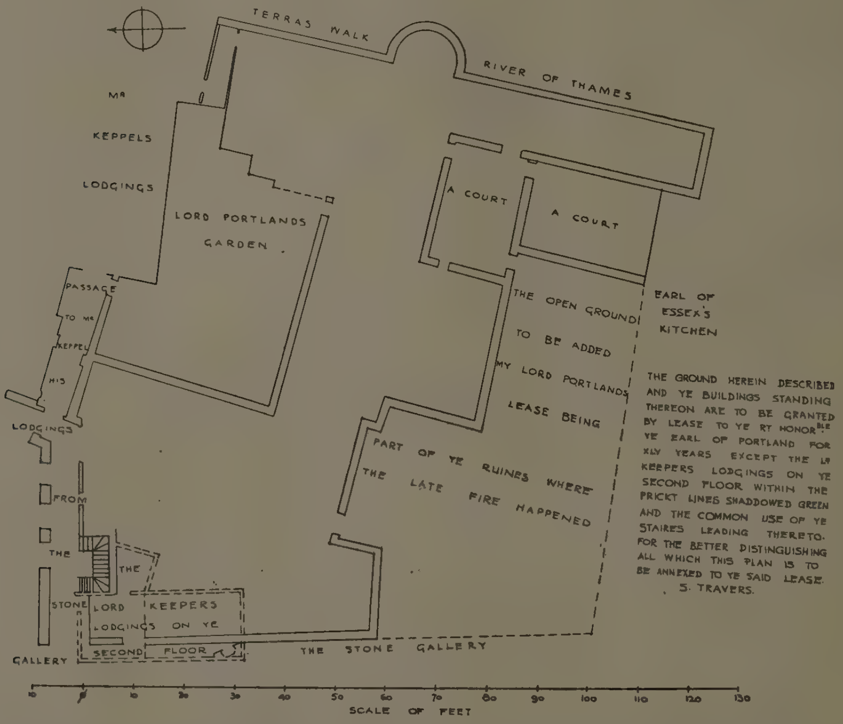
¶ "These are to require you to marke the lodgeings in Whitehall lately Sir Thomas Williams (excepting the two roomes which His Ma^tie^ hath taken for his owne use) for Frederick Sonnius, keeper of His Ma^ts^ pictures, drawings, etc. & deliver the possn. of the same unto the sd. Mr. Sonnius." 3rd October, 1690. (P.R.O., L.C. 5/150, p. 154.)

** ["William Jephson to the Customs Commissioners] to deliver at the Earl of Portland's lodgings in Whitehall some Rhenish wine and household goods, including a hamper for the Queen." 31st July, 1689. (*Cal. of Treasury Books*, IX, p. 205.)

†† ["Henry Guy to the Customs Commissioners] to seal the Earl of Portland's goods at his lodgings in the Stone Gallery at Whitehall in order to their transport to Holland." 19th April, 1693. (*Ibid.*, X, p. 161.)

The fire evidently caused damage to Portland's lodgings, and there are several references in the records to the fact.[*]

In 1696 the earl obtained a grant of the premises, as well as of a small additional plot. The description given[†] is as follows: "A certain piece . . . of ground with the building erected thereon situate . . . within Our Palace called Whitehall . . . abutting upon the passage leading (under buildings) towards another part of the . . . Palace and the buildings now in the possession of Joast Keppel Esq. on the north, containing in full length by several lines on that side 124 feet 5 inches, and abutting west on another passage within the said Palace called 'le Stone Gallery,' part of which was lately burnt and destroyed, containing on that side 103 feet, and adjoining south on other of our ground where buildings formerly stood late also con-

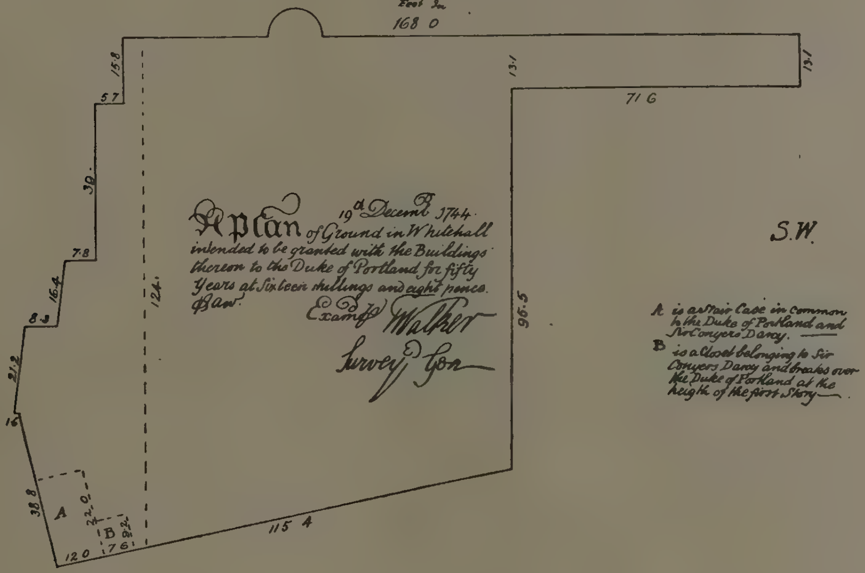

TERRAS WALK
RIVER OF THAMES
MR KEPPELS LODGINGS
LORD PORTLANDS GARDEN
A COURT
A COURT
PASSAGE TO MR KEPPEL HIS LODGINGS
THE OPEN GROUND TO BE ADDED MY LORD PORTLANDS LEASE BEING
EARL OF ESSEX'S KITCHEN
PART OF YE RUINES WHERE THE LATE FIRE HAPPENED
FROM THE STONE GALLERY
THE LORD KEEPERS LODGINGS ON YE SECOND FLOOR
THE STONE GALLERY
THE GROUND HEREIN DESCRIBED AND YE BUILDINGS STANDING THEREON ARE TO BE GRANTED BY LEASE TO YE RT HONORBLE YE EARL OF PORTLAND FOR XLV YEARS EXCEPT THE LD KEEPERS LODGINGS ON YE SECOND FLOOR WITHIN THE PRICKT LINES SHADDOWED GREEN AND THE COMMON USE OF YE STAIRES LEADING THERETO. FOR THE BETTER DISTINGUISHING ALL WHICH THIS PLAN IS TO BE ANNEXED TO YE SAID LEASE.
S. TRAVERS.
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130
SCALE OF FEET

---

[*] "Making a Scaffold to the Outside my Ld Portlands Lodgings to repaire it"; "making a Scaffold to the Outside wall of my Lord Portlands Lodgings next the Thames"; "cleering the ground & basketting the Rubbish into an heap . . . and sinking the rubbish where my Ld Portlands kitchin etc is to bee built cont' 67 foot in length, 21 foot wide and 3 foot deep in the Ruins in the garden." A°. 1691 (P.R.O., Works, 5/45).

[†] P.R.O., L.R. 1/64, f. 3.

sumed by fire and now in ruins, and the kitchen of Our beloved Algernon, Earl of Essex, extending on that side from the place where ‘ le Stone Gallery ’ . . . formerly was on the west side as far as the river Thames upon the east side 103 feet and 3 inches, and abutting east upon the yard or garden called ‘ le Terrace Walke ’ and the . . . river Thames, containing on that side 105 feet . . .; except and always reserved out of this grant our two rooms upon the second floor and the north-west corner of the premises . . . containing 33 feet 3 inches in length and 13 feet 6 inches in width, and a small privy or shed used with the aforesaid rooms containing 9 feet 2 inches in length and 7 feet 6 inches in width . . . the use of which our faithful counsellor John Somers, knight, Keeper of the Great Seal, now enjoys, together with the use in common of the staircase there and the passage leading thereto.” The plan attached to the grant is reproduced on p. 186.


Feet In
168 0
15.8
13.1
13.1
5.7
71 6
30.
A Plan 19th Decemb. 1744. of Ground in Whitehall intended to be granted with the Buildings thereon to the Duke of Portland for fifty Years at Sixteen shillings and eight pence. Paw.
Examd. Jo Walker Survey. Gen.
S.W.
7.8
16.4
124.
96.5
8.3
21.2
16
A is a Stair Case in common to the Duke of Portland and Sir Conyers Darcy.
B is a Closet belonging to Sir Conyers Darcy and breaks over the Duke of Portland at the heigth of the first Story
38.8
A
22.0
B
9.2
7 6
12 0
115 4

The earl died in 1709, and was succeeded in the occupation of the house by his son Henry, the 2nd Earl, who in 1716 was created Duke of Portland. In 1724–5 the latter applied for a fresh lease. The premises then consisted “ of a Slight Old Building, part Timber and part Brick,” with some out-offices which had been built since 1696.* The duke died, however, in 1726, and the lease, which was granted in 1729, was to his widow,† sole executrix under his will.

The ratebooks for 1731 to 1733 show the duchess at the house, but in 1734 the entry becomes "Duke of Portland." This was William, the 2nd Duke, who had not been of age at his father's death. In 1734 he married Margaret Cavendish, only daughter of the 2nd Earl of Oxford (the "noble, lovely, little Peggy" of Matthew Prior's verse). The ratebooks show that he continued to reside at the house until his death in 1762. In 1744 he applied for a fresh lease. It then appeared that "the true Dimensions of the ground in his Grace's possession are larger than those in the Subsisting Lease."* The additional ground seems to have lain along the river (see plan on p. 187), the frontage to which was actually 168 feet instead of 105 feet, as had been granted in the previous leases. The buildings were still the old erections of brick and timber, "proped up with shores," and in so bad a condition that rebuilding was necessary.† The lease asked for was granted in 1745 for a period of 50 years. After 1762 the evidence of the ratebooks fails. The petition of the inhabitants of Privy Garden in 1771 (see p. 223) contains the signatures of "Portland" and "M. Cavendishe Portland," *i.e.* of the 3rd Duke and of the Dowager Duchess respectively. Whether the former‡ actually resided at the house is not known, but the latter certainly did, and

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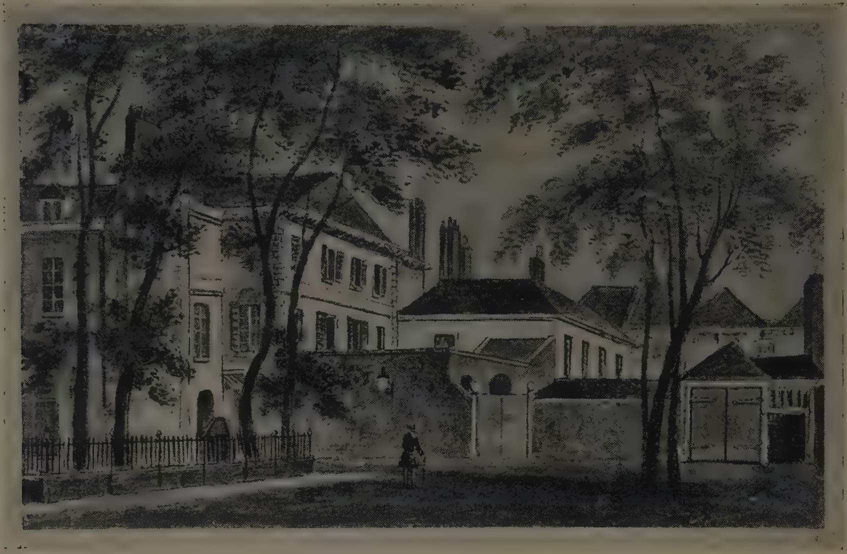
* P.R.O., T. 54/29, p. 306.

† Elizabeth Noel, eldest daughter and co-heir of the 2nd Earl of Gainsborough.



Portland House in 1796.

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* P.R.O., E. 367/4671.

† P.R.O., T. 55/7, p. 21.

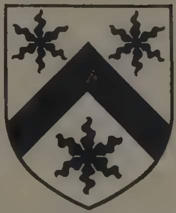
‡ William Henry Cavendish, 3rd Duke of Portland, twice Prime Minister.

it was here that she formed the Portland Museum, the contents of which were dispersed after her death in 1785. The auction lasted from 24th May to 7th June, 1786, "at her Grace's house in Privy Gardens."[*] The most notable object disposed of was the celebrated Portland (Barberini) Vase, which was bought in by the duke for £1029.

In 1772 the duke had applied for a reversionary lease. The buildings were pronounced to be "now in a better state" than on the previous occasion in 1744, "and in a very pleasant situation."[†] The lease was granted, to expire in 1822. In 1805, however, the duke surrendered his interest in the property to the Crown, and the premises were demolished.

A view of the house in 1796 is given on the opposite page.

Residence of the Earls of Monmouth and Essex.—From 1689 to 1691, at least, the Earl of Monmouth[‡] was in occupation of rooms adjoining and in the Stone Gallery, with kitchens and offices lying apart, between the gallery and the Thames.[§] In the list of lodgings drawn up after the Fire of 1691 they are described as: (i) "conteining 3 ground roomes, 3 chambers & 3 garretts: a kitchin on the Dukes side burnt down"; (ii) "conteining 13 roomes, 6 garretts, a kitchin on the Dukes side." The ascription to the "Earle of Monmouth" was subsequently altered to "Earle of Essex." The latter was in occupation in 1694,[||] and in the Fire of 1698 his lodgings, with those of the Earl of Portland, are said to have been the only buildings in the line of the conflagration which were not destroyed.[¶] It would seem therefore that Essex[**] came to reside in the Privy Garden at about the time of his marriage in February, 1691–2, to the daughter of his immediate neighbour, the Earl of Portland.[††]



Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth.

After his death in 1710 the countess remained in occupation. In 1714 she married Sir Conyers Darcy,[‡‡] who thereupon came into possession of the house.* In 1718 he obtained permission† "to remove a pale that stands about 3 feet from the lodgings about 18 feet forwarder unto the Privy Garden to prevent beggars and passengers from looking in at his windowes."

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[*] *Gentleman's Magazine*, LVI, p. 526.

[†] P.R.O., T. 55/17, p. 105.

[‡] Charles Mordaunt, afterwards Earl of Peterborough.

[§] "Making and putting up 20 foot of benches on each side my Ld Monmouths Doore in the stone gallery" (Jany., 1689–90); "taking downe an outside partition next the Stone Gallery at my Ld Monmouths lodgings . . . working up a brick wall at my Ld Monmouths lodgings in the Stone Gallery 100 foot in length 6 foot high" (Aug. 1691); "lathing & tyling 4 square of plaine tyling over my Ld Monmouths kitchin & ripping & tyling most part of the rest of the house being 26 fo^{t} one way & 24 fo^{t} thother way upon the square . . . cutting a dorway through ye brickwall from ye Kitchin into my Ld Portlands coleyard 8 fo^{t} high, 5 fo^{t} wide." (December, 1691.) (P.R.O., Works, 5/43 & 45.)

[||] "Nov. 12, 1694. [Henry Guy to the Customs Commissioners] to send to the Earl of Essex's lodgings in the Stone Gallery, Whitehall, his goods arrived from Holland in the *Fubbs* yacht." (*Cal. of Treasury Books*, X, p. 821.)

[¶] "Clearing rubbish from before ye Ld Essexs Lodḡs in ye Privy Garden along ye Ruines to ye End of ye Popish Chappel 240 fo^{t} long 30 fo^{t} wide." (P.R.O., Works, 5/49, March, 1697–8.)

[**] Algernon, 2nd Earl.

[††] "Essex (the Lord) his House is situate near White Hall." (Hatton's *New View of London*, 1708, II, p. 626.)

[‡‡] Second son of Conyers Darcy, 2nd Earl of Holderness, Master of the Horse to Anne and George I, and Comptroller of the Household.

Darcy died in 1758, and the ratebooks from that year to 1762 (when they fail) show the house as empty.

By his will‡ Darcy left his "messuage or dwelling house situate in Whitehall" to his sister, Charlotte Westby, for her life, with reversion to his nephew, Robert, 4th Earl of Holderness. In 1759 the latter applied for a new lease on the ground that he had lost the title deeds. It seems doubtful whether any such deeds had ever existed. As was pointed out in the report§ on the earl's memorial it had formerly been quite usual for property of the Crown to be held simply by the favour of the Crown, and no trace could be found of any lease either to Essex or Darcy. In fact the official presumption that Essex was possessed of any property in the neighbourhood was based only on the mention in Portland's lease of the adjoining premises (see p. 186) of Essex's kitchen as a southern boundary, from which "it is a natural inference that the Earl had a house or lodgings within the Palace to which this kitchen was appurtenant." The lodgings were stated to be "but slight buildings, and the kitchen and offices are in a ruinous condition." The lease was granted on 21st February, 1760, and the main portion of the premises is described‖ as a piece of ground with a messuage and garden in or near the Privy Garden, abutting south-east on a "passage formerly called the Stone Gallery on the first or ground floor, and on the second floor on the lodgings of . . . the Duke of Portland." Its measurements were north-west 117½ feet, north-east 47 feet 8 inches, south-west 51¼ feet, and south-east 121 feet 10 inches. The part lying between the site of the Stone Gallery and the Thames, comprising "the kitchen, pantrys & other offices to the said messuage belonging," abutted north-west partly on the Privy Garden

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[*] In the memorial of the Earl of Holderness in 1759, it is said that the property was assigned to Darcy by Essex's son, the 3rd Earl, but in the report thereon it is suggested that the premises passed into the hands of the countess on Essex's death, and "on her intermarriage with Sir Conyers Darcy came into his possession." That the latter supposition is the correct one is shown by the evidence given in 1740 (in connection with the dispute between the Earl of Pembroke and the Countess of Portland concerning Queen Mary's Terrace) by Thomas Thompson, gentleman, that he had known "the Terras Walk near the Privy Garden . . . from about the Month of October, one thousand seven hundred and fourteen," and that "about that time, on Sir Conyers Darcys Marriage with the Lady Essex, this Deponent came to live with the said Sir Conyers in the said Lady Essexs house in Privy Garden" (B.M. Add. MS. 29765).

[†] P.R.O., T. 54/25, p. 119.

[‡] *P.C.C.*, 362, Hutton. Among the items mentioned in the will is a "Picture of a Lady Dowager Effingham which usually hangs in the Antichamber to the drawing room above Stairs in my House at Whitehall."

[§] P.R.O., T. 55/11, p. 261.

[‖] See *ibid.*, p. 314.

and partly on the property of the Earl of Cardigan (29 feet 10 inches) [Montagu House, see p. 218], north-east ($92\frac{1}{4}$ feet) and south-east ($71\frac{1}{2}$ feet) on the Duke of Portland's premises, and south-west ($29\frac{3}{4}$ feet) on other part of Cardigan's property.

Holderness, five weeks later, disposed of the lease to the Duke of Portland.† In the indenture accompanying the transaction the house is said to be "now empty." Owing to the failure of the ratebook evidence after 1762 it is not possible to ascertain the occupants from that source, but the terms of the petition of the inhabitants of Privy Garden in 1771 make it quite clear that the house was then occupied by Sir Charles Bunbury.‡ He had been there at least as early as 1766,§ and is still shown there in the issue of Boyle's *Court Guide* for 1792.

The premises were included in those surrendered by the Duke of Portland in 1805, and were demolished.

Later development of the property.—The question of the improvement of the Crown's estate in Privy Garden engaged attention during the early years of the 19th century. A plan of the property in 1804 is reproduced in Plate 2. In 1805, following the surrender by the Duke of Portland of his leases, a design was submitted|| embodying a proposal for the erection of a line of five houses, extending from Pembroke House to Montagu House, of a uniform elevation "both toward the town & the river," and of the first class of buildings in point of interior plan, quantity and solidity. Nos. 1–6 Whitehall Gardens are the outcome of this scheme. It could not, however, be carried out at once in its entirety, because the lease of the house occupied by the Marchioness of Exeter did not expire until 1824. Although, therefore, the three houses at the south end were built almost immediately, the development of the remainder of the property had perforce to be postponed until 1824.

IN THE COUNCIL'S COLLECTION ARE :—

- *Plan of Whitehall, from Whitehall Stairs to Richmond House inclusive, in 1804 (extracted from coloured "plans of houses and grounds in Cities of London and Westminster belonging to the Crown," surveyed by John Marquand and Thos. Leverton, in possession of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands).
- Plan of Whitehall, almost identical with above (drawn from coloured plan in possession of the London Society).

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† Indenture dated 28th March, 1760. (*Middx. Memls.*, 1760, II, 43.)

‡ Sir (Thomas) Charles Bunbury, Bt., b. 1740, d. 1821. He was brother of Henry William Bunbury, artist and caricaturist. Sir Charles was for 45 years one of the representatives in Parliament for the county of Suffolk. He was at one time the most fortunate speculator on the turf, and at his death possessed the finest bred stud in the kingdom. A sensational incident connected with his residence in Privy Garden was the elopement, in 1769, of his wife, Lady Sarah Lennox.

§ Letter, dated 8th March, 1766, at "Privy Garden, London," from Lady Sarah Bunbury to Lady Susan O'Brien. (*Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox*, I, p. 188.)

|| Information given in report on Sir John Stanley's application for a lease in 1808. (P.R.O., T. 55/28, p. 243 ff.)

*Plan of ground applied for to be leased by the Countess of Portland in 1744 (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands).
*Plan of ground to be leased to Earl of Portland in 1696 (copy of plan preserved in Public Record Office).
*Plan of ground applied for to be leased by the Duke of Portland in 1744 (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands).
*Duchess of Portland's house (photograph of water-colour drawing in Crace Collection).

* Reproduced here.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 13

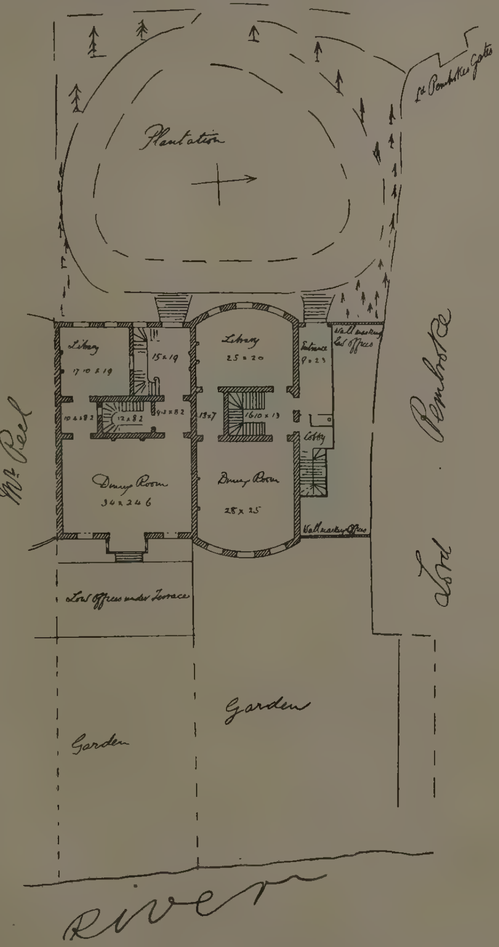
LXX—NO. 6 WHITEHALL GARDENS

Ground landlords.

The property is the freehold of the Crown, and is used for the purposes of the Ministry of Transport.

General description.

The circumstances in which Alexander Cray Grant received the promise of a Crown lease of the ground on which Nos. 5 and 6 Whitehall Gardens were afterwards built, have been narrated (see p. 184). On 27th November, 1824, Grant obtained a lease* of the northern portion of the ground, abutting east on the Thames, north on the premises of the Earl of Pembroke, and south on ground on part of which a house had been erected and leased "to the Rt Hon^ble^ Sir Chas. Long, as the nominee of the said Sir Alexander Cray Grant." The measurements were: 48¾ feet at the west end, "thence running eastward along the south side thereof 57 feet . . . to a break there southward of 9 inches . . . and thence running further eastward 100 feet & 1 inch," 48 feet 8 inches at the east end, "thence running westward along the north side thereof 70 feet & 9 inches . . . to a break there southward of 6 feet & 2 inches . . . and thence running again westward on an irregular line 86 feet & 6 inches." A house had already been built "with the low offices covered with lead flats on the north side."


1st Pembroke Gate
Plantation
Mr Peel
Lord Pembroke
Library
17 10 x 19
15 x 19
10 x 8 2
12 x 8 2
4.3 x 8 2
13 x 7
Library
25 x 20
16 10 x 13
Entrance
9 x 23
Wall masking Low Offices
Lobby
Drawing Room
34 x 24 6
Drawing Room
28 x 25
Wall masking Offices
Low Offices under Terrace
Garden
Garden
River

The plan here reproduced shows the premises as originally built in conjunction with No. 5.

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* Quoted in indenture of assignment and mortgage between Sir A. C. Grant and Lucy Stanley and others, dated 29th March, 1827 (*Middx. Memls.*, 1827, IV., 62).

They comprise three storeys over a basement and an attic in a mansard roof. The exterior to the two lower storeys has a stone face with brick above.

Alterations to the staircase and other internal arrangements have been carried out since the house was built. Certain decorations were also added by the latest occupant (Mr. Agnew), but these have not been improved by the utilisation of the premises for official purposes.

Plates Nos. 89, 91 and 92 show the house while still in private occupation.

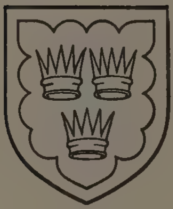
Condition of repair.

Good.

Historical notes.

The occupiers of the house as given by directories until the time when it was utilised for official purposes were:

1825–28	Sir Alexander Cray Grant
1829–60	Cuthbert Ellison
1861–1893	Sir Walter Charles James (Lord Northbourne)
1893–1900	Lord Northbourne
1902–05	Henry White
1909–15	William Lockett Agnew



Grant of Dalvey.

Sir Alexander Cray Grant was born in 1782. In 1810–11 he was a member of the Colonial Assembly of Jamaica. In 1812 he entered Parliament as member for Tregony, and was for many years a prominent member of the House. He succeeded his father in the baronetcy in 1825. From 1826 to 1832 Grant was chairman of committees of the whole house, and in 1834–5 was a member of the Indian Board of Control. On resigning his seat in 1843, he was appointed a commissioner for auditing the public accounts, and held the position until his death in 1854.

On 15th July, 1828, Grant sold the house in Whitehall Gardens to Cuthbert Ellison, "of Hebburn Hall . . . Durham, Esq."† Ellison (M.P. for Newcastle in 1812, 1818, and 1820, High Sheriff of Northumberland 1808, and of Durham 1827), died at Whitehall Gardens, aged 76, on 13th June, 1860.

He was succeeded in the occupancy of the house by his son-in-law, Sir Walter Charles James (M.P. for Hull 1837–47, High Sheriff of Kent 1855), who was raised to the peerage in 1884 as Baron Northbourne. He died in 1893. His son, the 2nd Baron (d. 1923), also resided in the house for some years.

In the Council's collection are:—

*Plan of Mr. Grant's new building (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands).
*Ground and first-floor plans (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Office of Works).
*General exterior, west front (photograph).
*General exterior, east front (1912) (photograph).
General exterior, east front (1929) (photograph).
View of statuette in garden (photograph).
View of entrance hall (photograph).
Corridor on first floor (photograph).

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† *Middx. Memls.*, 1832, II, 690.

Landing on first floor (photograph).
*Lantern light to staircase (photograph).
*Library, mantelpiece (photograph).
Library, general view (photograph).
*Dining room, general view (photograph).
Dining-room, another view (photograph).
Detail of plaster ceiling (photograph).
Drawing-room, general view (photograph).
*Drawing-room, chimney breast (photograph).
Drawing-room, bow window (photograph).
Boudoir (first-floor front-room) (photograph).
Boudoir, detail of decorative cove to ceiling (photograph).
View of mantelpiece, west bedroom (photograph).
View of mantelpiece, east bedroom (photograph).

* Reproduced here.

CHAPTER 14

LXXI—NO. 5 WHITEHALL GARDENS

Ground landlords.

The property is the freehold of the Crown, and is used for the purposes of the Ministry of Transport.

General description.

On 30th November, 1824, a lease was granted to the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Long, on the nomination of Alexander Cray Grant, of the southern portion of the ground to which the latter was entitled. The plot abutted east on the river, north on ground on which a messuage had been erected, leased or intended to be leased to Alexander Cray Grant, and south on ground on which a messuage had been erected, leased or intended to be leased to the Rt. Hon. Robert Peel. It is described as measuring 35½ feet and 34¾ feet at the west and east ends respectively, on the south side 157 feet 2 inches, and on the north side 57 feet and 100 feet 1 inch, with a break between of 9 feet to the south. A house had already been erected by Grant, with offices covered with a stone flat next the eastern front forming a terrace "nearly on a level with the floor of the parlour story thereof." Use in common with the occupants of the next house was granted of the ground to the west to be laid out "partly as a footway and carriage drive . . . and partly as an ornamental garden."

The plan on p. 193 shows these premises as originally built by Mr. Grant, in conjunction with No. 6, at a cost of £15,000. They are faced with stone, and comprise three storeys over a basement and an attic in a slate roof. The windows to the front rooms on the first floor have shaped iron balconies and a continuous balcony to the garden front.

The interior has been modernised. The principal rooms have ornate decorations, including plaster-panelled walls and ceilings and marble mantelpieces, but the present use of the building for official purposes does not show them to advantage.

Plate 93 gives a general idea of the appearance of the rooms when they were in private occupation.

Condition of repair.

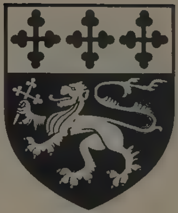
Good.

Historical notes.

The occupiers of the house as given by directories until the time when it was utilised for official purposes were:

1825–38	Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Long (Lord Farnborough)
1839	Samuel Long
1840–66	Charles Cecil Martyn

1867	Edward Martyn
1869–83	William Tomline†
1884–88	Francis Palmer
1889–97	Mrs. Palmer
1898	Thomas Owen
1899–1901	Mrs. Owen
1902–09	Sir John Henry Johnson
1910	Miss Foster Miss Watts
1911–13	Miss Watts
1914	Mrs. Cowley



Long, Baron Farnborough.

Charles Long, Baron Farnborough, born in 1761, was third son of Beeston Long, West India merchant. He entered Parliament in 1789 as member for Rye, and from 1791 to 1801 was joint Secretary to the Treasury. In 1804 he became a Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and in 1806 Secretary of State for Ireland. From 1810 to 1826 he was Paymaster-General, and on retirement in the latter year was raised to the peerage as Baron Farnborough. Thenceforth he devoted himself primarily to artistic pursuits, and obtained the title of "the Vitruvius of the present age." His tastes were fully displayed in the mansion which he built at Bromley Hill, Kent. He published in 1826 a pamphlet entitled *Remarks on the Improvements in London*, and several of the street improvements carried out in London originated in suggestions made by him. He died at Bromley Hill in 1838. He had in 1793 married Amelia, daughter of Sir Abraham Hume. Lady Long, who was noted as a judge of art and a skilled horticulturist, died at Bromley Hill in 1837. She was a skilful amateur artist, and frequently exhibited at the Royal Academy.

IN THE COUNCIL'S COLLECTION ARE :—

*Ground and first-floor plans (copy of plans in possession of H.M. Office of Works.)
*General exterior of premises (photograph).
General view of hall and stairs (photograph).
General view of iron balustrading to stairs (photograph).
*General view of dining-room (photograph).
*General view of drawing-room (photograph).

* Reproduced here.

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† Tomline had previously been living at No. 5 Whitehall Yard (see p. 159).

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 15

LXXII—NO. 4 (NOW NUMBERED WITH 3) WHITEHALL GARDENS

GROUND LANDLORDS.

The property is the freehold of the Crown and is used for the purposes of the offices of the Cabinet and the Committee of Imperial Defence.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

On 2nd December, 1824, a lease for 99 years as from 2nd August was granted to the Rt. Hon. Robert Peel of a plot abutting east on the Thames, north in part on a piece of ground " whereon a messuage . . . has been lately erected . . . leased or is intended to be leased to the Right Honorable Sir Chas Long as the nominee of Alexander Cray Grant Esquire " and in other part on the forecourt of the latter house, and south on ground in the tenure of Mrs. Bennet. The dimensions of the plot were 60 feet north to south, 241 feet 2 inches on the north side and 239 feet on the south. On part of the plot had been lately erected a messuage " with offices covered with a stone flat next the eastern front of the said messuage . . . and forming a terrace nearly in a level with the floor of the parlour story." The lease also included a second plot to the west of the first, in length 61 feet and 60 feet on the west and east sides respectively, and in width varying from 28 feet on the north to 22 feet 2 inches on the south. A portion of the first plot and the whole of the second were " intended to be enclosed, planted and laid out . . . partly as a footway and carriage drive . . . and partly as an ornamental garden by and at the costs . . . of the said Robert Peel."*

The house was designed by Sir Robert Smirke, R.A., and is said to have cost £14,000. The statement above that it had already been built at the beginning of December, 1824, is in accord with Peel's own reference to it as in course of erection in July of that year (see below). Extensive alterations were carried out in 1903, including the almost entire reconstruction of the main staircase, the removal of the secondary staircase, and the provision of an additional storey, but the main rooms in which Peel lived were practically left intact, even the decorations in many cases not being interfered with. The exterior is in stone and has a projecting porch with Corinthian columns (Plate 89). There are now four storeys over a basement and an attic storey with a slate roof. The interior decorations are in the Grecian Doric style. The hall has fluted columns and a mantelpiece in black marble. The staircase is in stone, with an iron balustrading, and originally went only to the first floor, but now continues to the top of the house. The dining-room, which has now been divided into three rooms, has plaster-panelled walls and a panelled ceiling, divided by shallow beams with coffered soffits. Plate 94 shows the room as in 1912 before its division, but after its adaptation for official purposes. The mantelpiece is in black marble, with coupled fluted Doric columns supporting the shelf.

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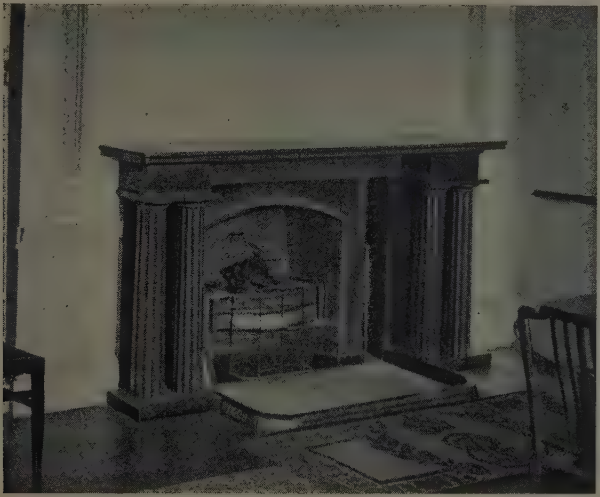
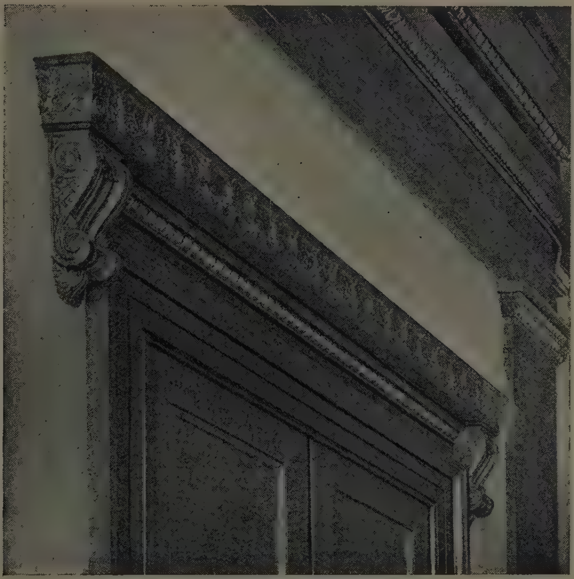
* The description is from the lease as quoted in *Middx. Memls.*, 1851, VI, 913.



Mantelpiece in Dining-room.



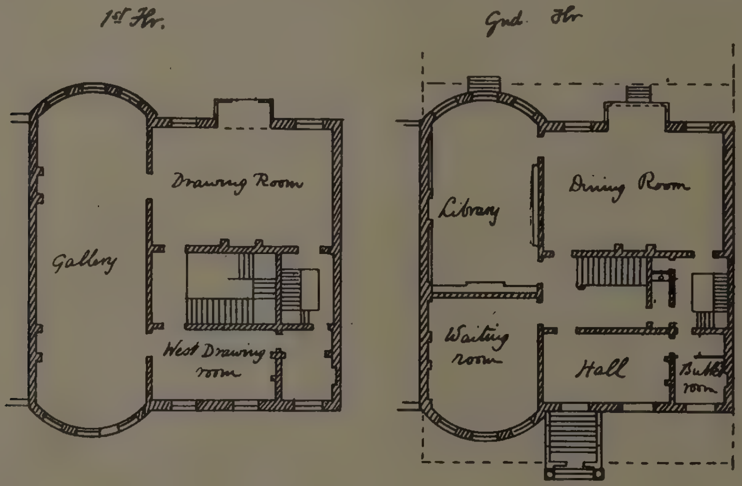
Doorhead in Ballroom.

The ballroom or gallery on the floor above extends the full depth of the building, with a segmental bay the width of the room at each end (Plate 94). The ceiling is panelled with bands enriched with the guilloche, and the wall surfaces are divided into bays by pilasters. The double doors have a moulded head supported on ornamental trusses. The two white marble mantelpieces are duplicated, and have their shelves carried on carved consoles.

The drawing-room, overlooking the back garden, has the ceiling divided into shallow squares and bands of Greek decoration.

The mantelpieces in the east and west rooms on the floor above are in statuary marble, and consist of eagles on fluted Doric columns supporting the shelves on their outstretched wings (Plate 92).

A sketch plan of the premises, before the alterations, is reproduced here.



Mr. Peels Plan.

A broad balustraded terrace with a flight of stone steps leads to the garden, in which an old mulberry tree is still growing.

Condition of repair.

Good.

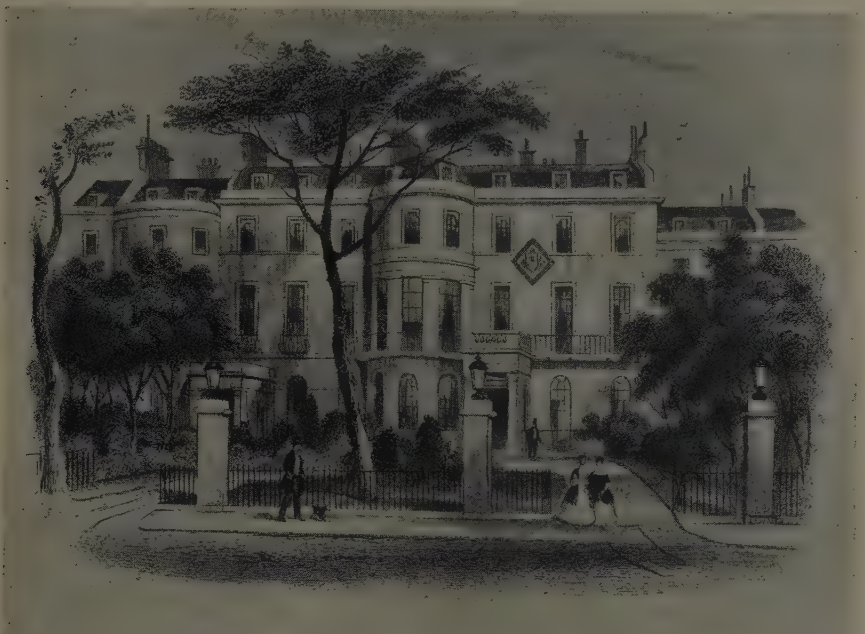
Historical notes.

The occupiers of the house before it was taken over for the Crown Agents for the Colonies in 1903, were as follows:

1824–50	(Sir) Robert Peel (2nd baronet)
1850–59	Lady Peel

1860–80	Sir Robert Peel (3rd baronet)
1881–82	Henry Chaplin
1883	Edward Cazalet
1884–86	Mrs. Cazalet
1887–89	Stuart Rendel
1890–1901	William Marshal Cazalet

There are several references by Peel to the house while in course of construction. On 22nd August, 1823, he writes: "It has been raining the whole of this morning, and as yet I have not been able to inspect our house. I just walked round by the Chapel, and saw the progress that had been made externally, but as I saw also 'The Chin'* perched upon the wall of his house, I determined to postpone my visit."† Four days later he says: "Smirke has just been here, and I have been hinting to him that the bedrooms are rather low. He has promised me to raise them half a foot, though he says they are already higher than London houses in general."‡ Again on 28th August he writes to his wife: "The House advances, and everything in regard to it goes on most satisfactorily. The view from the bedroom floor is superb. When the whole is finished, and the distinction between our house and the Chin's next house is not visible, it will look like a palace."§ In July of the following year it was not yet completed, for on the 7th of that month



RESIDENCE OF THE LATE SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART

Whitehall Gardens

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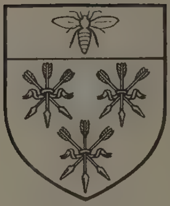
* A. C. Grant.

† *Private Letters of Sir Robert Peel,* edited by Geo. Peel, p. 46.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 53.



Peel.

Peel wrote to Sir Walter Scott: "I am building a new house, and in it a gallery for pictures, and I want above all things a portrait of you."[*] From the fact that William, his son, was born on 2nd November, 1824, at Stanhope Street, Mayfair,[†] it may be conjectured that Peel had not yet removed to Whitehall Gardens.

For details of the life of Peel, before his removal to Whitehall Gardens, the reader is referred to the standard biographies. He was Home Secretary at the time that he built No. 4, and continued to hold that office until April 1827. Shortly afterwards he joined Wellington in forming a ministry, in the course of which he carried two great measures, the Roman Catholic Relief Act, and the Act creating the Metropolitan Police. In 1832 Peel became the leader of the Conservative opposition, and No. 4 Whitehall Gardens was the centre where the policy of the opposition took form and shape. He was Prime Minister in 1834–5, and again in 1841–6. On 29th June, 1850, he was thrown from his horse near Hyde Park Corner. Brought to Whitehall Gardens in a carriage, Peel revived at sight of his house, and walked into the house, but almost immediately swooned again; and was laid upon a sofa in his dining-room. "With much difficulty he was removed from the sofa to a hydraulic bed, but it was found impossible to remove him from the room."[‡] After three days of agony he expired on the night of 2nd July, 1850.[§]

Peel had formed a famous collection of pictures in the house at Whitehall Gardens, many of which were disposed of by his son to the National Gallery.

On the death of Lady Peel in 1859, their eldest son, Sir Robert, came into possession of the house, and from the evidence of the directories appears to have taken up his residence there.

Sir Robert Peel, the younger, was born in 1822, and educated at Harrow and Christchurch, Oxford. He entered the diplomatic service, but on his father's death resigned, and adopted a parliamentary career. In 1855 he became a Lord of the Admiralty, and in 1861 was appointed Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. His political career came to an end in 1889. He died in 1895.

His residence at Whitehall Gardens seems to have terminated in 1880, and in the following year Henry Chaplin is shown in occupation.

Henry Chaplin, second son of the Rev. Henry Chaplin, of Blankney, Lincs., was born in 1841. After an education at Harrow and Christchurch, Oxford, he entered Parliament in 1868 as member for Mid-Lincolnshire. He was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster 1885–6, President of the Board of Agriculture 1889–92, and President of the Local Government Board 1895–1900. He took an active interest in agricultural questions, and was regarded as a typical representative of the English "country gentleman" class. In 1916 he was created Viscount Chaplin. He died in 1923.

His residence at Whitehall Gardens was quite brief, and he was succeeded in the occupancy of the house by Edward Cazalet of Fairlawn, Tonbridge, who died in 1883 at Constantinople.[||] His widow, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Wm. Marshall, Danish Consul at Edinburgh, and his son, William Marshall Cazalet (High Sheriff of Kent, 1900), also resided at the house.

Stuart Rendel, who is shown at No. 4 Whitehall Gardens in the issues of the *Post Office Directory* for 1887 to 1889 was the third son of James Meadows Rendel, an eminent engineer, and was born in 1834. He was brought up to his father's profession and was from 1870 to 1880 managing partner in London of Lord Armstrong's firm. In the latter year he entered Parliament as member for Montgomeryshire, which county he continued to represent until 1894, when he was created Baron Rendel. In 1895 he was appointed President of the University College of Wales. He died in 1913.

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[*] *Private Letters of Sir Robert Peel*, edited by George Peel, p. 44.

[†] *Annual Register*. Boyle's *Court Guide* shows Peel up to 1824 at 12, Great Stanhope Street.

[‡] Montague's *Life of Sir Robert Peel*, p. 199.

[§] On 6th June, 1904, the London County Council affixed a tablet to the house, commemorative of Peel's residence.

[||] "Descendant of a Languedoc family which came over to England at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Long one of the leading merchants at St. Petersburg, he settled in Kent in 1872. . . . He was the author of several pamphlets on Bi-metallism and its connection with commerce, the repeal of the extraordinary tithe, and was a strong advocate of the Euphrates Valley railway." (*Annual Register*.)

In the Council's collection are:—

*Ground and first-floor plans (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Office of Works).
*General view of exterior to Whitehall Gardens (photograph).
East elevation and garden (photograph).
General view of hall (photograph).
*General view of dining-room, 1912 (photograph).
*View of marble mantelpiece in dining-room (photograph).
General view of drawing-room (photograph).
*General view of ballroom (photograph).
*Marble mantelpiece, north-west room on second floor (photograph).
Marble mantelpiece, north-east room on second floor (photograph).
View of balustrading to main staircase (photograph).
*Survey of ground in Privy Garden for Mr. Bennet (No. 3) (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands).
*Sketch plan of Mr. Peel's house (No. 4) (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands).

* Reproduced here.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 16

LXXIII—NO. 3, WHITEHALL GARDENS

Ground landlords.

The property is the freehold of the Crown, and is used for the purposes of the offices of the Cabinet and the Committee of Imperial Defence.

General description.

In 1810 a lease was granted* to Richard Henry Alexander Bennet of Nos. 2 and 3 Whitehall Gardens for 99 years as from 5th July, 1805. The property is described (see plan on opposite page) as abutting south on ground or buildings in the occupation of Archibald, Earl of Cassilis, containing in breadth 47 feet both towards the river and towards Privy Garden, and in length 239 feet 5 inches and 241 feet 7 inches on the north and south sides respectively "on part of which . . . have been lately erected . . . two capital messuages now or late in the several occupations of Rich^{d} Henry Alexander Bennett esq and . . . Bennett Esq^{r}, his son, a captain in His Majesty's Navy, containing in front towards Privy Garden 47 feet . . . & in depth from east to west 56 feet 2 inches." The lease contained power to the lessee to build within the ground next adjoining the east front of the houses, for the space of 22½ feet west to east and 47 feet north to south, "such proper & substantial subterraneous offices, with a terrace over the same" as he should think fit.

In 1837 a separate lease† of No. 3 for the remainder of the 99 years' term was granted to Sir John Edward Swinburne, Bt. In this the property is described as bounded north on certain premises leased to and in the occupation of the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bt., and south on ground or buildings in the occupation of Algernon, Lord Prudhoe, containing in breadth 24 feet, and in length 239 feet 5 inches and 242 feet on the north and south sides respectively.

The lease of 1810 also included (but only during pleasure) (i) a portion of the Privy Garden running the whole width of the premises, and varying in breadth from 15¼ feet at the south end to 22 feet 2 inches at the north, and (ii) the ground lying between the premises and the ground of the Marchioness of Exeter (see p. 183).

From the date for the commencement of the lease, it would seem that the houses were built about a year earlier than No. 1, but, as in the case of the latter, their first appearance in Boyle's *Court Guide* is for the year 1808, implying a residence begun in 1807.

As has already been pointed out, No. 3, though built in conjunction with No. 2, and having originally the rear terrace and garden in common with the latter, has since been altered and is now joined to No. 4.

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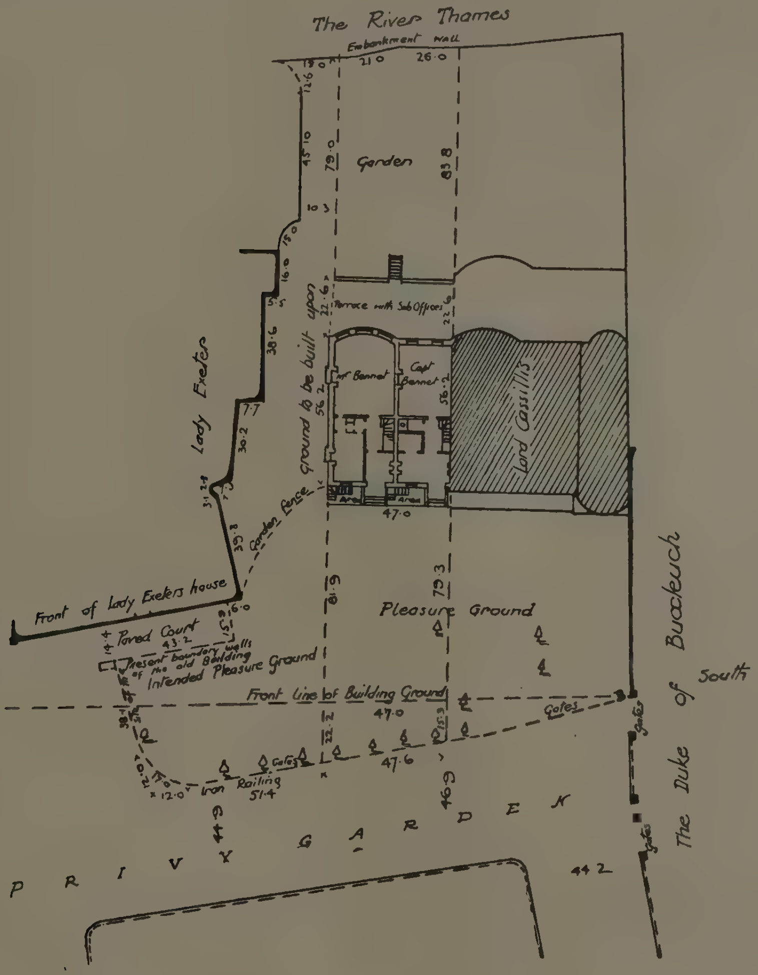
* P.R.O., T. 55/29/210.

† Indenture, dated 2nd August, 1837. (*Middx. Memls.*, 1840, VI, 414.)

The exterior is faced with stone and with No. 4 is now designed as one composition. All other features of interest have been dealt with in the account of No. 4.


The River Thames
Embankment Wall
21.0
26.0
45.10
79.0
83.8
Garden
Terrace with Sub Offices
Mr Bennet
Capt Bennet
Lord Cassillis
Lady Exeter
ground to be built upon
Garden fence
38.6
30.2
7.7
56.2
Area
Area
47.0
Front of Lady Exeters house
Paved Court
43.2
Present boundary walls of the old Building
Intended Pleasure Ground
81.9
79.3
Pleasure Ground
Front Line of Building Ground
47.0
Gates
Gates
47.6
Iron Railing
51.4
12.0
PRIVY GARDEN
44 2
The Duke of Buccleuch
South

HISTORICAL NOTES.

The occupiers of No. 3 as given by directories, etc., until the time when the house was utilised for official purposes were:

1808–10	Richard Alexander Bennet
1811–12	Fred. Walley
1814–37	Mrs. Bennet
1837–39	Captain Charles Henry Swinburne and Lady Jane Swinburne
1840–41	Lady Glenlyon

1842–45	Rt. Hon. Major-General Sir Henry and Lady Emily Hardinge
1846–55	Edward Cardwell
1857–64	Countess of Falmouth
1866–67	Francis Fuller
	Faithfull, Son & Coode
1868	Francis Fuller
	Faithfull, Son & Coode
	Chas. Constable
1869–76	Fuller & Marr
	Geo. Faithfull
	Chas. Constable
1878–81	Capt. Walter Wood
1884–93	Northbrook Indian Club

Richard Henry Alexander Bennet married Elizabeth Amelia, eldest daughter of Peter Burrell. Thus it happened that three sisters were in 1820 simultaneously living in Whitehall Gardens (Mrs. Bennet, the Dowager Duchess of Northumberland, and the Dowager Marchioness of Exeter). Mrs. Bennet died "in Whitehall Gardens" on 27th January, 1837, aged 92.[*]

On her death her son-in-law, Sir John Edward Swinburne, obtained a lease of the house, which (on 2nd August, 1837) was said to be at the time in the occupation of Charles Henry Swinburne.[†] This was Sir John's second son, one of the executors under Mrs. Bennet's will, captain and afterwards admiral in the navy, and father of Algernon Charles Swinburne, the poet.[‡]

The next occupant was Emily, Lady Glenlyon, daughter of the 2nd Duke of Northumberland and of the dowager duchess who had in 1820 been resident next door. In 1810 she married James, 1st Lord Glenlyon, who died in 1837. She died in 1844.

Sir Henry Hardinge, 1st Viscount Hardinge of Lahore, was born in 1785. He entered the army at an early age and his first experience of active service came with the Peninsular War. He was with Moore in the retreat from Corunna, and was afterwards on the staff of the Portuguese army, in which capacity he won the commendation of Wellington. In the campaign of 1815 he was in attendance on Blücher, and lost his left hand at Quatre-Bras. In 1820 he entered Parliament as member for the City of Durham. From 1828 to 1830 and again from 1841 to 1844 he was Secretary at War; and in 1830 and again in 1834–5 was Irish Secretary. In 1841 he became lieutenant-general and in 1844 was created G.C.B. In the latter year he went to India as Governor-General. The three years of his government were marked by much useful work, but the outstanding event in this period was the first Sikh War, in which, at his own suggestion, he served as second-in-command under Gough, though he might well have claimed the supreme command. At the end of the war he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Hardinge of Lahore and of Durham. Though not a full general until 1854, he was Commander-in-Chief from 1852 to 1855. In the latter year he was made field marshal, and died in 1856.

His residence in Whitehall Gardens corresponded more or less with his second tenure of office as Secretary at War, and lasted until his departure to India in the summer of 1844.

Edward Cardwell (afterwards Viscount Cardwell) was born in 1813. He was educated at Winchester and Oxford, and was called to the Bar in 1838. In 1842 he entered Parliament as member for Clitheroe and attached himself very closely to Sir Robert Peel, whose neighbour he became in 1844. In 1852 he was made President of the Board of Trade, in which capacity he drew up and carried the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854. From 1859 to 1861 he was Secretary for Ireland, and from 1864 to 1866 Colonial Secretary. In the latter capacity he put an end to transportation. From 1868 to 1874 he was Secretary for War. During this period he reorganised the

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[*] *Annual Register.*

[†] The lease states that the house is "now in the occupation of . . . Charles Henry Swinburne as tenant thereof to the said Sir John Edward Swinburne."

[‡] The poet apparently just missed being born in this house. His birth, which took place on 5th April, 1837, was in Chester Street, Grosvenor Place.

British army, abolishing the system of purchase and introducing a short term of service and the formation of a veteran reserve. In 1874 he was created a viscount. He died in 1886.

His residence at No. 3 Whitehall Gardens lasted until 1855, and in the following year he was succeeded by the Countess of Falmouth. Anne Frances, daughter of Henry Bankes of Kingston House, Dorset, married in 1810 Edward, 4th Viscount Falmouth, created earl in 1821. He died in 1841, and his widow on 1st May, 1864, at " her residence in Whitehall Gardens."*

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* *The Times*, 3rd May, 1864.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 17

LXXIV—No. 2 WHITEHALL GARDENS

Ground landlords.

The property is the freehold of the Crown, and is used for the purposes of the offices of the Cabinet and the Committee of Imperial Defence.

General description.

The original lease of 1810, comprising both Nos. 2 and 3, has already been referred to (see p. 204).

The separate lease of No. 2 granted in 1837 (see below) describes it as bounded north on premises belonging to the Crown and leased or intended to be leased to Sir John Edward Swinburne (No. 3), and containing in breadth towards the river 23 feet, and in length 242 feet and 241 feet 7 inches on the north and south sides respectively.

The exterior is on similar lines to No. 1 and comprises four storeys above basement and an attic storey.

The back room on the ground floor contains a carved statuary marble mantelpiece with an entwining vine to the columns supporting the mantelshelf. The frieze has a central vase and vine decorations (Plate 97). The back room on the floor above is treated in a late French style, with wall panels containing oil paintings of rural compositions, and some smaller panels representing subjects of still life which are signed "E. J. PARRIS, pinx. 1841" (Plates 95 and 96). The ceiling has a central panel containing a painted floreated wreath. The mantelpiece is carved in statuary marble with a pier glass above, both of which are of similar French character. The room also contains an ornate complementary glass chandelier. The front room is panelled in a similar manner with the mantelpiece duplicated.

Condition of repair.

Good.

Historical notes.

The occupiers of No. 2, as given by directories, etc., until the time when the house was utilised for official purposes were:

1808	—Gorcon
1809–19	Captain Bennet
1820	Dowager Duchess of Northumberland
1825–37	Dowager Marchioness of Exeter
1838–49	Lord Prudhoe (Duke of Northumberland)
1853–66	Dowager Duchess of Northumberland
1867–73	Duchess of Northumberland
1874	Baron Emil von Erlanger
1875–78	Benjamin Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield)
1880–94	Arthur Clarges Loraine Fuller and Lady Victoria Fuller
1897–1904	Archibald Constable and Co, and others

The Dowager Duchess of Northumberland, who was resident in 1820, was Frances Julia, widow of the 2nd Duke, and daughter of Peter Burrell of Beckenham, Kent. She died the same year, and the house seems to have remained empty until 1824, when her sister, Elizabeth, entered into occupation.

Elizabeth Burrell married (i) in 1778, Douglas, 8th Duke of Hamilton, and (ii) in 1800, Henry, 1st Marquess of Exeter (as his third wife). After the death of the marquess (in 1804) she went to live in the southern portion of the Countess of Portland's house (see p. 183), and on the expiration of the lease of that house in 1824 removed to No. 2 Whitehall Gardens, which was her residence for the remainder of her life. She died in 1837 "in Privy-gardens, Whitehall."*

In 1837 No. 2 Whitehall Gardens was leased for the remainder of the 99 years' term to the Rt. Hon. Algernon, Lord Prudhoe.†

Algernon Percy, born in 1792, was the second son of Hugh Percy, second Duke of Northumberland. He entered the navy, and became post-captain in 1815. He then retired from active service, but attained in 1862 the rank of admiral on the reserved list. In 1816 he was created Baron Prudhoe. He travelled much in the East, and was one of the first to take a warm and intelligent interest in Egyptian antiquities. At his suggestion and expense Lane visited Egypt to collect material for the monumental *Arabic Lexicon*, the heavy cost of printing which was borne at first by him and afterwards by his widow. He also assisted Sir John Herschel in his expedition to the Cape for the purpose of making astronomical observations, and accompanied him in person. In 1847 he succeeded his brother as 4th Duke of Northumberland. Among other wise and munificent expenditure he established many foundations and endowments in aid of sailors, and particularly assisted in the provision of lifeboats and in the establishment of schools for children of sailors and fishermen. In 1852–3 he was First Lord of the Admiralty. He died at Alnwick in 1865. His residence at No. 2 Whitehall Gardens lasted from 1837 to 1849.

He was succeeded, though not immediately, at No. 2 by the "Dowager Duchess of Northumberland." Apparently this was the widow of his brother the 3rd Duke, who had in 1817 married Lady Charlotte Florentia Clive, 2nd daughter of the 1st Earl Powis. From 1831 to 1837 she was governess to Princess, afterwards Queen, Victoria. She died in 1866.

It may be presumed that the "Duchess of Northumberland" who succeeded the former in the occupation of No. 2 was Eleanor, the widow of the 4th Duke, and eldest daughter of the 2nd Marquess of Westminster. Her residence lasted six years. She died in 1911.

For the details of the life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, the reader is referred to the standard biographies.

The issues of the *Post Office Directory* show Disraeli at No. 2 Whitehall Gardens from 1875 (implying a residence begun in 1874) to 1878. Until the end of January, 1874, his headquarters in London were Edwards's Hotel, but "just in the nick of time Disraeli found a house to suit him in Whitehall Gardens, within a short walk both of Downing Street and of Westminster Palace, and so he was able to escape the inconvenience of an hotel, and, as he told Lady Bradford, 'live again like a gentleman.' To Whitehall Gardens he came up before the close of the second week in February."‡ A few days later Disraeli became Prime Minister for the second time. The period of his residence in Whitehall Gardens was marked by the purchase of the Khedive's Suez Canal shares, the adoption of the title Empress of India by Queen Victoria, his elevation to the peerage as Earl of Beaconsfield (1876), the reopening of the Eastern question and the Treaty of Berlin. During a part of the time he was seriously unwell, and was unable to walk even the short distance to Downing Street.§

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* *Annual Register* for 1837, p. 168.

† Indenture, dated 2nd August, 1837. (*Middx. Memls.*, 1840, VI., 358.)

‡ Monypenny's *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, V, p. 285.

§ In May, 1875, "the Cabinets were held at his house in Whitehall Gardens, as he could not venture to cross the road to Downing Street." (Sir Edward Clarke's *Benjamin Disraeli*, p. 237.) In August, 1877, he wrote to a friend from Whitehall Gardens: "I have been very ill and continue very ill, and am really quite incapable of walking upstairs; gout and bronchitis have ended in asthma . . . sometimes I am obliged to sit up all night, and want of sleep at last breaks

Towards the close of 1877 his residence at Whitehall Gardens came to an end. On coming to London in November of that year "he did not go to Whitehall Gardens, but to the official residence in Downing Street, 'to avoid,' he told Lady Bradford, 'my terrible steep Whitehall Stairs, which I cannot manage.' For the remainder of his Premiership he lived, when in London, at 10, Downing Street."†

In the Council's collection are:—

*Ground and first-floor plans (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Office of Works).
Elevation of eastern front to garden (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Office of Works).
*General view of front of premises (photograph).
*Mantelpiece in back room on ground floor (photograph).
*General views of back room on first floor (photographs).
*View of back room on first floor showing mantelpiece (photograph).
*Plan of survey of Captain Bennet's house in Privy Garden, 1808 (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands).

* Reproduced here.

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me down . . . I have managed to attend every Cabinet, but I can't walk at present from Whitehall to Downing Street, but am obliged to brougham even that step, which I once could have repeated fifty times a day." (*Ibid.*, p. 249.)

† Monypenny's *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, VI, p. 191.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 18

LXXV—NO. 1 WHITEHALL GARDENS

Ground landlords.

The property is the freehold of the Crown, and is used for the purposes of the Ministry of Labour.

General description.

No. 1 Whitehall Gardens was erected apparently in 1806–7.* In 1818 a lease of the property was granted† to Archibald, Earl of Cassilis, for 99 years as from 5th July, 1806. The premises are described (see plan on p. 212) as a piece of ground in or near the Privy Garden, abutting eastwards on the river, northwards on "ground or buildings lately demised to Richard Henry Alexander Bennett" [No. 2], and southwards on the property of the Duke of Buccleuch, containing 63½ feet width on the east, and a length of 242¼ feet on the north side and 246 feet on the south, "on part of which said piece . . . of ground has been lately erected and is now standing a capital messuage with a wing building (containing a spacious drawing-room) on the south side thereof, now . . . in the occupation of Archibald, Earl of Cassilis." The dimensions of the house are given as: 68 feet 1 inch towards Privy Garden, "and in depth from west to east, exclusive of the two bows (one in the messuage and the other in the wing building) projecting from the east front, and also exclusive of the bow projecting from the west front of the wing building, and also exclusive of the subterraneous offices thereto with the terrace over the same of like breadth, and adjoining or projecting from the east front of the said messuage . . . (which subterraneous offices extend from west to east, exclusive of the bow, 28 feet) . . . 56 feet 4 inches." The remainder of the ground towards the Thames is said to have been enclosed with an iron railing and was used as an ornamental garden, while the rest of the ground towards the Privy Garden was also used as a pleasure ground "excepting only such part . . . as is . . . used as . . . an open carriage way . . . which open carriage way is and is to continue to be freely used by the occupiers of the neighbouring messuages and buildings in common." The lease also included (but only during the King's pleasure) a triangular portion of Privy Garden, running the whole width of the premises, 15 feet wide at the north end and terminating in a point at the south end.

The house consists of a basement, with four storeys over and an attic in a slated mansard roof. It has a brick front with stucco dressings above a rusticated ground storey, and a balustraded parapet over a modillion cornice completes the composition. The windows to the first floor have curved iron trellis balconies. The entrance doorway is set in a portico with Doric columns and projects over the area.

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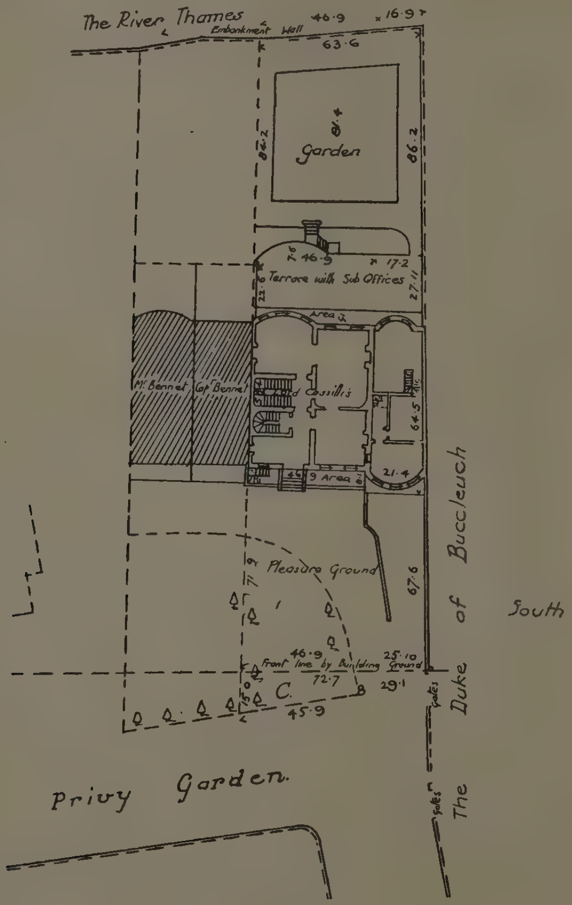
* It is referred to, together with No. 2, as already built, in the report dated 23rd August, 1808, on Sir John Stanley's application, and Boyle's *Court Guide* for 1808 shows it occupied. This implies a residence begun in 1807.

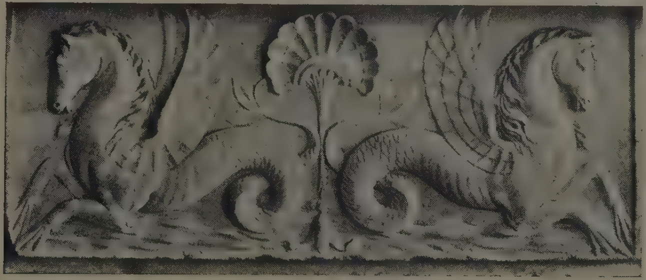
† P.R.O., T. 55/32, pp. 12 ff.

The eastern front of the premises, overlooking the terrace, was recently taken down and rebuilt.

The main staircase which terminates at the first floor, is in stone, with an elliptical skylight to the well. The iron balustrading is interspaced with panels of geometrical design, while the wall of the landing is decorated with a series of niches, two of which contain plaster replicas of Grecian female statues (Plate 99). The dining-room extends the full depth of the house and has the ceiling divided by a bressummer supported on coupled Corinthian columns. The drawing-room (which is now divided) on the floor above had


The River Thames
Embankment Wall
46·9
16·9
63·6
Garden
84·2
86·2
46·9
17·2
Terrace with Sub Offices
27·11
Area
Mr. Bennet
Capt. Bennet
Lord Cassillis
64·5
9 Area
21·4
Pleasure Ground
67·6
46·9
Front line by Building Ground
25·10
72·7
29·1
C.
45·9
Gates
Gates
The Duke of Buccleuch
South
Privy Garden.

its walls decorated with framed tapestries (Plate 98), stated to date from 1620 and brought from Brussels by Lord Ailsa, but these have now been removed. There are two marble mantelpieces in this room of similar design having coupled columns supporting the shelf and a pier glass over. The other rooms contain carved marble mantelpieces: the one illustrated in Plate 99 has a central tablet of sea horses. The portrait over represents William III, but this also has been removed.



Tablet on Mantelpiece.

Condition of repair.

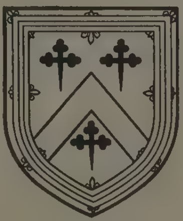
Good.

Historical notes.

The occupiers of No. 1, as given by directories, etc., until the time when the house was taken over for official purposes were:

1808–46	Earl of Cassilis (Marquess of Ailsa)
1853–1916	The National Club

Archibald Kennedy, 1st Marquess of Ailsa, born in 1770, was the eldest son of Capt. Archibald Kennedy, R.N., and became Lord Kennedy in 1793 on his father succeeding a distant cousin in the earldom of Cassilis. On the death of his father at the close of 1794 he became the 12th earl, and in 1806 was created a peer of the United Kingdom by the title of Baron Ailsa. In 1821 he was made K.T., and in 1831 was made a marquess. He died at St. Margaret's, near Isleworth, on 8th September, 1846.



Kennedy, Marquess of Ailsa.

In the Council's collection are:—

*Ground and first-floor plans (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Office of Works).
Elevation of eastern wall as re-erected (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Office of Works).
*General view of front (photograph).
*General view of garden front (photograph).
*General view of main staircase (photograph).
General view of dining-room (photograph).
View of mantelpiece in dining-room (photograph).
*General view of drawing-room (photograph).
*General view of mantelpiece, north-east room, first floor (photograph).
*Plan of survey in Privy Garden for the Earl of Cassilis, 1808 (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Commissioners of Crown Lands).

* Reproduced here.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 19

LXXVI—MONTAGU HOUSE

Ground landlords.

The property is the freehold of the Crown, and is used for the purposes of the Ministry of Labour.

Old Montagu House.

The ground comprising the site of Montagu House and its appurtenances is composed of eight different parcels of land.

(1) In 1719 a lease was granted* to Viscount Molesworth of "a piece of wast ground . . . which . . . abutts on the said Privy Garden west and south, on the river of Thames east, and on the lodgings belonging to Mr. James Heymans [plot No. 7] north, and extends . . . from north to south 70 feet, and in breadth from east to west 89 feet."

(2) Another lease was in 1724 granted† to Col. Charles Churchill of the ground immediately south of (1). It measured 38½ feet from north to south, and 84 from east to west, and is described as abutting north on (1), south on a passage leading from the Privy Garden to the water stairs [plot No. 6] and a house "now in the possession of the Comptrollers of the Cloathing of his Ma^{ts} Land forces" [the first Richmond House, see p. 243], west on the Privy Garden and east on the river.

Plots (1) and (2) thus comprised the site of the extreme southern portion of the old Palace buildings, shown in the plan of 1670 as in the occupation of Mrs. Kirke, Sir Edward Walker and the Duke of York. Their northern boundary coincided with the northern line of the open court or garden of Sir Edward Walker, and their western boundary was not (as in the case of the Albemarle and Portland properties and plot No. 7) the eastern side of the Stone Gallery, but a line running diagonally across the southern portion of the gallery.

(3) Apparently neither of the lessees proceeded with the development of the property, and in 1731 both leases had been purchased by John, second Duke of Montagu, who in that year applied‡ for and obtained an additional piece of ground, a part of the Privy Garden, containing 86 feet on the west side, 56 feet on the north side and 54½ feet on the south, and immediately adjoining plots (1) and (2) on the west.§

On these three plots the duke "erected a large and substantial house, with outhouses and appurtenances thereto belonging," which was certainly in existence in April, 1733.‖

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* P.R.O., T. 54/25, pp. 124, 179.

† P.R.O., T. 54/28, p. 362.

‡ See P.R.O., T. 29/27, p. 10.

§ The details are given in P.R.O., T. 55/2, pp. 255–9.

‖ See report, dated 19th April, 1733, on application for a reversionary lease. (*Ibid.*, p. 488.)

Duke of Montagu.

(4) On the north side of the duke's courtyard was a piece of the Privy Garden on which, according to the testimony of Mr. Joseph Smith, the duke's neighbour to the north, was "a row of trees and a large green sward," the pleasant view of which had been a large factor in inducing Mr. Smith to pay "a great sum of money" for his house. The ground abutted east on an 8-foot passage leading to Mr. Smith's house, west on a footway 4 feet wide within the posts in the Privy Garden, and south on the duke's courtyard, and measured 70 feet from north to south and 62 feet from east to west. Of this the duke obtained a grant in 1733, in spite of Mr. Smith's protests,* and erected stables thereon.

(5) The next addition to the grounds of Montagu House came in 1743. In the latter part of the preceding year the duke had joined with the Duke of Richmond in petitioning for a grant of the foreshore of the Thames between high and low water mark. A quay had been formed immediately to the south of the Duke of Richmond's property, and the river between this and Queen Mary's Terrace formed "a kind of an irregular bay . . . where great quantities of mud & filth collect & settle, which cannot be cleansed by the flux & reflux of the tide."† The petition was granted, and the two dukes received permission to enclose a portion of the foreshore. The portion granted to Montagu greatly exceeded the width of his own property, extending as far as Queen Mary's Terrace, and thus cutting off from the river Joseph Smith's property (plot No. 7) and a part of the Duke of Portland's premises.‡ No steps were taken by the duke to form the embankment, and it was left to his successor to commence the work. Even by him the project was not carried out in its entirety, owing to the opposition of the Corporation of the City of London, who, after the embankment was begun, disputed his right. He afterwards obtained a licence from the Corporation, and proceeded with the work. It was, however, still uncompleted at his death, and was finished by his daughter, the Duchess of Buccleuch.§

(6) In 1743 the passage to the water stairs, which lay between the properties of the Dukes of Montagu and Richmond, was divided between them, the former obtaining the western (and larger) share, in length 102 feet, and in width varying from 3½ feet to 17 feet.||

John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, died in 1749, leaving no son, and the

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* P.R.O., T. 1/283, p. 12.

† Petition of Duke of Richmond (P.R.O., T. 55/6, p. 258).

‡ The latter had agreed to the proposal provided that he might be allowed to rent the portion in front of his house from Montagu at a proportionate rent (P.R.O., T. 55/6, p. 275); the former, who was threatened with being closed in both back and front by Montagu, protested vigorously.

§ The Duke of Montagu spent £1873 16s. 3d. on the work, and the Duchess of Buccleuch upwards of £4000. In the report on the duchess's memorial (P.R.O., T. 55/26, p. 469) it was stated that "the Lord Mayor as conservator cannot have any right to demand rent for any such embankment, because if the embankment is likely to injure the navigation of the river . . . he can have no power to grant leave to make it."

|| P.R.O., T. 55/6, p. 283.

house passed into the possession of the duchess.* The latter died in 1751, leaving† all her real and personal estate to her daughter, Mary, Countess of Cardigan, and the ratebook for 1752 shows the Earl of Cardigan at the house. The earl (George, 4th Earl) became in 1766 Duke of Montagu of a new creation. He died at Montagu House in 1790, also leaving no son behind him, and the house passed into the possession of his daughter Elizabeth, who had married Henry, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch.

(7) The date on which plot No. 7 was added has not been precisely ascertained. This was the house and garden of Mr. Smith, formerly the lodgings of James Heymans. The first mention of these occurs in 1712, when orders were given for certain repairs to be carried out.‡ Heymans was in occupation only by permission, and in 1717 he petitioned for a lease.§ The premises are described as containing in front to the Privy Garden on the north-west 62 feet, to the south-west 89 feet to the Thames, south-east 22 feet, to the north-east 36 feet, then to the south-east 51 feet, then to the north-east adjoining to Lady Essex's lodgings 25 feet, then to the north-west 9 feet, and from there to the north-east returning to the Privy Garden 29 feet; also including a small semi-circular break at the easternmost corner next the Thames. In spite of some doubts as to the exactness of these measurements,|| the shape and situation of the plot are unmistakable. On the east it took in the second bastion on the river wall north of the Bowling Green, and on the west extended from plot (1) to the Essex premises. It thus comprised the remainder of Sir Edward Walker's lodgings, and the greater portion of the Duke of York's as shown on the plan of 1670. Its western boundary, as in the case of the properties lying to the north of it, was formed by the eastern wall of the Stone Gallery. The "semi-circular break" refers to the bastion, which was afterwards used as a site for a summer house.¶

Heymans' widow obtained a fresh lease in 1729,** and presumably disposed of it soon after to Joseph Smith, who was in possession in 1733,

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* "And Whereas by virtue of a ... Grant from the Crown I am possessed of a ... piece of Ground ... in the Privy Garden ... (whereon I have Erected ... a Messuage ... Stables, Coach Houses and other Buildings) ... now I do hereby give and devise the use of the said Messuage ... to my Wife Mary, Dutchess of Montagu ... Also I give ... to my said Wife, Mary ... the use of all my Jewells ... and of all my Plate, Household Goods, Furniture, Linnen, China, Books, Pictures, Arms and Armour in my said dwelling house in Privy Garden." (*P.C.C.*, Lisle, 255.)

† *P.C.C.*, Busby, 151.

‡ "These are to pray and Require you to give Orders for the following repairs in the Lodgings in the Privy Garden belonging to Mr. James Heymans, Storekeeper of her Majesty's wines, viz^{t}, The Roof, Ceilings & floors to be mended, The Kitchen Stairs and glass Windows repair'd and the wainscott painted." 22nd May, 1712. (P.R.O., L.C. 5/155, p. 166.)

§ P.R.O., T. 54/24, pp. 423, 434.

|| As bearing on the question of the accuracy of these and similar descriptions it may be mentioned that on a plan of this same property in 1767 only a single measurement corresponds. The figures there given are respectively, 67 feet 8 inches, 88 feet, 26 feet 2 inches, 41 feet 11 inches, 59 feet 4 inches, 23 feet 7 inches, 9 feet and 32 feet.

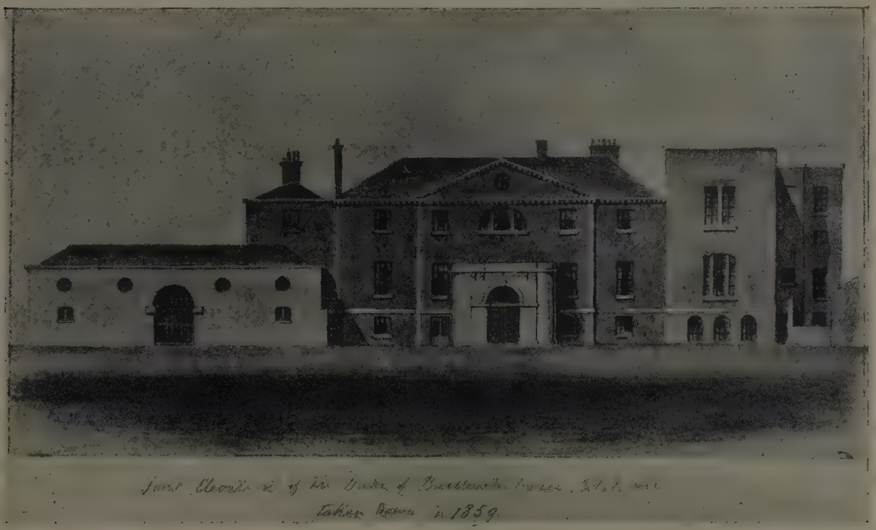
¶ See petition of Wm. Folkes for renewal of lease in 1767. (P.R.O., T. 55/15, p. 6.)

** P.R.O., T. 55/1, pp. 479 ff.

when he protested against the grant to the Duke of Montagu of the ground in front of his house (plot No. 4) on which the duke wished to build stables.

Smith died about 1755,* and the house was unoccupied until at least 1762, when the evidence of the ratebooks fails us. Smith's son seems to have sold his interest to William Folkes, who in 1767 stated that he was in possession of the residue of Sarah Heymans' lease and applied for a renewal.

The house was then in the occupation of Lord Monthermer.† The report on Folkes' application stated‡ that the property consisted of "one brick messuage, which is old and out of repair." The lease was duly granted.


Front Elevation of the Duke of Buccleuch's house, which was
taken down in 1859.

Old Montagu House.

At some time in the second half of the 18th century the property was acquired by the owner of Montagu House, for in the memorial of the Duchess of Buccleuch, presented in 1806, it is stated§ that "the Duchess . . . is . . . intitled to a piece of ground on the north side of the said premises [Montagu House] whereon heretofore stood an old messuage sometime in the occupation of Mr. Joseph Smith." According to Sheppard,* a lease of the premises was obtained in 1768, " for the separate use of the Duchess " of Montagu. This presumably refers to Folkes' lease, which was dated 14th January, 1768, but it seems probable that the land had been acquired before 1760, for the Essex property (see p. 191) was described in that year as bounded on the west by " the ground or buildings of the Earl of Cardigan " (afterwards Duke of Montagu). It seems likely therefore that Folkes in obtaining the lease was acting for the Earl of Cardigan.

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* See indenture of mortgage, 31st December, 1755, between his son, F. T. Smith "of Privy Garden, Whitehall" and Matt. Kenrick, of "all that his messuage . . . in Privy Garden . . . heretofore belonging to his . . . late father, Joseph Smith." (*Middx. Memls.*, 1756, II, 12.) According to the ratebooks Joseph Smith was there in 1755, and in 1756 the house is marked "E."

† Presumably John, the only son of George, Duke of Montagu, one of whose titles was Marquess of Monthermer. He died before his father in 1770.

‡ P.R.O., T. 55/15, p. 7.

§ See Report thereon in P.R.O., T. 55/26, p. 463.

(8) As will have been gathered from the foregoing the forecourt of Montagu House had thus far been bounded on the west by a portion of the Privy Garden. In the memorial of the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch above referred to application was made to extend the forecourt to the street, and as a result a part of the Privy Garden, 174 feet in length, was added to the premises.

The memorial foreshadowed the addition to the house of " a spacious new eating room . . . with rooms under it & offices for servants." This improvement was carried out, and in 1810 a lease of the whole was granted to Henry, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch, for a term of 62 years from 5th January, 1806.† The house continued to be the ducal residence for nearly half a century. Then, although the lease was not due to expire until 1868, the 5th Duke, wishing to rebuild, surrendered it and obtained a fresh lease for 99 years from 1856. A view of the house is given on p. 217.

THE PRESENT MONTAGU HOUSE.

In due course the old house was demolished, and the present building erected from the designs of William Burn‡ in 1859–62.

Montagu House is a palatial residence in the French Renaissance style, constructed in Portland stone, with a high-pitched and turretted slate roof. The prominent chimney stacks and the gabled dormers with the high roof, relieve an otherwise somewhat featureless exterior (Plate 101). The entrance with a porte-cochere is approached by a wide courtyard,§ which contains the gatekeeper's lodge on the northern side and the coach houses on the southern. The east front has a broad terrace at the level of the principal floor, with wide flights of steps leading to the garden (Plate 102).

To obviate the trouble which the former premises suffered by the

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[*] *Old Royal Palace of Whitehall*, p. 115.

[†] P.R.O., T. 55/29, p. 1.

[‡] William Burn (1789–1870), architect, the son of Robert Burn, a successful Edinburgh builder, was born in Edinburgh in 1789. After elementary training with his father he entered the office of Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Smirke. Other pupils in the office with Burn were Lewis Vulliamy and C. R. Cockerell. He returned to Edinburgh and set up practice, meeting with success almost at the outset. He divided with Playfair the best architectural works of the time in Scotland, mostly excelling in large private and domestic buildings. In 1844 he moved to London. In 1850 he, together with Professor Cockerell and Mr. Ferguson, was appointed by the Government to decide a competition among the foremost London architects for a design for the Foreign and War offices. Eden Nesfield and Norman Shaw were two of his pupils.

[§] This courtyard is now (1930) occupied by temporary buildings.

filtration of the river the present house is constructed on a concrete raft,[†] with the eastern quarters planned to contain the larders, pantries and stores, and the working portion of the offices kept in the front (Plate 103).

The principal rooms are on the first floor, which is approached by two flights of wide stone steps leading from the hall. The Salon is a handsome apartment with an arcaded treatment to the walls open on the staircase side. The entablature, which has a decorative frieze, is carried round the room, and above, enriched with cartouches, springs the coved junction with the flat panelled glazed ceiling. The rooms opening out from the Salon contain some decorative features, such as heavily coffered ceilings with coved cornices: others are panelled and contain highly coloured amorous paintings with their cornices picked out in gilt (Plate 104). The doorcases are similarly enriched, and the mantelpieces are carved in marble or stone.

The staircase leading to the floors above is carried out in oak and continues around an open well.

CONDITION OF REPAIR.

Very good.

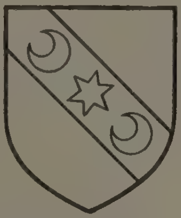
HISTORICAL NOTES.

According to the directories the new Montagu House was occupied by the Dukes of Buccleuch from its completion in 1862 to 1917.

Walter Francis, 5th Duke of Buccleuch and 7th Duke of Queensberry, the builder of Montagu House, was born in 1806 and succeeded to the titles when only twelve years old. As Captain-General of the Royal Bodyguard of Archers, he carried the gold stick at the coronations of William IV and Victoria. In 1835 he was made K.G. From 1842 to 1846 he was Lord Privy Seal, and in the latter year became (for six months) Lord President of the Council. He died on 16th April, 1884.

His son, William Henry Walter, 6th Duke, was born on 9th September, 1831, and died on 5th November, 1914, when he was succeeded by his second and eldest surviving son, John Charles, 7th Duke of Buccleuch.

In 1917 Montagu House was taken over for the use of the Ministry of Labour, and has ever since been used for official purposes.



Scott of Buccleuch.

IN THE COUNCIL'S COLLECTION ARE:—

*Ground and principal floor plans (from a plan in the possession of H.M. Office of Works).
*Front elevation from the south-west (photograph).
Front elevation from the north-west (photograph).
*South elevation (photograph).
Garden elevation (photograph).
Elevation to terrace and steps (photograph).
Entrance lobby and main staircase (photograph).
General view of Salon (photograph).
Room No. 6, marble mantelpiece (photograph).
Room No. 6, door case (photograph).
Room No. 6, ornamental ceiling (photograph).
Room No. 6, detail of ceiling (photograph).
Room No. 6, view of bay window (photograph).

[†] Said to have been made by grinding down the materials of the old house.

Room No. 7, view of door case (photograph).
*Room No. 7, general view of marble mantelpiece (photograph).
Room No. 8, ornamental ceiling (photograph).
Room No. 8, general view of door case (photograph).
Room No. 8, double doors (photograph).
Room No. 8, carved wood mantelpiece (photograph).
*Room No. 8, general view (photograph).
Room No. 9, marble mantelpiece (photograph).
Room No. 9, door case (photograph).
Room No. 9, general view of ornamental ceiling (photograph).
Room No. 10, marble mantelpiece (photograph).
Room No. 10, general view of ornamental ceiling (photograph).
View of oak staircase from second-floor landing (photograph).

* Reproduced here.

CHAPTER 20

THE LOTTERY OFFICE
(Demolished).

Immediately south of the Banqueting House, and occupying the site of portions of the Privy Gallery (including the Lord Keeper's rooms as shown on the plan of 1670, and the Adam and Eve staircase) and Privy Garden, was the building which, at least as early as 1722,* was known as the Lottery Office.† On the widening of the road between the Banqueting House and King Street Gate, and the removal of the gun-platform, in 1723, the Lottery Office came to front the newly-widened thoroughfare. A good view of the building in 1746 is contained in Plate 7.

In 1732, when the old Treasury was pulled down for the erection of Kent's new building, the Treasury Commissioners removed temporarily to the Lottery Office.‡ The new Treasury was finished in 1736, and in 1742 it was decided to fit up "the rooms in the Privy Garden where the Treasury was lately kept" as an office for the secretary of state. It was at first suggested that a room, 56 feet long, on the ground floor, should be provided with presses and shelves, and that the articles belonging to the Lottery Office should be cleared away, but it was finally decided, on the score of expense, to omit the item, and allow "the wheels & other things belonging to the Lottery Office" to remain there.§ The wheels||

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* See plan attached to report, dated 17th November, 1722, on the petition of Wm. Vanhulls. (P.R.O., *Treasury Papers*, CCXL, 77.)

† "From 1709 to 1824 the Government annually raised considerable sums in lotteries authorised by Act of Parliament. The prizes were in the form of terminable or perpetual annuities." (*Encylc. Brit.*) During the latter part of this period the Government's average annual profit was £346,765. An interesting record of the use made of the lottery system in meeting liabilities is the following, dating from 1703, before the lotteries were annual: "Dorothy Ireland, semstress to her late Ma^{ty} Queen Mary having received 8 Maule Lottery Ticketts in part of her Arrears due for Sallary, which Ticketts were lost when Whitehall was burnt, prays an Order for pay^{mt} of the Interest of the said Ticketts." (P.R.O., Ind. 4622, p. 77.)

‡ "3rd August, 1732. Agreed to the Estimate [£450] . . . of the Charge of fitting up & making accommodations at the Lottery Office in Whitehall for the Reception of their Lordships, the present Building of the Treasury Office being in a very dangerous Condition." (P.R.O., Works, 4/5 (Minutes).)

§ P.R.O., Works, 6/16, pp. 40–2.

|| "These are two Wheels about six Feet in Diameter, and twelve or eighteen Inches thick, so that the Sides, being thin, reserve a sufficient Cavity for containing the Tickets; they have also convenient Openings in the Sides for putting in the Hand to draw them, and are suspended on their Centers in a Manner very convenient for shaking or mixing them . . . The Wheels being placed at a convenient Distance from one another, on the Hustings . . . a Boy (generally taken from *Christ*-church Hospital in *London*) is stationed at each Wheel to draw the Tickets, and a Clerk stands between each of them and the Managers to receive and proclaim the Numbers drawn; one Boy drawing a Ticket from the Wheel, containing the Numbers, and the other, the same Instant, one from that of the Prizes and Blanks, and whatever Ticket of the latter, whether a Prize or a Blank, comes up against the Ticket which contains the Number,

were subsequently removed to sheds on the south side of the building (see p. 223).

The premises remained in the occupation of the Secretary of State until 1771.* In December of that year Peter Burrell obtained a grant of the ground adjoining, on which the lottery wheels had been stored, and in January, 1772, orders were given for them to be placed in the building.†

In 1788 Henry Holland, architect to the Duke of York, applied‡ on the latter's behalf for permission to purchase " the house in Privy Gardens lately used as an office for the Commissioners of the Lottery," and to enclose a small piece of Privy Garden lying to the east. The report on the application stated that " the lower part of the building is still in the possession of the Commissioners . . . whose officers state that they have no other place for the custody of the lottery wheels until the new Lottery Office in Somerset Place shall be ready." About four years later the duke renewed his application§ in connection with a request for a new lease of the house (afterwards Dover House) which he had purchased, on the other side of the road. The application was granted, and the duke forthwith pulled down the old building and erected stables on the site. A view of them is given in the illustration of the Banqueting House on p. 127. They lasted until 1893. On 6th June in that year the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII) laid the memorial stone of the new premises of the Royal United Service Institution, and on 20th February, 1895, opened the building.||

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is filed with it . . . and recorded by the other Clerks, as the Fate of that Number . . . Thus the Drawing is continued from Nine in the morning till Two in the Afternoon . . . till all the Prizes are drawn, and one of the Blanks, which Blank is to be considered as last drawn Ticket, and intitled as such to the Prize in the Scheme." (*The Lottery display'd, or the Adventurer's Guide*, 1771, pp. 18–20.) The drawing took place at the Guildhall, the wheels being moved there from Whitehall a day or two before.

* The petition of the inhabitants of Privy Garden in February, 1771, relative to the erection of Peter Burrell's house (see p. 223) mentions as an alternative site " that spot of ground on which the Northern Secretary of State's office now stands (which office they are informed is to be removed)."

† " 7th January, 1772. Read Letter from Edward Johnson, Secretary to the Commissioners of the Lottery, desiring that orders may be given to the Board of Works to make such alterations in the late Secretary of State's office, as that the Lottery Wheels may be removed into the Hall there." Directions were given accordingly. (P.R.O., T. 29/41, p. 408.)

‡ *Woods and Forests Entry Book*, K.4, p. 145.

§ P.R.O., T. 55/22, p. 287.

|| *The Times*, 21st February, 1895.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 21

LXXVII—GWYDYR HOUSE

Ground landlords.

The premises are the freehold of the Crown and are used for the purposes of the Air Ministry.

History and description of structure.

In 1770 Peter Burrell asked for* and obtained a lease of a piece of "void & useless" ground adjoining the Lamplighter's Office, whereon he proposed to build a house. He accordingly began building operations, which were met by a protest† on the part "of the nobility and gentry, inhabitants of Privy Garden," on the ground that a house in that position would deprive them of "free air, light and agreeable prospect: advantages so much coveted in a great city, and which have induced those inhabitants and their ancestors to settle and lay out considerable sums of money on that spot, otherwise not desirable on account of its low and damp situation."

Negotiations ensued, and finally matters were arranged by Burrell surrendering his lease and obtaining a grant‡ of land further north, adjoining what had been the Secretary of State's office. The site was at the time covered with "old ruinous sheds," some of which were in the occupation of the Lamplighter,§ while the others (next to the Secretary of State's office) were used for the custody of the wheels belonging to the State lotteries. In addition, Burrell was granted a portion of the Privy Garden, extending as far as the gateway, to be used as a garden and enclosed by a wall.

The whole of the site thus granted measured 132 feet on the west side, 140 feet on the east, 76 feet on the south and 79 feet on the north.

The grant was made on 11th December, 1771, for a term of 50 years. As Burrell had made all provision for building, the erection of the house was no doubt at once proceeded with, and may be assigned to the year 1772.|| The cost was afterwards said to have amounted to "upwards of £6000."

In 1803 Burrell's son, the first Lord Gwydyr, applied¶ for a renewal of the lease, and at the same time asked that a part of the Privy Garden lying to the rear of his house might be included to enable him to build stabling. The latter request was refused, on the ground that stables in that position would depreciate the value of the sites of the new houses proposed to be erected

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* P.R.O., T. 55/15, p. 376.

† *Ibid.*, 1/487.

‡ See P.R.O., T. 55/16, pp. 373 ff.

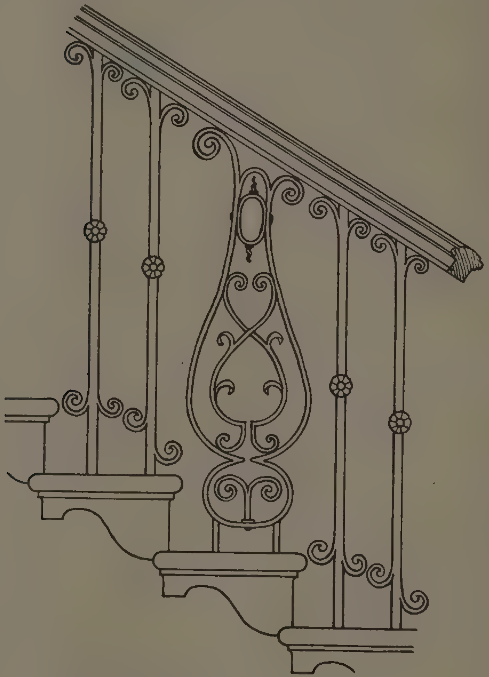
§ An officer in the Department of the Lord Steward of the Household.

|| According to Richardson and Gill (*London Houses from* 1660 *to* 1820) the house was designed by John Marquand.

¶ P.R.O., T. 55/25, pp. 82 ff.

between Pembroke House and Montagu House. It was, however, suggested that Lord Gwydyr's garden should be extended 33 feet southwards, "so as to admit of a carriage way from the street into Privy Garden, of the breadth of 45 feet from a line to be drawn from the corner of the Duke of Buccleuch's stables to the street." The suggestion was agreed to, and a reversionary lease of the house and existing garden, and a lease of the new ground, were granted, to expire in 1871.

The exterior of the premises is in brick, with stone dressings, and originally comprised three storeys over a semi-basement, the extra storey above the modillion cornice being subsequently added (in 1886), including extensions towards Whitehall Gardens. A further addition of one storey was erected in the garden in 1898, the foundations being found unsuitable for a higher building.



Balustrading to Staircase.

The general appearance is restrained and composed (Pl. 105). The grouping of the windows on each side of the central feature is worthy of notice, adding breadth and dignity to the general conception.

The entrance, which is approached by a series of stone steps, is treated as the central motif, and comprises double doors with marginal lights within a stone framework flanked with ¾-diameter columns of the Roman Doric order supporting a moulded entablature, while above is a three-light Venetian window with Ionic columns and pilasters (Plates 106 and 108).

Some good ironwork with an overthrow containing a lamp adds importance to the entrance, while the old link extinguishers are still fixed to the railings to the forecourt. Spaced at intervals on the boundary railings can also be seen the standards which originally contained oil lamps.

The main rooms are lofty, with decorative frieze and cornices, but, with the exception of one or two features, are otherwise plainly treated.

Room No. 1B on the entrance floor contains a decorative plaster medallion over the fireplace (Plate 112).

Room No. 7 contains a white marble mantelpiece, with a sculptured representation, in the panel to the frieze, of a recumbent sleeping female (Plate 111).

Room No. 10 on the first floor has fluted Ionic pilasters, and carved linings to the door casing including the frieze and cornice of the head, while the doors themselves are six-panelled in mahogany (Plate 112). The chair-rail and skirting are also carved. The mantelpiece is in white marble, with inlaid fluted Ionic columns supporting the shelf (Plate 110).

Room No. 17 has the door linings decorated and the frieze to the head carved (see p. 227).

Room No. 16 contains a statuary marble mantelpiece with carved urns and Brocatella panels (Plate 110).

The main staircase, with quadrant landings and winders, continues around a wide top-lighted well, and is executed in stone, with shaped outer ends to the treads forming a moulded soffit. From the ground floor to the first floor the balustrading is of wrought iron, with "lyre" shaped panels to every other step and square bars between, and is finished with a continuous mahogany handrail. The balustrading to the upper floors is in cast iron.

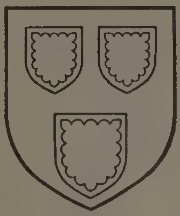
Condition of repair.

Good.

Historical notes.

The following is a list of the occupiers of Gwydyr House, so far as they have been ascertained:

1772–75	Peter Burrell
*	* * * *
1792–1820	Sir Peter Burrell (Baron Gwydyr)
1820–27	Baroness Willoughby de Eresby
1828	Baroness Willoughby de Eresby Earl of Clare
1829–32	Duke of Leeds
1833–35	Duke of Leeds Sackville Lane Fox
1838–40	Reform Club



Burrell.

Peter Burrell, of Langley Park, Beckenham, Kent, the builder of Gwydyr House, was born in 1724. In 1769 he became Surveyor-General of Crown Lands, an office which he held until his death. He was M.P. for Launceston (1759–68) and Totnes (1768–74). He died on 6th November, 1775.

By his will* he left his "Newbuilt Leasehold Capital Messuage . . . at Whitehall" to trustees, to hold it on behalf of his wife during her lifetime and afterwards to assign it to his son.

Owing to the absence of ratebook evidence and directories, it is not possible to say whether Burrell's widow,† who died on 8th June, 1795, continued to reside at the house for any period after her husband's death, but the earliest issue of Boyle's *Court Guide*, that for 1792, shows her son, "Sir Peter Burrell" in occupation.

Peter Burrell (1st Baron Gwydyr) was born in 1754. In 1779 he married Priscilla Barbara Elizabeth, daughter of the 3rd Duke of Ancaster, who in the following year, after the death of her brother, the 4th Duke, succeeded to the barony of Willoughby de Eresby. For the office of Great Chamberlain of England, which had for 150 years been hereditary in her family, there were several candidates, and the House of Lords eventually decided that the office devolved upon Priscilla and her sister, with power to appoint a deputy, not under the degree of a knight, to act for them. Whereupon Peter Burrell, Priscilla's husband, was appointed, the King having knighted him to render him eligible.† In 1787 he succeeded his great-uncle, Sir Merrill Burrell, in the baronetcy, and in 1796 was created Baron Gwydyr. He died at Brighton on 29th June, 1820.

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* *P.C.C.*, 403, Alexander.

† Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Lewis of Hackney.

By his will‡ Lord Gwydyr left his house at Whitehall to trustees on behalf of his wife, the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, for her life, and the issues of Boyle's *Court Guide* show that she lived there until her death on 29th December, 1828, "at her residence in Whitehall."§ In the meantime, the baroness had purchased the reversionary interest from her son, the 2nd Lord Gwydyr, and by her will|| left the house "at Whitehall where I now reside" to trustees on behalf of her daughter, Elizabeth Julia Georgiana, who in 1826 had married John, 2nd Earl of Clare. The issue of Boyle's *Court Guide* for 1828 shows the earl bracketed with the baroness as joint occupants of the house, but the former does not seem to have resided there after the baroness' death.¶

Boyle's *Court Guide* for January, 1830 (implying a residence begun in 1829), gives the Duke of Leeds as occupier. This was George William Frederick, the 6th Duke, born in 1775. He became Baron Conyers on the death of his mother, the daughter of the 4th Earl of Holderness, in 1784, and succeeded to the dukedom in 1799. He was Master of the Horse to George IV, and in 1827 was made K.G. He died on 10th July, 1838.

His residence at Gwydyr House lasted until 1835,** and from January, 1833, he is bracketed with Sackville Lane Fox, who in 1826 had married the duke's daughter, Charlotte Mary Ann Georgiana.

From 1835 the house seems to have been for a time unoccupied. In 1838 the Reform Club was about to rebuild its premises in Pall Mall, and temporary accommodation was required. Gwydyr House was rented for the purpose from the Countess of Clare, and was opened for the reception of members on 12th June in that year.†† The Club's occupation of the premises lasted until December, 1840.

The lease of the house did not expire until 1871, but in 1842‡‡ the premises were rented from the countess by the Crown, and have since been used for official purposes.

In the Council's collection are:—

*General exterior to Whitehall (photograph).
*Detail of entrance (photograph).
Elevation to Whitehall Gardens (photograph).
General view of main staircase (photograph).
General view of stairs to upper floors (photograph).
*Plaster medallion over fireplace in Room 1B on entrance floor (photograph).
*View of mantelpiece to room No. 7 (photograph).
*Detail of central tablet to above (photograph).
*Room No. 10, view of door casing (photograph).

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† H. Clark's *Introduction to Heraldry*, pp. 265–6.

‡ *P.C.C.*, 671, Kent.

§ *Morning Herald*, 30th December, 1828.

|| *P.C.C.*, 462, Liverpool.

¶ Boyle's *Court Guide* for January, 1829, shows the two bracketed as in the previous year, but this is of course only evidence for the latter part of 1828.

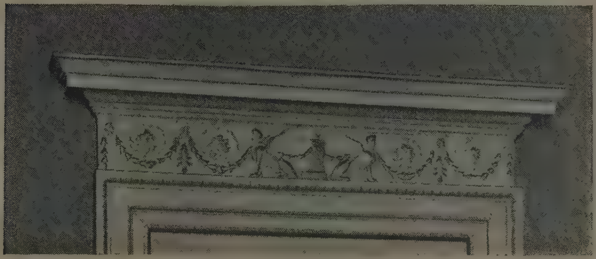
** Boyle's *Court Guide* for 1836 shows him (with Sackville Lane Fox) at No. 3 St. James's Square.

†† Louis Fagan's *The Reform Club*, pp. 44–5.

‡‡ Boyle's *Court Guide* for 1843 shows the Commissioners of Slave Compensation, the Commission of Fine Arts and the Commission of Revenue Inquiry there.

*Room No. 10, view of marble mantelpiece (photograph).
*Room No. 16, view of marble mantelpiece (photograph).
*Room No. 17, view of door casing (photograph).
Room No. 17, view of marble mantelpiece (photograph).
Room No. 18, view of marble mantelpiece (photograph).
*Ground, first and second-floor plans (from plans in possession of H.M. Office of Works).
*Elevation and sections (from drawing in possession of H.M. Office of Works).
South and east elevations (from drawing in possession of H.M. Office of Works).
*Detail of entrance doorway and window above (measured drawing).

* Reproduced here.



Gwydyr House: Room No. 17, doorhead.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 22

THE ORCHARD (AFTERWARDS THE BOWLING GREEN) AND "HANCES HOUSE."

The ground now occupied by Richmond Terrace and its forecourt was before the Restoration the orchard of Whitehall Palace.

It will be shown below that the orchard occupied the site of a garden and orchard attached to The Lamb in King Street, and that the latter lay *south* of Lamb Alley. On the other hand, the property on the east side of King Street acquired for Whitehall Palace and grounds in 1531 is described as "extending from a certain alley or lane there called Lamb Alley . . . unto the bars situate in the aforesaid King Street, near the manor of the Lord the King there called York Place" (see Appendix A), and was thus situated entirely to the *north* of Lamb Alley (see p. 17). The acquisition of The Lamb, with its orchard and garden, was therefore not included in the original scheme for the construction of the Palace,* and seems to have been an afterthought on the part of Henry VIII. The property was, however, purchased by the King some time before 1538, for in that year he granted† it to John Stephens for a term of 40 years at a rent of £13 6s. 8d. Evidently, no decision had so far been come to as to using it for the purpose of enlarging the grounds of the Palace.

This step seems to have been taken about 1545. The assize rents for 1547 mention the receipt (which must have been purely theoretical) of £13 6s. 8d. from John Stephens for the ferm of a messuage called The Lamb, with a garden and an orchard adjoining, in King Street, *next to the new Palace of the King*, and of 40s. from Stephens' widow for the rent of two gardens adjoining The Lamb. Later on in the roll, however, occurs an entry allowing the whole amount of £15 6s. 8d., on the ground that "the said messuage, lands and other premises, with appurtenances, *are included within the new orchard and garden of the King's palace*," and the authority of the Privy Council of 37 Henry VIII (1545–6) is quoted for the allowance in question.

The full description of The Lamb property, as given in the grant of 1538, is as follows: "All that our brewhouse (tenementum nostrum bracineum) called Le Lambe with garden and orchard adjoining . . . between the tenements belonging to the Abbot and Convent of the Monastery of St. Peter Westminster, in the tenure of Philip Lentall, William Forde, John Banks and John Barley on the west and south, and the lane opposite Our garden called le Lambe Aley on the north, and so descending beyond le Clowson to the garden of Robert Smallwood on the south, and a parcel of land next the Thames on the south, and our royal way [King Street] there on the west, and the water of Thames on the east . . . which garden and orchard extend in length on the south side from the water of Thames to the common sewer called le Clowson towards the west, and contain in length 282 feet of assise, and in width on the west from south to north 201½ feet of assise, and in width on the east abut on the Thames and contain from north to south 227 feet, and contain in width on the north side from the water of Thames to the street there containing [*sic*] towards the east and west 341 feet of assise; also . . . all the lane [Lamb Alley] leading from our Royal street there to the said Thames between our garden on the north and the said tenement called le Lambe on the south."

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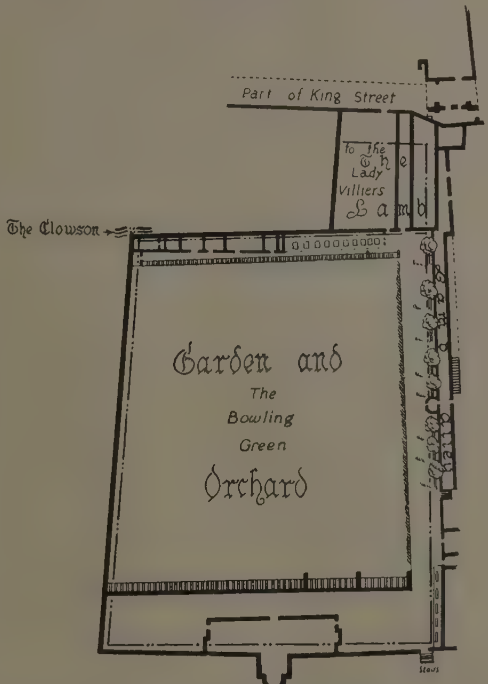
* This is also evident from the fact that the Abbot of Westminster on 9th June, 1531, actually granted a new lease of the property to John Benet for a term of 40 years. (P.R.O., Exch. T.R., *Ancient Deeds*, A. 1551.)

† P.R.O., C. 66/679, m. 8.



Here is reproduced a portion of the plan of 1670 showing the Bowling Green, and on it is marked (by chain lines) the property of The Lamb as given in the above description. It will be observed that the dimensions of the garden and orchard fit the Bowling Green almost exactly, and there can be no doubt that the sites are identical. Lamb Alley is thus shown to have run along the south side of the Privy Garden. The length of 341 feet given for the distance from the Thames to the street falls short by about 20 feet, but this is in accord with other evidence which shows that the street was wider then than was afterwards the case (see p. 16).

From other documents it appears that there were several small houses in Lamb Alley,* and that at the end of the lane was a wharf, which was found very useful when the Palace was being built.†

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* John Benet, the abbot's lessee, describes the property as "the mancion place w^t Solarse, chambers, etc., a brewhowse w^t the howses thereto belongyng, a barne, stabulls, a grete yarde abuttyng agaynste the Temys . . . wiche all the premissis onne Alyn Restall holdythe of me ye sayd John Benet . . . Item I have more in the lane nexte unto ye sayd Lamme ix Small tenements." (P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, Portf. 21/21.)

† "To Aleyn Rastarde . . . as welle in recompence for his wharf occupied to the Kinges use as in leying of stone, chaulke . . . as also for hurtes doon upon the said wharf and certeyne his houses nygh adioyning to the same"; "two boultis with two forelockis provided for the polye of a gynne standing upon lambe wharfe for the receipte of stuffe there." (P.R.O., E. 36/251, pp. 590, 169.)

Allusions in the records to the orchard of Whitehall are scanty. We learn, however, that it contained a fountain which was in need of repair in 1621–2.[*] Mention is also made of the river wall,[†] and of the various gates (the watergate, that leading to King Street and the one to Cannon Row.)

In the Parliamentary Survey made in 1650[‡] the orchard is described at length as "all that Orchard or parcell of ground lyeinge on the south[§] side of tha'foresaid house [" Hances House," see below], and East on Whitehall garden, contayninge . . . two acres and two Roods and 7 poole, planted wth sevall sorts of fruit Trees of divers and various sorts and kindes. Alsoe the said Orchard is well accomodated and fitted wth Pleasant and delightfull Gravelly Walkes, And in the Center or Middle of the Orchard there is standinge, 3 stepps in Ascent, one Marble fountayne fitted wth two Brasse Collumes and two faire Bolles of White Marble. And one small Garden house much Decayed and out of repaire, formerly used to keepe fruite in, now in the occupacōn of tha'foresaid Collonell Whalley, and is worth per annum xl^{li}. Mem^{d} one John Henry [see p. 237] Claymeth to hold th'abovesaid Orchard dureinge his Life by promise from the Earle of Pembrooke, But hath nothinge to shew for the same, soe wee conceive it in Possession."

On the Restoration the orchard was converted into a bowling green,[||] and surrounded by a fence.[¶] The fountain was apparently removed, for no sign of it appears on the plan of 1670, but in 1673 a new fountain was placed there and supplied with water from the New River.[**] This was in connection with other alterations which marked the end of the bowling green's existence. Most of it was thrown into the Privy Garden, and in 1679 it is referred to* as "that place that was lately the Bowleing Greene, and formerly the Orchard in Whitehall." The portion including the fountain is alluded to in 1683 as "the fountain garden."† In 1714 the fountain was filled up in connection with the improvement of the approaches to Richmond House.‡

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[*] "Braswoorke viz^{t} for a brasse foote for the fountayne in the orchard . . . a libard of bras for the same . . . twoe new quills for his head . . . mending twoe olde feete and the Lyon and the washer in the bowle of the same fountayne." (P.R.O., E. 351/3255.) This fountain is apparently the one which was provided in 1570: "for making of a fountayne in the Orchard at Westm' . . . by a privay Seale dated the fifte of August, 1570." (B.M. Egerton MS. 2723, fo. 5.)

[†] "Takeing downe as much of the old wall of the orchard as was loose towards the Thames, newe Joynting and setting the same" (1629–30). (P.R.O., E. 351/3263.)

[‡] P.R.O., E. 317, Midd., No. 48.

[§] "South" and "east" should be "east" and "north."

[||] "Whereas George Glasbrooke is sworne & admitted Dorekeeper in his Ma^{ts} Bowleing Greene formerly ye Orchard at Whitehall," etc. (P.R.O., L.C. 5/140, p. 20.) It is possible that a reference to the alteration is contained in the following enigmatical item, dated October, 1660—"A bowlinge beare [?] was made att the lower end of the longe Stone Gallery in Whitehall." (B.M. Add. MS. 10116.)

[¶] "For makeing . . . a Pallizado Pall round about the Bowling greene." (P.R.O., A.O. 1/2434/87—1662–3.)

[**] "Charges in takeing Downe the tarras Walke betwixt the Privie garden and the bowling greene at Whitehall, and Encloseing part of ye said bowleing greene with a brickewall for ye makeing of a fountaine there, begunn in August 1673 . . . digging a trench in ye ground for ye makeing of a bricke shore from ye thames to the fountayne" (P.R.O., Works, 5/24); "laying of Pipes from Chareing cross to the Fountaine in the Bowling Greene at Whitehall to bring the new river water thither." (*Ibid.*, 5/25.)

The plan on p. 229 shows that the site of the "mansion place" and brewhouse belonging to The Lamb was in due course occupied by the house marked on the plan of 1670 as in the occupation of Lady Villiers, and it is possible to trace the early history of that house.

Among the perquisites attached to the office of Keeper of the Palace at the time of the appointment of George Bredyman in 1558§ was "one messuage . . . lying near the said great garden [Privy Garden] in which John Hunter *alias* Hans Hunter . . . now lives." In the Ministers' Accounts for a series of years this house figures as a "tenement . . . adjoining the great orchard and garden of the Palace," late in the tenure of Hunter. Hunter was the King's armourer, and the tenement had been granted to him for life, rent-free, "to work in and to use the same for le storehouse." In the next grant of office of keeper which has been found (that to Viscount Rochester in 1611) the corresponding entry refers to "all that messuage . . . situate . . . near . . . the new orchard . . . now or late in the possession of John, Lord Stewart, Baron of Kenclevin, and formerly in the occupation of Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham," and a similar entry occurs in the grant of the office to the Earl of Montgomery (afterwards Earl of Pembroke) in 1616.

The identity of Hunter's house with that of Howard and Kinclaven is capable of confirmation. An item in the accounts of the Paymaster of Works for 1600–1‖ runs: "The Ladie Southwell, for money by her L$^{a.}$

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* P.R.O., L.C. 5/143, p. 397. See also a reference in the same year to "putting in a Cant stepp at ye staires goeing from that w^{ch} was ye Bouleing greene by the Duches of Richmonds Lodg' next ye Thames." (P.R.O., Works, 5/32.)

† "Mending the plate lock of the gate going out of the privy garden into the fountain garden." (*Ibid.*, 5/35, March, 1682–3.) The extension of the Privy Garden is shown in Morden and Lea's Map of 1682 and is alluded to by Delaune (*Angliae Metropolis*, pubd. in 1690): ". . . the Delicate Privy Garden was lately enlarged towards the south, with a Pond of an Oval form, supplied with Water from Hide Park, where you may see the water shot, or forced up to a great height from the surface of the pond, and by its winding fall delights the Eye, and the Ear, with its pretty murmur." As pointed out above, the water was supplied from the New River, not from Hyde Park.

‡ "These are to signify His Majesty's pleasure that his Grace the Duke of Richmond, the Earls of Marr and Lowdon have leave to pave one of the Gravell Walks in the Privy Garden at Whitehall for a Coachway to their Houses, and fill up the Fountain with the Rubbish of the Old Buildings, likewise to pave that part of ye Ground about the Fountain which is enclosed with a Raile, and to build a Lodge for a Porter at the Corner of the Railes." 30th October, 1714. (P.R.O., Works, 6/6, p. 27.)

§ P.R.O., C. 66/925.

‖ P.R.O., E. 351/3236.

layde out for the repayringe of the house called Hances* house, sometymes appointed for an Armorie, adioyninge to her Ma^{ts} Orcharde at Whitehall." Lady Southwell was Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Howard of Effingham. In 1604 she married, as her second husband, John Stewart, afterwards Lord Kinclaven.† This entry therefore equates the house of her husband, Lord Kinclaven, with Hances House, and shows that he obtained it through her from her father, Lord Howard.

Hunter's name (" Mr. Hans ") appears in the earliest book of overseers' accounts extant (for 1561–2), and continues until 1572 (" Hance Hunter "). His place is taken in the books for 1575 and 1579 by " widow Hunter." Kinclaven appears first in 1606 (as " Mr. of Orkney "), and afterwards at intervals until 1619, and his wife in 1625 and 1626. Lord Howard's name is not given.‡

An entry in the ratebooks for 1645 makes it probable that the Earl of Holland was then residing at the house.§

In 1650 a survey|| was made " of a Certaine Tenem^{t} . . . in King Streete adjoyninge to Whitehall garden." The house is described as: " All that Messuage or Tenem^{t} built wth brick and Covered wth Tyle, scituate . . . in King streete, adjoyninge to Whitehall garden on the East, consistinge of two Halles, 4 small Roomes or Butteryes, one Large Entry or Passage paved wth brick Tyle made like a Cloyster, and a Court Paved wth Purbeck stone. And at the south end of the Passage one Kitchen, one Pastery, one Larder, one scullery and one small Parlo^{r} Wainscoted, one washhouse and a small yard. And above stayres in the first story one Large and Comely Roome called the Dyneinge Roome, very well accomodated and fitted wth a Handsome Belcony, and one wthdrawinge Roome next adjoyninge to the same next the streete. Alsoe one Large and spacious Gallery, contayninge 55 feete in Length and 11 feete and $\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth, very well Wainscoted from the seelinge to the Gallery floore, well Lighted, seeled and floored. And three lodginge Chambers and one Closett. And in the second story 3 Chambers

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* There are one or two other references to " Hances House." See *e.g.* " To Roberte Cotton, yeoman of her Ma^{ts} Warderobe of Beddes for thallowaunce of ij^{o} officers of the Warderobe and two yeomen of the Chamber for making readie Haunces house at Westm for her Ma^{tie} . . . mense Decembr', 1585." (*Accounts of Treasurer of the Chamber.* P.R.O., E. 351/542.) That Hunter used Hans as a surname is apparent from the will of his widow, who described herself as Joan Hunter " *alias* Hans " and refers to her husband as John Hunter " *alias* Hans." (*Westminster Wills*, Elsam, 211.)

† John Stewart, son of the Earl of Orkney, was created Lord Kinclaven in 1607, and Earl of Carrick in 1628.

‡ His occupation of the house presumably dates from before 1596, for in that year he was created Earl of Nottingham.

§ Henry Rich, created Earl of Holland in 1624, had apartments at Whitehall as early as 1627 (" new matting of 4 roomes in the E. of Holland his Lodgeinge in Whitehall "—P.R.O., L.C. 5/132, p. 2, March, 1627–8), but they were in the main portion of the Palace (" the dore in my lord of Hollands lodgeings that leads into the Privy Galleryes ")—*Ibid.*, p. 221. The house by the orchard had evidently been assigned to him by the Parliament, whose side he was, for the time, adopting.

|| P.R.O., E. 317, Midd., 48.

next the streete, and one Garrett devided into three Roomes. And above the same one garett devided into 5 little Roomes. The said house contayninge by admeasurem^{t} from King streete west to Whitehall orchard east 82 feete of assize, and from S^{r} William Armyns house north to Mr. Harpers south 40^{tie} feete. Now in the occupacion of Collonell Whalley,[*] and is worth per ann lxx^{li} . . . M^{dd} one S^{r} Roger Palmer claymeth to hold the aforesaid Tenem^{t}, and as wee are informed hath many yeares yet to Come, but his tytle hee hath not made out to us."

In 1657 Sir Roger Palmer[†] died, leaving[‡] to his brother, Sir James Palmer,[§] all his property "in the Cittie of London, Westminster, or the Suburbs of either of them." Shortly afterwards Sir James himself died. By his will,[||] dated 3rd December, 1657, he bequeathed to his younger son, Roger, "one mesuage or Tenement scituate in King-street, now in the Tenure of Colonell Whaley, which I hold by Lease."

On 14th April, 1659, Roger Palmer married Barbara Villiers, daughter of William Villiers, second Viscount Grandison. In the following year came the Restoration, and on 13th July, 1660, Pepys records that he stayed late at Lord Sandwich's lodgings,[¶] "and great doings of music at the next house, *which was Whally's*; the King and Dukes there with Madame Palmer, a pretty woman that they have a fancy to."

In December, 1661, Palmer, for no merits of his own, and indeed quite against his wishes, was made an Irish peer with the title of Earl of Castlemaine. In June, 1662, the countess's eldest son, Charles, afterwards Duke of Cleveland, was born "at her house in King Street, Westminster,"[**] and a violent quarrel, occasioned by the earl having the child baptised as a Roman Catholic, led to the separation of husband and wife. The countess remained at the King Street house, and on 6th October, 1662, Pepys, on visiting Sandwich's lodgings, found "my Lord was not within, being at a ball this night with the King at my Lady Castlemaine's at next door." Other references to Lady Castlemaine's residence here occur in the Diary under dates of (i) 1st January, 1662–3, when Pepys tells us, on the authority of Lord Sandwich's housekeeper, "how the King sups at least four or five times every week with my Lady Castlemaine; and most often stays till the morning with her, and goes home through the garden [*i.e.* the Privy Garden]* all alone privately, and that so as the very centrys take notice of it and speak of it," and (ii) 1st February, 1662–3, when, "walking in White Hall garden," Pepys saw "the King coming privately from my Lady Castlemaine's; which is a poor thing for a prince to do." On 11th May, 1663, he states, on the authority of Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, that "my Lady Castlemaine hath now got lodgings near the King's chamber at Court," but an entry in the records† dated November, 1663, relating to "workeing up a stack of Chimnys from the leads at the Countess of Castlemains lodgings *by the bouling greene*," suggests that she was still at the house. By the beginning of 1664 she had moved to rooms over the Holbein Gate.

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[*] Edward Whalley, regicide, grandson of Sir Henry Cromwell, and therefore first cousin to both Oliver Cromwell and John Hampden. He served with distinction in the Civil War. On the Restoration he escaped to the American Colonies, and died in concealment about 1675.

[†] Second son of Sir Thomas Palmer "the Travailer." He was Master of the Household to Charles I.

[‡] *P.C.C.*, 453, Ruthen.

[§] Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. A personal friend of Charles I. He was an amateur artist of some merit, and assisted the King in the formation of his picture collection.

[||] *P.C.C.*, 129, Wotton.

[¶] Sandwich's lodgings, which included the King Street Gate and premises on both sides of the road, will be dealt with in the next volume.

[**] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

The first entry in the ratebooks after the Restoration that is recognisable as referring to the house occurs in 1669, when "the lady Villiers"‡ is shown there, and her name continues until 1671. In 1672 the premises were in the occupation of the Board of Trade and Plantations.§ On 29th August, 1674, the King granted|| to George, 4th Viscount Grandison, and Edward Villiers, Esq.,¶ "all that Messuage . . . scituate . . . next or neare our Garden . . . lately in the Occupation of Dame Barbara Villiers, deceased, and now in the possession of Henry Brouncker Esquire** . . . notwithstanding the illreciteing . . . of any Demise or Graunt made of the premisses . . . to Phillip, late Earl of Mountgomery, Elizabeth Stewart and Margarett Stewart." The two latter were respectively the wife and the daughter of Lord Kinclaven, and the reference confirms the identification of the house with that occupied by him.

The house seems to have lasted about 16 years longer. On 5th April, 1704, an indenture†† between Thomas and Abraham Blackmore witnessed that the former was seised of an inheritance in fee simple of a piece of ground "betweene her Maj$^{\text{tie's}}$ Privye Garden & a street commonly called Kings-street," on which six tenements had been built. Leases of it had been granted on 11th and 12th February, 1690–1. On

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* The Privy Garden was very convenient for Lady Castlemaine's domestic purposes. Pepys records under date of 21st May, 1662: "In the Privy Garden saw the finest smocks and linnen petticoats of my Lady Castlemaine's, laced with rich lace at the bottom, that ever I saw; and did me good to look upon them."

† P.R.O., Works, 5/4.

‡ Barbara, widow of Sir Edward Villiers, who died in 1626, and grandmother of the Countess of Castlemaine. She is shown in occupation of the house in the plan of 1670.

§ "Dr. B. Worsley, secretary to the new Council for Trade and Plantations [informs] . . . the secretary of the late Council . . . that their Lordships meet at ten every Wednesday and Friday morning at Lady Villiers' House, King Street, near Whitehall." (*Cal. of S.P., Dom.*, 1672–3, pp. 213–14.)

|| P.R.O., L.R. 1/62, f. 53.

¶ Two of Lady Castlemaine's uncles. Edward (afterwards Sir Edward) Villiers was ancestor of the Earls of Jersey.

** Presumably the brother of William, 2nd Viscount Brouncker, the friend of Pepys. Henry, who had a particularly unsavoury reputation, succeeded to the title in 1684 and died in 1688.

†† P.R.O., C. 54/4929.

20th February, 1745–6, John Bridges sold[*] the premises to the Westminster Bridge Commissioners, and the description of them as abutting north " on a Messuage . . . made use of for a publick office by his Majestys Commissioners of Trade and Plantations," who had by that time removed to the old residence of the Earl of Sandwich (see p. 233), makes the identification of the property with the site of Lady Villiers' house certain.[†] It thus appears that the latter had been pulled down in 1690–1 and the site occupied by six houses, and that these in turn were purchased in 1746 and demolished in connection with the formation of Parliament Street.

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[*] *Ibid.*, 5740.

[†] The dimensions are not quite the same—86 and 45 feet against 82 and 40 feet—but a striking confirmation occurs in the fact that Bridges was charged with a fee farm rent of 10s. in respect of the property, which is the amount reserved in the grant to Grandison and Villiers.

CHAPTER 23

HOUSES IN THE BOWLING GREEN

Before the restoration.

The only buildings which the plan of 1670 shows in the Bowling Green are (A) the house of the Duke of Richmond by the waterside, and (B) a number of buildings along the west wall, some of which are marked as in the occupation of "The Lady Sears."

Allusions, before the Restoration, to buildings in (what was then) the Orchard are as follows:—

(i) In 1609–10 a reference occurs to "bringing upp wth brickes the foundacion and walls of the firste story of a newe lodginge in the Orcharde for Mr. Whitfeilde."*

(ii) In 1635 are three warrants:† (*a*) for payment of £40 "unto Andrew Bright for lodgeing the Earle of Morton at his house in ye Orchard" for the year ended 30th September, 1634, (*b*) for payment of £52 for the same purpose for the following year, and (*c*) "for reparacion of the Corner Lodgeing in ye Orchard at Whitehall."

(iii) According to the Parliamentary Survey of 1650 (see p. 230) there was then one building in the Orchard namely, "one small Garden house much Decayed and out of repaire, formerly used to keepe fruite in."

(iv) In Lady Fanshawe's account,‡ written in 1676, of what happened to her husband after the Battle of Worcester in 1651, she says: "Thus we passed the time until order came to carry him to Whitehall, where, in a little room yet standing in the bowling-green, he was kept prisoner . . . ten weeks, and in expectation of death. They often examined him, and at last he grew so ill in health by the cold and hard marches he had undergone, and being pent up in a room close and small, that the scurvy brought him almost to death's door. During the time of his imprisonment, I failed not constantly to go when the clock struck four in the morning with a dark lantern in my hand all alone and on foot, from my lodging in Chancery Lane, at my cousin Young's, to Whitehall, in at the entry that went out of King Street into the bowling-green. There I could go under his window and softly call him."

(v) A report§ undated, but later than February, 1654–5, on the petition of John King, deputy to the serjeant-at-arms, for recompense for having been deprived of "a house in Whitehall orchard," which had been provided for him by "the late Council of State," and the repair of which had cost him £40, explains that the lodgings in question were "John Kendrick's rooms in Whitehall." John Kendrick *alias* Hendrick *alias* Henry was keeper of the Orchard.* The report goes on to say that King had been turned out in order to provide rooms for Oliver Cromwell's "family" (*i.e.* his servants). In this connection it is rather significant that the ratebook for 1649 gives the names of "Captaine Middleton" and "Lieutenant Gen. Cromwell" between the names of Whalley, who occupied "Hances House," and Mary Harper, who lived in the next house to the south. This suggests that Middleton and Cromwell were rated for buildings in the orchard behind the other two houses. Middleton was in charge of the privy garden,† and his name continues in the ratebooks until the Restoration.

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* P.R.O., E. 351/3244.

† P.R.O., L.C. 5/134, pp. 43, 93, 87.

‡ *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe* (ed. Sir H. Nicolas, 1829), p. 116.

§ P.R.O., S.P. 25/102, p. 196.

It is impossible, with the above evidence, to identify definitely the buildings mentioned with any individual buildings shown on the plan of 1670. (iv) at any rate must be comprised in (B), for Lady Fanshawe describes it as still standing in 1676, and the evidence goes to show that (A) (see p. 243) was erected *after* the Restoration. It is possible that all, except perhaps (iii), were comprised in (B), though how far they are to be identified with one another is uncertain. In any case the implication in the Parliamentary survey that (iii) was the only building in the Orchard at that time is difficult to explain.

Houses of Lady Sayers (Sears) and Kirke.

The first reference in the records to the house of Lady Sayers‡ that has been found is in 1677.§ In 1679 an order was issued for the house to be given up.|| Whether this was acted on or not is uncertain, but in 1687 the property was still in her name.¶

In 1706 Samuel Bircs applied** for a lease of a "small peece of Ground

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* "Whereas John Henry, keeper of his Ma^{ts} Orchard at Whitehall, being commanded to give Attendance at the Gate leading into Kings Street and at the Water Gate to lett in & out such Lords and other his Ma^{ts} servants of Quality as have occasion continually to passe those wayes, for which service He being constrayned to keepe a servant Extraordinary doth therefore pray the allowance of Three shillings fower pence p. diem." 28th September, 1638. (P.R.O., L.C. 5/134, p. 271.)

† "That Capt. Middleton be ordered to keep the privy garden in order . . . That his lodgings be repaired at the public charge as formerly." 24th October, 1649. (P.R.O., S.P. 25/3, p. 34.)

‡ Lady Sayers was Dame Catherine, widow of Sir John Sayers. On the death of her husband she was granted a continuance, for life, of the pension of £200 a year allowed to him "for loyalty and good service." (*Cal. of S.P., Dom.*, 1667, p. 493.)

§ "Whereas a Window is lately made looking into His Ma^{ts} privy Garden, neere unto the Lady Sayers Lodgings, which is a great offence to these Lodgings and a nusance to the Court: These are to pray and require you to cause the same window to bee stopped." 7th August, 1677. (P.R.O., L.C. 5/142, p. 106.)

|| "These are to require you to give possession to Phillip Kirke, Esq. Housekeeper of Whitehall, of ye House wherein ye Lady Sayres now liveth, behind ye Privy Garden where formerly was ye Bowleing greene, with ye shedds thereunto belonging. . . . To be shewed to ye Lady Sayres." 4th December, 1679. (P.R.O., L.C. 5/143, p. 414.)

¶ "A House in the name of My Lady Sayers Rented out to ye Earle of Middleton; a house belonging to the sayd Lady Sayers Rented out to Visc^{t} Melford." (P.R.O., T. 54/12, p. 46.)

** P.R.O., Ind. 4622, p. 204.

with a ruinated Tenem^t & some shedds thereon, lying on the South Side of a Tenem^t on Lease to Piercy Kirke, neare the Pallace of Whitehall, where formerly was a Bowling Greene." This was obviously the Sayers property which lay to the south of Kirke's premises (see below). Nothing was done, and the premises fell still further into decay.

In 1734, Edmund Jenkins petitioned* for and obtained a lease of "an old ruinous Building in Whitehall." These premises, it was stated, had been formerly the lodgings of Lady Sayers. Since her death they had been held by several persons successively without any legal title, and the then occupier paid no rent, "nor does she know where her pretended Landlords are." No repairs had been carried out, and the houses had "become uninhabitable unless by very poor People." The ground is described as 38 feet 6 inches long by 27 feet wide. Between it and the adjoining property belonging to Kirke was a portion of ground which had been encroached on by the latter, which is not described, but would appear from the plan to be about 12 feet by 19 feet.

The property of Kirke first meets us in 1679, when Percy Kirke† presented a petition‡ recalling that the King had granted to his mother during her life a little lodging for her servants standing on the outside of the Bowling Green. Her interest in this she had given to him. The buildings were now old and falling down, and he asked for a lease of an additional 4 feet of ground to enable him to rebuild them properly. In 1682 accordingly a grant§ was made to "Peircy Kirke Esquire" of "all that peice or parcell of ground and the old shedd or lodging . . . now or late in the possession . . . of Mary Kirke, widdowe . . . in or neare that part of our Royall Pallace of Whitehall where the old Bowling Greene was formerly used. Which said peice . . . of ground containes in breadth from east to west eighteene foote . . . including the wall towards Kings Street, and in length from north to south fourty six foote . . . fronting on the east side towards the said Bowling Greene, and abbutting on the west side upon the yards of the houses which front to King Street, at the south end upon a shedd wherein the lady Saiers now lives, and at the north end upon the Fountaine Wall there." The lease was for 41 years.||

On Kirke's death in 1691 the property passed to his widow, Lady

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* P.R.O., T. 55/3, p. 216.

† Better known to history as "Col. Kirke" of "Kirke's Lambs," which gained notoriety in the Monmouth rebellion. He was son of George Kirke, appointed housekeeper of Whitehall in 1663. On the death of the latter, his other son, Philip, was appointed in 1679. He died in 1687, and his brother "Col. Piercy Kirke" was made housekeeper in his place. (*Cal. of Treasury Books*, 1685–9, p. 1558.) Kirke (then lieutenant-general) died in 1691. He was probably succeeded as housekeeper of the Palace by his son, Percy, who certainly held that position in 1703. (*Cal. of Treasury Papers*, 1702–7, p. 216.)

‡ *Cal. of Treasury Books*, 1679–80, p. 150.

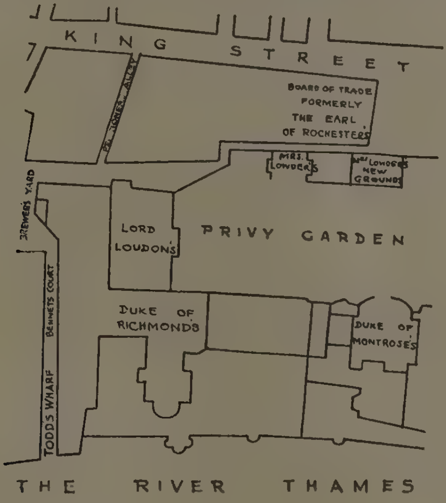
§ P.R.O., C. 66/3233, 34 Chas. II.

|| The house is mentioned in the list of lodgings at Whitehall compiled in 1691, as "a new house, built at his ["Col. Kirke's"] own charge, conteining 11 roomes with garretts."

Mary.* Apparently she did not herself occupy the house, which was rented by the King at £100 a year for the use of her mother-in-law.†

In 1717 a further lease was granted‡ to Kirke's son, Percy, to expire in 1748. Before that date arrived, however, he applied for an extension, and in 1738 he was granted a reversionary term of 40 years to expire in 1788.§ This never materialised, as in 1746 both Lady Sayers' and Kirke's buildings were acquired|| in connection with the Parliament Street improvement, and were demolished.

At some date which has not been precisely ascertained¶ a narrow passage had been formed to the east of these buildings, leading to Brewer's Yard and thence to Cannon Row (see plan reproduced below), cutting them off from what remained of the Bowling Green (then part of the Privy Garden).


KING STREET
BOARD OF TRADE FORMERLY THE EARL OF ROCHESTER'S
PE. JONES ALLEY
MRS. LOWDER'S
MRS LOWDER'S NEW GROUND
BREWER'S YARD
LORD LOUDON'S
PRIVY GARDEN
BENNETS COURT
DUKE OF RICHMOND'S
DUKE OF MONTROSE'S
TODDS WHARF
THE RIVER THAMES

House of Mrs. Lowther.

On the other (east) side of the passage Mrs. Jane Lowther held a narrow strip of property, extending from the termination of Kirke's premises

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* Daughter of George Howard, 4th Earl of Suffolk. She died in 1712.

† See report on petition by Mrs. Kirke in 1700–1. (*Cal. of Treasury Papers*, 1697–1701/2, p. 456.) In 1692 the house was occupied by Mr. Shales (see note on p. 240).

‡ P.R.O., T. 54/24, p. 139.

§ P.R.O., T. 55/4, p. 422.

|| (i) Indenture, dated 16th December, 1746, between James Sawcer and Rachel his wife, widow of Edward Jenkins, *and* Taylor White (*Middx. Memls.*, 1746, I. 668); (ii) Indenture dated 15th December, 1746 between Francis Vincent and others *and* Taylor White. (*Ibid.*, 1746, II. 739.)

¶ It was certainly before 1717, when the house of the Earl of Loudoun was described as bounded on the west by "a passage leading out of the Privy Garden to Channell Row." The passage was enclosed by the Duke of Richmond in 1785, when it was stated to "have been a public passage for at least 70 years." (P.R.O., T. 55/21, p. 402.)

(marked by the kink in the passage) a distance of 214 feet to the north. The original grant* of 1719 was in respect of "a small piece of ground in the Privy Garden . . . scituate in the south-west part of the said Privy Garden, and is enclosed with a pale on the north and east sides, and with a brick wall on the south and west sides, and is bounded by other part of the said Privy Garden north & east, and by a passage leading from the said Privy Garden to Channel Row west and south, and is in length from north to south 144 feet, and in breadth from east to west 28 feet." In 1733, hearing that it was proposed "to build stables against the wall of the Privy Garden," Mrs. Lowther applied† for leave to enclose a further portion of ground extending 70 feet from her wall, for the purpose of a garden, and a fresh lease, including the additional ground, was granted.

Mrs. Lowther's house also was pulled down in connection with the formation of Parliament Street.

Houses of the Earls of Loudoun and Mar.

In 1673 instructions were given‡ to Sir Christopher Wren to "cause to bee erected for the Hono^{ble} William Paston Esq^{r}., [son and heir of Robert, Viscount, afterwards Earl of, Yarmouth] a new building in the bowleing Greene next the Wall on the south side," and on 23rd December, 1676, a 31 years' lease of the site was granted.§ In this the ground was described as "lying . . . in a certain place or garden there called the Bowleing Greene . . . bounding west on the wall of a certain building or house now building by the Earl of Oxford, and extending west from the said wall of the building . . . 54 feet and in width in the middle of the said piece 54 feet and abutting upon the old wall of the palace or garden . . . towards the south."

The earliest reference to the Earl of Oxford's house mentioned above is on 22nd January, 1674–5, when instructions were issued to "cause a Dore to be made and opened out of ye House where Mr. Pelham Humfryes lately dwelt into that place which was lately ye Bowleing Greene at Whitehall, for ye perticular use of ye Right hono^{ble} Earle of Oxford."‖ This suggests that the earl's new house was on the site of that of Pelham Humfrey.¶

In 1687 the Scottish Secretaries (Lords Melfort and Middleton) were lodging in two of the houses belonging to Lady Sayers (see p. 237). Shortly afterwards, however, the Earl of Melfort built** a large house for their use, apparently upon the site of the houses of Paston (now Earl of Yarmouth) and Oxford, both of whom protested.* Melfort fled the country at the Revolution, leaving the house unfinished. In the list of lodgings at Whitehall compiled in 1691 it is described as "conteining 14 larg roomes, 8 garrets and cellers and offices below staires," and mentioned as being in the occupation of the "Earle of Oxford."† It would seem that the earl had been reinstated for a time after the Revolution.

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* See report on her petition. (P.R.O., T. 54/25, p. 266.)

† P.R.O., T. 55/3, p. 3.

‡ P.R.O., L.C. 5/140, p. 323

§ P.R.O., L.R. I, pp. 62, 73.

‖ P.R.O., L.C. 5/141, p. 111.

¶ The door was first opened in 1673, when it was said to be for the use of Humfrey "and ye Children of his Ma^{ties} Chappell." (P.R.O., L.C. 5/140, p. 344.) Pelham Humfrey was a noted musician and composer in Charles II's reign. He was appointed master of the children in 1672, and died in 1674.

** "These are to . . . require you to open the Doore in the Privy Garden Wall belonging to the House lately Leiuetenant Generall Kirkes in which Mr. Shales lives now, being on the back side of the Great House *built by the Earle of Melfort*." 4th April, 1692. (P.R.O., L.C. 5/151, p.52.)

On 15th April, 1692, an order was issued‡ "to deliver ye possession of ye new Building at ye Lower end of ye Privy Garden . . . which was built particular for ye Sec^{ty} of State for ye kingdome of Scotland, unto James Johnstowne Esq., Sec^{ty} of State of y^{t} Kingdome, and y^{t} y^{u} give notice unto all persons who are now in any part of y^{t} Building to remove out of ye sd roomes within one Week, there being Imediate Use for them for theire Ma^{ties} Service."

The house was still incomplete in 1693,§ and apparently a good deal of the work which had been done had not been paid for.‖ In their capacity as joint Secretaries of State for Scotland the Earls of Loudoun and Mar occupied the house before the Union, and in 1705 they obtained an additional piece of land.¶ On the abolition of their office in 1707 they continued in the house, which they had divided and enlarged "for the better accommodation of two familys."** In 1714 they petitioned for a lease of the premises, and in 1717 separate leases of the two houses were granted respectively to the Earl of Loudoun and to Lord Cheyne, Viscount of Newhaven, in trust for Frances, " late " Countess of Mar.* Loudoun's house was described† as " scituate . . . in the Privy Garden . . . containing in front to the sd Privy Garden north 50 foot . . . and on the west abutts on a passage leading out of the Privy Garden to Channell Row, and on the east on the house now in the possession of the late Countess of Marr, together with a small yard thereto belonging ; " and the other house‡ as also " scituate . . . in the Privy Garden . . . containing in front to the said Privy Garden north 39 feet 6 inches . . . and in depth 50 feet . . . with a small yard & buildings to the south adjoyning thereto in length from east to west 27 feet and in depth at the east end 21 feet . . . and at the west end 18 feet."

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* (i) The petition of Aubrey, Earl of Oxford, "sheweth that his late Ma^{ty} granted him a peice of Ground neare the Bowleing Green . . . during the lives of the Pet^{r} and Diana his wife, and layd a foundacion for a house w^{ch} cost him 500l. And being informed his Ma^{ty} intends to turn that ground to other uses Submits his pretentions to his Ma^{ty} and hopes his Ma^{ty} will not let him loose his money layd out." 2nd June, 1688. (P.R.O., Ind. 4619, p. 270.) (ii) "Nov. 3, 1690. Mr. Paston is called in about his pretensions to the part of the ground on which the Scotch Secretary's Office is built. He says the Earl of Yarmouth has a grant of part of that ground. He is desired to bring the patent to my Lords that it may be examined and he promises so to do." (*Cal. of Treasury Books*, 1689–90, p. 423.)

† The name was subsequently altered to "Ld. Murrey and Sir James Ogleby." "Sir James Ogilvie, who is made one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland, is expected here in a day or 2 from Edenburg, and Mr. Johnson, the late Secretary, will remove this week out of the Lodgings in White-hall, where the said Office is kept, to make room for him." (*The Post-Boy* 15th–18th Feby, 1695–6.)

‡ P.R.O., L.C. 5/151, p. 58.

§ "Henry Guy to Sir Christopher Wren for an estimate for the finishing the house belonging to the Secretary of State for Scotland near the Privy Garden." 13th January, 1692[–3]. (*Cal. of Treasury Books*, 1693, p. 12.)

‖ Reference to Wren of the petition of Abraham Jordan, carpenter, shewing that £1000, is due to him on account of building the Scotch house in Whitehall, and praying to be paid out of the Earl of Melfort's goods now in the hands of the sheriff. (*Ibid.*, p. 54.)

¶ (i) "Her Majesty having been pleas'd to give leave to ye Secretarys of State of Scotland to take in part of the Ground att the upper end of the Privy Garden in Whitehall att their own Charge: These are to Pray and Require you to permitt them to take in the said ground . . . and to make use of such Materialls as are upon the place." 31st December, 1705. (P.R.O., L.C. 5/154, p. 135.) (ii) "Tuesday, 8th Januar. [1705–6]. Her majestie has ordered that end of the privy garden where the fountain stands to be walled in and laid to the house belonging to the secretary's of Scotland." (Luttrell's *Brief Relation*.)

** P.R.O., Ind. 4623, p. 196.

The Loudoun lease was renewed in 1734 and 1758, and the Earls of Loudoun continued to reside at the house until at least 1762, when the ratebook entries terminate.

The Countess of Mar became insane, and in 1729 her brother-in-law, James Erskine, Lord Grange, obtained an extension of the lease until 1779 in his own name. He afterwards assigned his interest to Nathaniel Gould.§ In 1764 Frances Erskine, daughter and only child of the Countess of Mar, obtained a further lease|| of the premises to expire in 1802.

In 1715 the Earl of Mar was apparently in occupation of the house.¶ According to the ratebooks the Marchioness of Annandale** was there from 1723 to 1726, from 1730 to 1746 " Madam Crowley,†† and from 1751 to 1762 Thomas Morgan.‡‡

In 1766 the house seems to have been in the occupation of the Rt. Hon. Hans Stanley. According to Hutchinson he lived in " a large house in Privy Gardens joining to Lord Loudouns."§§ A letter from

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* Mar had in 1715 joined the Old Pretender and forfeited his earldom. The Countess appealed to the King in December, 1715 to allow the grant to pass in view of her own innocence and added : " je suis reduite apresent à un etat deplorable, n'ayant point de maison, ni rien pour Subsister pour moy ni mon enfant." (P.R.O., Ind. 4623, p. 301.)

† P.R.O., T. 54/24, p. 235.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

§ Indenture, dated 6th January, 1730–1. (*Middx. Memls.*, 1731, II, 152.)

|| P.R.O., T. 55/12, p. 163.

¶ Letter, dated 6th July, 1715, from the Earl of Mar at " his house in Whitehall." (*Hist. MSS. Commn.*, Stuart MSS., p. 525.)

** The Annandales seem to have been at the house before the death of the Marquess in 1721. See note under date of 22nd June, 1720 of the baptism of " Lord George Johnstone, son to . . . Marquess of Annandale . . . born the 29th day of May in *Privy Garden.*" (*Parochial Rates Trial*, p. 80.)

†† In a deed of 1734, relating to the house (*Middx. Memorials*, 1734, II, 60) it is said to be " now in the possession of Theodosia Crowley, widow."

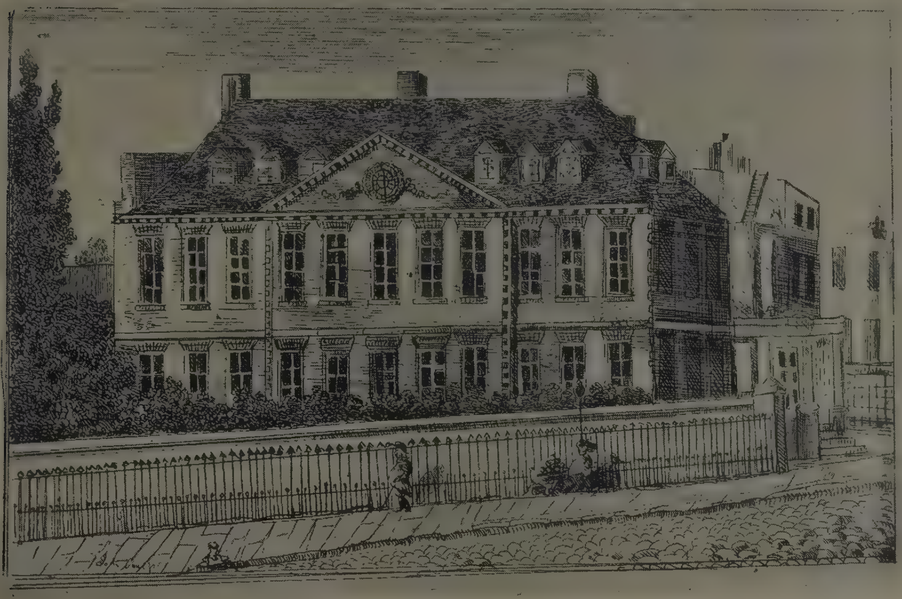
‡‡ " Read a report from the Board of Works in which they propose the House in the Privy Garden adjoyning to Lord Lowden's as a proper place for an office for Mr. Morgan, the Judge Advocate (till his office at the Horse Guards shall be Rebuilt), at a Lease for seven years certain, to be repaired by the Land-lord, and a year's notice, at 170*l.* a year." This was agreed to for a term of 5 years. (P.R.O., T. 29/30, Treas. Min., p. 388—24th March, 1746–7.)

§§ *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson*, II, p. 326.

him, dated 1st October in that year, was written from "Privy Garden."*

At some date after 1766† and before 1790 both the Loudoun and Mar houses were purchased by the Duke of Richmond, and in the latter year were occupied by Lord George Lennox, his brother and Charles Lennox, the latter's son, who in 1806 succeeded his uncle as duke.

The houses persisted until after 1820 when they were removed to make way for Richmond Terrace. A view of them shortly before demolition is here reproduced.



The first Richmond House.

The first Richmond House is shown on the plan of 1670 as situated on the water side at the east end of the Bowling Green. The fact that it is not mentioned in the survey of the orchard taken in 1650 (see p. 230) makes it probable that it was not then in existence. There is indeed little doubt that it is the building referred to as "the new house in the bowling Greene" in an order‡ for a lease to Sir Charles Berkeley on 24th January, 1661–2.

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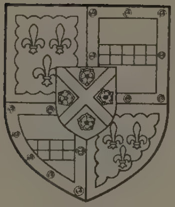
* *Correspondence of the Earl of Chatham* (1838 edn.), III, p. 82.

† From an inquisition held on 13th March, 1766, on the suicide of Sarah Riley in her apartment "in the dwelling house of the . . . Earl of Loudoun, situate and being in Privy Garden" it is clear that Loudoun was in that year still in possession. (*Parochial Rates Trial*, p. 64.)

‡ P.R.O., S.P. 44/5, p. 135.

It is there described as " a new erected house of Building of Brick, Scituate . . . within a parcell of ground formerly knowne by the name of the old Orchard belonging to our R^{ll} place of Whitehall, and now converted into a Bowling Greene or alley for our disport, the sd building consisting of 53 feet and 3 inches in the length and front thereof towards the West and of 22 foot and 9 inches in the Ends or extreames lying North and South together with 4 feet of ground to extend from and to goe round the foundacion of the said Structure . . . and to be for the incloasing or railing in of the same."

Seven months later Pepys used the building as a place of vantage from which to view the procession of the King and Queen coming from Hampton Court.* " So we fairly walked it to White Hall and through my Lord's lodgings we got into White Hall garden, and so to the Bowling green, and up to the top of the new Banqueting House there, over the Thames, which was a most pleasant place as any I could have got."



Charles Stuart, Duke of Richmond.

The date when the Duke of Richmond first occupied the house has not been ascertained, but it must have been before February, 1666–7.† Although the general description and the width of the building erected for Sir Charles Berkeley correspond with those of the structure shown on the plan of 1670, the length measurement is considerably less. The house was therefore either enlarged or rebuilt by the duke.‡ The duke and duchess took up their residence there in August, 1668.§ In the latter part of 1672, while the duke was ambassador to the Danish Court, the house was again enlarged.|| At the end of the year the duke died, but the duchess (" la Belle Stuart ") continued to reside in the house until her death, which occurred in October, 1702.¶

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* *Diary*, 23rd August, 1662.

† See warrant, dated 28th February, 1666–7, quoted on p. 60.

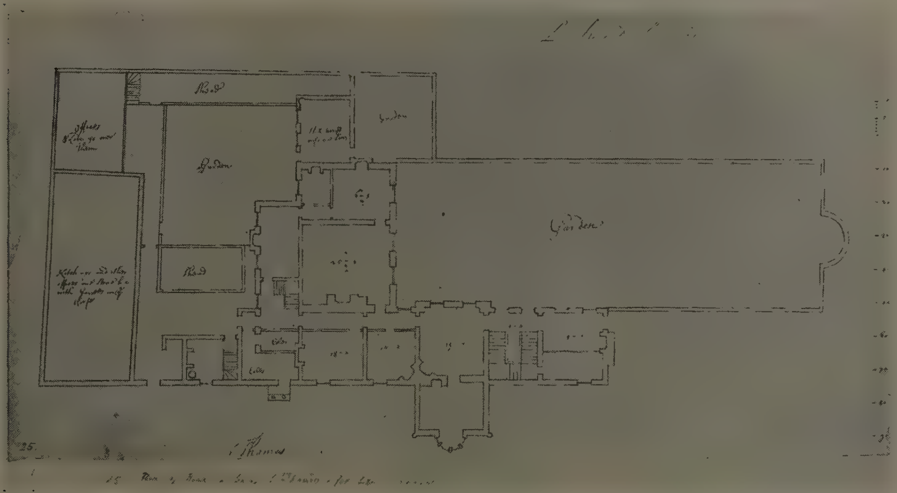
‡ It is probably to this work that Pepys refers under date of 9th September, 1668 : " I find him [the duke] at his lodgings in the little building in the bowling-green, at White Hall, that was begun to be built by Captain Rolt. They are fine rooms." It is also possible that an entry in the duke's accounts (B.M. Add. MS. 21950, f. 24) under date of 6th April, 1666 : " Rest due for the last new building at White halle—80.0.0 " refers to the completion of this work. This would be inconsistent with the statement by Lord Blantyre that the house had been built by the duchess (*Cal. of Treasury Papers*, 1708–14, p. 391), whose marriage did not take place until March, 1667, but possibly Blantyre had in mind the additions to the house made in 1672.

§ " The Duke and Duchess of Richmond have come to the house in the Bowling Green with a resolution to stay there altogether." (Letter dated 15th August, 1668, from John Swaddell in *Cal. of S.P., Dom.*, 1667–8, p. 535.)

|| " A Warr^{t} to ye Surveyor Generall . . . to erect & build such aditions of Roomes adioyning to his Grace the Duke of Richmonds lodgings in ye Bowleing greene at Whitehall as her Grace ye Dutchesse of Richmond shall direct." 5th September, 1672. (P.R.O., L.C. 5/140. In the list of lodgings at Whitehall drawn up in 1691 it is described as : " Dutchess of Richmond : In the Bowleing green on the left hand, her house conteining 28 roomes."

¶ " The late Dutchess of Richmond and Lenox's Pictures, Drawings and Lymnings, being a most Curious and Valuable Collection of the greatest Masters, viz. Raphael de Urbino, A few months later the house was taken over for official purposes. It was at first the residence of the Earl of Nottingham.*

Nottingham resigned the office of Secretary of State in 1704, and a plan of the house preserved in the Library of All Souls' College, entitled "L. Sunderland" suggests that the premises (which represent a large extension of the original house) were afterwards occupied by the latter when he became Secretary of State in 1706. If so, his residence was not of long duration, for the house was in 1708 appointed to be used as the office of the Comptrollers of Army Accounts.†



In 1738 the then Duke of Richmond sought to obtain the house, which lay between his own residence (the second Richmond House, see below) and the river. In the report‡ on his memorial the dimensions of the property

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Leonardi de Vinci etc. Drawings of Perin del Vago, Paolo Veronese etc Lymnings of Oliver, old Hoskins, Hilliard, Cooper and others, will be sold by Auction on Tuesday next the 17th Instant [November, 1702] at 10 in the forenoon, at her late Dwelling-House on the Thames side in the Privy-Garden by Whitehall. The Collection may be seen any time before the Sale." (*London Gazette*, No. 3862.)

* "Her Majesty having been pleased to give to the Earl of Nottingham, her Ma^ts Principall Secretary of State, the Lodgings and offices in Whitehall lately possessed by the Dutches of Richmond and Lenox, *etc.*" (20th March, 1702–3, P.R.O., L.C. 5/153, p. 345.) See also "An account of money [£643 10s. 3d.] laid out by the Earl of Nottingham for repairing the house of the late Dutchess of Richmond in the Privy Garden." (P.R.O., T. 98/1.) See further notice of baptism under date of 11th May, 1704; "Elizabeth Finch, daughter of the Right Honourable Daniel Earl of Nottingham by Ann his countess, born in Whitehall, in the house of the late Duchess of Richmond." (*Parochial Rates Trial*, p. 79.)

† "The lord treasurer has appointed Richmond house in the privy garden, to be fitted up for sir Phillip Meadows, and Mr. Brodrick, comptrollers of the accounts of the army, to keep their office." (Luttrell's *Brief Relation*, 26th June, 1708.)

‡ P.R.O., T. 55/4, p. 478.

were given as 247 feet by the water side, 93 feet at the south end and 86 feet at the north, and it was pointed out that " there are two old Houses standing thereon, in possession of the Rt. Hon^{ble} the Lord Middleton[*] and Sir Philip Meadows, in right of their Office of Comptroller of the Accounts of the Army, for whom it will be necessary some convenient Office be provided if Your Lordships shall think fit to grant the desired Lease." The two houses, which were " old and ruinous, supported by Buttresses," are shown in Lediard's map of 1740. The duke obtained his lease on 3rd November, 1738, but did not gain possession for some time, owing to difficulties in providing accommodation for Middleton and Meadows.[†] In due course the buildings were pulled down.

A good view of the house in 1683 is contained in the frontispiece to this volume.

The second Richmond House.

According to Wheatley and Cunningham,[‡] the site of the second Richmond House " was previously occupied by the apartments of the Duchess of Portsmouth." This is not quite correct, as the main portion of the duchess's lodgings adjoined the Stone Gallery. Certain of the out-buildings, however, were on the southern side of the Bowling Green,[§] and these formed the site of the second Richmond House. In 1710 the Duke of Richmond[||] applied for a lease " of the Old Buildings, Yards and Garden which he is now in possession of by her Ma^{ts} favour and the passages leading to and from the same . . . on part of which his Grace would build a New house to live in fronting . . . Privy Garden, and repair and support the Kitchen and other Offices and Buildings already Erected for his accomodacon.[¶] The plan accompanying the lease, which was duly granted, is reproduced on the opposite page.

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[*] According to the ratebooks the first house was occupied by Thos. Broderick from 1723 to 1730, by Lord Middleton in 1732, and by Mr. Pulse from 1733 to 1743.

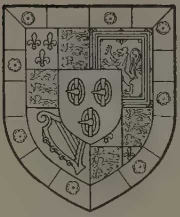
[†] The provision of rooms over the Treasury was approved in June, 1741, but the houses are not shown as vacant in the ratebooks until 1744.

[‡] *London Past and Present*, III, p. 162.

[§] " Charges in building a new kitchin in theBowling Greene for M^{rls} Carwell [*i.e.* Mmle. de Keroualle, created Duchess of Portsmouth in August, 1673] with severall offices belonging to it, and lodging roomes over them begun in May, 1672, & finished in February following." (P.R.O., Works, 5/20.) That the buildings lay on the side of the Bowling Green away from the Stone Gallery is evident from the fact that the works in connection with the provision of a fountain in the Bowling Green in 1674–5, included " takeing downe ye gravell walke from the Long Stone Gallery to the Dutchesse of Portsmouths Kitchin." (*Ibid.*, 5/25.)

[||] Charles Lennox, 1st Duke of Richmond (of the new creation), was eldest son of Charles II and the Duchess of Portsmouth. He was, of course, no relation whatever to the former Dukes of Richmond, whose title the King conferred on him some three years after the death of Charles Stuart, the 3rd and last Duke of the old creation (husband of " La Belle Stuart ") in 1672.

[¶] P.R.O., T. 54/21, p. 95.



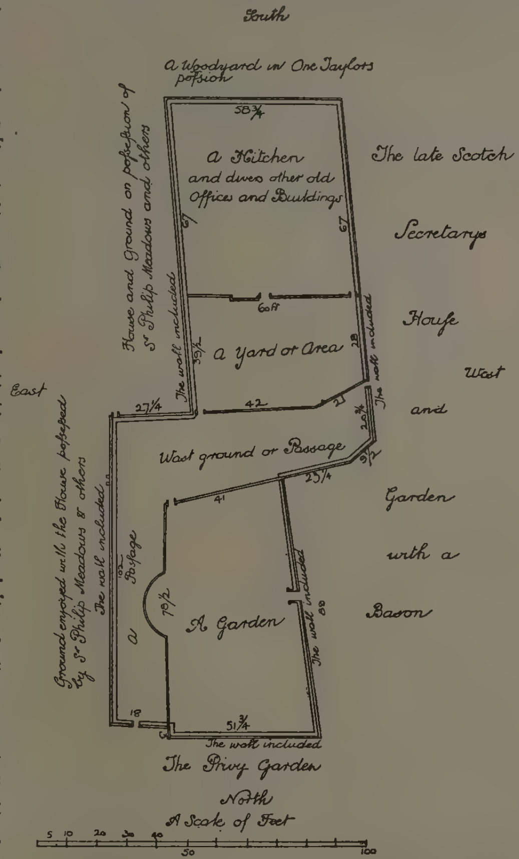
Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond.

The duke thereupon built the house,* immediately adjoining the premises of Loudoun and Mar, but projecting some little distance beyond.

In 1732 the 2nd Duke applied for a grant of the vacant ground between his courtyard and the Thames, in order to be in a position to prevent anyone else from building thereon, and so to preserve his view of the river. As, however, the ground was part of the way leading to the water stairs and to the office of the Comptrollers of the Army (the first Richmond House), the application was not granted, but a slip of ground, 65 feet by 2 feet, was leased to him for the purpose of erecting a wall.

Whether he availed himself of this permission or not there is no evidence to show, but a few years later his purpose was more effectually served by the grant of the first Richmond House (see above). The further extension of the premises by the reclamation by the duke, in conjunction with the Duke of Montagu, of the foreshore, has already been alluded to (see p. 215).

In 1758 the 3rd Duke, who had formed a large collection of original plaster casts from the best antique statues and busts at Rome and Florence, set apart a room for their exhibition, and threw them open for the use of students of painting, sculpture and engraving. Instruction was provided and silver medals offered for designs and bas-reliefs.†


South
a Woodyard in One Taylors poſsion
House and Ground on poſseſsion of Sr Philip Meadows and others
58¾
a Kitchen and divers other old Offices and Buildings
The late Scotch Secretarys Houſe
67
67
60ft
The wall included
39½
a Yard or Area
28
The wall included
East
27¼
42
23
20¼
The wall included
West and Garden with a Bason
Wast ground or Passage
9½
25¼
41
Ground enjoyed with the Houſe poſseſsed by Sr Philip Meadows & others
The wall included
102
a Paſsage
78½
A Garden
80
The wall included
18
5
51¾
The wall included
The Privy Garden
North
A Scale of Feet
5
10
20
30
40
50
100

On 2nd April, 1791, the duke obtained a fresh lease of all the premises (including the houses of Loudoun and Mar). A few months later (on 21st December) Richmond House was destroyed by a fire, which originated from a spark flying from the grate in a room on the second floor on to the bed furniture. The books and valuable busts in the library, as well as the pictures, were saved.†

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* According to Wheatley and Cunningham (*op. cit.*, III, p. 162) the house was built for the *second* Duke by the Earl of Burlington. Whatever share Burlington had in it, however, the house was certainly erected for the *first* Duke. "The Premises we have . . . surveyed & find they are scituate on the South end or side of the said Garden, and that the *said late Duke*, since his obtaining the said Grants, has erected a large house on the said peice of ground for his own Dwelling." (Report on the second Duke's application in 1732, P.R.O., T. 55/2, p. 422.)

† See *e.g.* the account in the *Annual Register*, 1758, pp. 84–5.

In the Council's collection are :—

- *The house formerly of the Earls of Loudoun and Mar (photograph of drawing preserved in the Westminster Public Library).
- *Plan of house and garden for Lord Sunderland (photograph of plan in Wren Collection, All Souls' College, Oxford).
- *Plan of ground to be leased to Duke of Richmond, 1710 (from plan preserved in Public Record Office).
- *View from the terrace of Richmond House in 1746 (photograph of painting by Canaletto in possession of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon).

* Reproduced here.

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† Full account in the *Annual Register* for that date.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

CHAPTER 24

RICHMOND TERRACE

GROUND LANDLORDS, ETC.

The premises are the freehold of the Crown, and are at present occupied by: No. 1, the Director of Public Prosecutions; No. 2, the Colonial Office; No. 3, Viscount St. Davids; Nos. 4 and 5, Mr. Walter Spencer Morgan Burns; Nos. 6–8, the Ministry of Labour.

DATE AND DESCRIPTION OF STRUCTURE.

The work of clearing the ruins of Richmond House was begun on 2nd January, 1792,[*] and the duke temporarily took up his residence in the house of his brother, Lord George Lennox[†] (see p. 243). Richmond House was never rebuilt.

In 1819 the 5th Duke intimated his willingness to consider an offer from the Crown for the purchase of the lease, which had still 22 years to run. Terms were arranged, and on 25th March, 1822, the duke disposed of his interest in the property.

Plans were forthwith prepared for the utilisation of the site by the erection of a terrace of houses on the southern side, and, in order to provide the necessary stable accommodation, the adjoining house in Parliament Street, with ground running down to the river, was purchased. On these two sites it was decided to erect "eight residences of the first class, and appropriate domestic and stable offices thereto, with a terrace at the north front of the houses and a mews in the rear of the stabling, besides allotting a considerable portion of pleasure ground next the river for the enjoyment of the occupiers of the new residences, and a suitable lodge and gates at the north-west angle of the ground, where the general access to the said terrace is to be made."[‡] A lease was accordingly granted for 99 years from 10th October, 1822, to George Harrison, who in due course built the eight houses known as Richmond Terrace.[§] The first entries in the *Post Office Directory* respecting the houses appear in the issue for 1826, and it may therefore be assumed that they were all occupied for the first time in 1825.

The exterior of the premises[||] is treated as an architectural composition with Greek details, and comprises a façade in brick and stone, with a central feature, comprising six Ionic columns embracing two storeys, and standing in advance of the main face, with a pedimented attic storey.* (Plates 115 and 116.) At either end of the block is a pavilion treatment comprising two columns between antae, with complementary effect to the return fronts. The eastern front (Plate 117), in addition, has a pediment containing a semi-circular window. The ground storey forms a rusticated podium pierced with semi-circular-headed openings. The two upper storeys contain square-headed windows, with stone dressings and plain brickwork to the general wall surface. The main entablature in stone is surmounted by a balustraded parapet screening the slated roof and dormers. The appearance, however, has been marred by openings made in the blocking course to increase the light to the attic windows. An iron balcony railing to the first-floor windows continues across the entire front and the two returns. The east side, in addition to the area, has a broad terrace with steps to the garden

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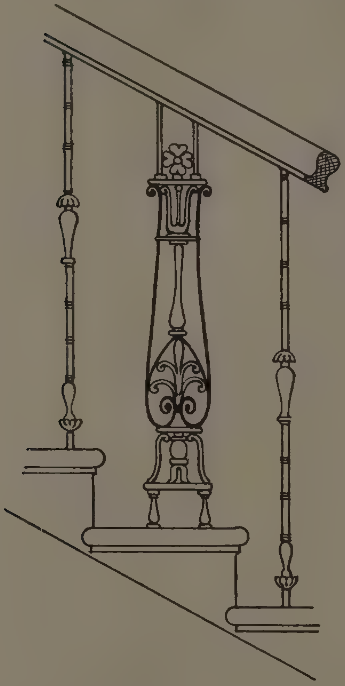
[*] *Morning Chronicle*, 3rd January, 1792.

[†] *Public Advertiser*, 4th January, 1792.

[‡] *Woods and Forests Entry Book*, U. 6, p. 322.

[§] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

[||] Their design was probably prepared by T. Chawner, who succeeded Marquand in 1809 as Surveyor to H.M. Woods and Forests. A drawing in the Crace Collection shows (Plate 114) alternative treatment for the general façade by Chawner.



Balustrading of Staircases.

No. 1 has the south-east corner carried up an extra storey and further south a one-storey building has been added.

The interiors generally are restrained, the staircases being in stone with an iron balustrading. Some of the rooms contain enriched cornices and ornamental plaster ceilings in light relief, and marble mantelpieces. Many alterations, however, have taken place, and features of decoration introduced according to the tastes of the respective tenants.

Nos. 4 and 5 have been joined and an entrance porch added, the old doorway to No. 5 being converted into a window. A larger hall has also been built and a new staircase to the principal floor constructed, with a scrolled iron balustrading.

An entrance lodge of one storey with Doric columns to the porch is situated at the north-west corner of the terrace gardens. The entrance gates and railings are in cast iron with Greek detail. A balustraded wall portions the drive from the terrace-garden.

Condition of repair.

Good.

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* This attic storey is an addition which necessitated raising the pediment; an illustration by Shepherd in 1827 (Plate 114) shows the pediment at a level corresponding to that on the east front.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

According to the directories the occupants of Richmond Terrace before the utilisation of certain of the houses for official purposes have been:

	No. 1
1826–47	John Irving
1852–76	E. Horsman
1878–97	Bertram Wodehouse Currie
1898–1918	Laurence Currie

	No. 2
1826–30	Sir Robert Townshend Farquhar
1831–8	Lord Edward Thynne
1839–49	Lady Edward Thynne
1853–67	Dowager Countess Harrington
1869–73	Charles Tennant
1874–91	Mrs. Tennant Chas. Coombe Tennant
1892–96	Mrs. Tennant Chas. Coombe Tennant Henry Morton Stanley
1897–1904	Mrs. Tennant (Sir) H. M. Stanley
1905–8	Mrs. Tennant Lady Stanley
1909–18	Mrs. Tennant Mrs. F. W. H. Myers
1919–26	Henry Curtis Lady Stanley
1927–8	Henry Curtis

	No. 3
1826–7	Rt. Hon. Wm. Huskisson
1828–31	Sir Robert Harland
1832	Edward and Lady Hannah Ellice
1833–6	Charles and Lady Mary Wood
1837–9	Col. and Lady Caroline Wood
1840–48	Sir Robert Harland
1849	Lady Harland
1851	William Mundy
1853	Lady Harland
1854–65	Sir Thomas Tomlinson
1866–8	Sir Thomas Tomlinson Wm. Ed. Murray Tomlinson
1869–74	Wm. Ed. Murray Tomlinson Thomas Tomlinson
1875–7	Mrs. Tomlinson Thomas Tomlinson
1878–91	Mrs. Tomlinson Thomas Tomlinson Wm. Ed. Murray Tomlinson
1892–4	Mrs. Tomlinson Wm. Ed. Tomlinson
1895–1902	Wm. Ed. Tomlinson Miss Tomlinson
1903–9	Sir Wm. Ed. Tomlinson Miss Tomlinson
1910–20† 1923–30	Lord St. Davids

No. 4

1826–8	Robert Wilmot Horton
1829–30	Rt. Hon. Wm. Huskisson
1831	Archbishop of Canterbury
1833–4	E. Ayshford Sanford
1835–50	John and Lady Frances Ley
1851–76	Lady Frances Ley
1877–81	Quintin Hogg
1882–92	William Penn

No. 5

1826–62	Sir Charles Burrell
1863–72	Sir Walter Wyndham Burrell
1873–7	Quintin Hogg
1878–80	Thos. Henry Clifton
1881	Mrs. Clifton
1882–97	Wm. Geo. Fredk. Cavendish Bentinck

No. 6

1826–34	Joseph Marryat
1835–8	Sir Richard Vyvyan
1839–41	Earl of Selkirk
1842–52	Joseph Marryat
1853–67	Dr. A. J. Sutherland
1868–91	Mrs. Sutherland*
1892–6	Henry Sutherland*
1898–1904	John William Logan
1908–18	Hon. Weetman Miller Harold Pearson

1898–1913	Wm. Geo. Fredk. Cavendish Bentinck
1915–22	Mrs. Cavendish Miller Bentinck
1923–6	Mrs. Burns
1927–30	Walter Spencer Morgan Burns

No. 7

1826–34	Thos. Tooke
1835–8	Richard Bethell‡
1839–67	Chas. W. Packe
1868	Mrs. Packe
1872–9	Lord Gwydyr
1880–1912	Earl of Onslow
1913	Dowager Countess Onslow

No. 8

From 1826 to 1850 the house was occupied by Messrs. E. and G. N. Driver, land-agents and surveyors. In the latter year the General Board of Health was established here, and the house has ever since been used for official purposes.

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* And other members of the family.

† In the *P. O. Directory* for 1921 and 1922 the Ministry of Labour is shown in occupation.

‡ Not Richard Bethell, afterwards Baron Westbury, and Lord Chancellor, but Richard Bethell, M.P. for the East Riding, with whom the former is frequently confounded.

THE PARISH OF ST. MARGARET

No. 1.

Edward Horsman, politician, was born in 1807, and was educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge. He entered Parliament in 1836 for Cockermouth, and was still member for that constituency when he took up his residence at Richmond Terrace in 1851. He afterwards represented successively Stroud and Liskeard. From 1855 to 1857 he was Chief Secretary for Ireland. At first a member of the Liberal party, towards the end of his career he was more or less independent. He was chiefly notable for his criticism of weak points in the ecclesiastical system. In 1866 when opposing Gladstone's Reform Bill he was attacked by Bright, who stigmatised his "party" as a political "Cave of Adullam," a nickname which persisted. Horsman died in 1876.

No. 2.

Sir Robert Townshend Farquhar, son of Sir Walter Farquhar, a well-known physician, was born in 1776. He was for many years commercial resident at Amboyna, and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Penang. At the Peace of Amiens in 1802 he was appointed commissioner to adjust the British claims in the Moluccas, and to deliver up those islands to the Batavian republic. In 1812 he was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Mauritius, in which capacity he made strenuous and successful efforts to put an end to the slave trade carried on in that island. In 1821 he was created a baronet. He resigned his governorship in 1823 and returned to England. In 1825 he entered Parliament as member for Newton, Lancs., and died on 16th March, 1830 "in Richmond Terrace, Whitehall."*

He was succeeded at No. 2 by Lord Edward Thynne (b. 1807), sixth son of Thomas, second Marquess of Bath. Lord Edward married on 1st July, 1830, Elizabeth Mellish, and they made their home at Richmond Terrace. After 1838 Lady Edward Thynne is shown alone at the house until 1849, when she died. Lord Edward lived until 1884.

The Dowager-Countess of Harrington (*née* Maria Foote, the actress) came to live at No. 2 after the death of her husband in 1851 (see p. 178). She died on 27th December, 1867 "at her residence, No. 2, Richmond-terrace, Whitehall."†

For details of the early life of Sir Henry Morton Stanley, the explorer, the reader is referred to the standard biographies. Stanley returned to Europe from the Emin relief expedition in 1890, and on 12th July of that year married Dorothy Tennant (daughter of Charles Tennant, sometime M.P. for St. Albans), a lady who, with other accomplishments, was a talented painter, well-known for her studies of London street arabs. In 1891 Stanley and his wife returned from a lecturing tour in the United States and Australasia, and settled down at the house of the latter's mother in Richmond Terrace. Stanley became re-naturalised as a British subject, and in 1895 was returned to Parliament as member for North Lambeth. At the general election of 1900 he did not seek re-election. In 1899 he was made G.C.B. In 1903 he had a paralytic stroke, and after much suffering died "at his residence in Richmond Terrace"‡ on 10th May, 1904. Lady Stanley in 1907 married Henry Curtis, F.R.C.S. She died in October, 1926, "at her residence, No. 2, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall."§

"Mrs. Tennant who died in April, 1918, in her 99th year, was a notable survivor of the *grandes dames* of the 19th century, and her house, No. 2, Richmond-terrace, was long famous as the meeting-place of political, literary, and artistic celebrities."||

Mrs. F. W. H. Myers, who is bracketed with Mrs. Tennant as occupying the house from 1909 to 1918, was the latter's youngest daughter, and widow of F. W. H. Myers, poet and essayist.

No. 3.

William Huskisson was born in 1770. From 1783 to 1792 he lived in Paris, where he was for some time private secretary to Lord Gower, the British ambassador. In 1795 he became

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* *Annual Register.*

† *The Times.*

‡ *Annual Register.*

§ *The Times*, 6th October, 1926.

|| *Ibid.*

Under-Secretary at War, and in the following year entered Parliament as member for Morpeth. He was appointed Secretary to the Treasury for the first time in 1804 and again in the Duke of Portland's ministry in 1807. In 1810 he published a pamphlet on the *Depreciation of the Currency* which earned him a great reputation as a financier. In 1814 he became Minister of Woods and Forests, and from 1823 to 1827 was Treasurer of the Navy and President of the Board of Trade. In 1827–8 he was Colonial Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons under Goderich and Wellington. In 1830 he was killed at the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway. Huskisson was a supporter of free trade and Catholic emancipation, and his reputation, though considerable, is hardly in proportion to his great abilities.

His residence at No. 3 Richmond terrace lasted only until 1827. The ratebooks for 1828–30 show him next door at No. 4.

Edward Ellice, born in 1781, was son of Alexander Ellice, managing director of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was educated at Winchester and Marischal College, Aberdeen, and afterwards entered his father's London office. By his marriage in 1809 with Lady Hannah Althea Bettesworth (who died in 1832 "in Richmond-terrace"*), sister of the second Earl Grey, he was brought into intimate contact with the Whigs. In 1818 he was returned to Parliament as member for Coventry, which borough he continued to represent (except from 1826 to 1830) until his death. In 1821 he succeeded in bringing about the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company with several rival concerns. From 1830 to 1832 he was Secretary to the Treasury, and in 1833-4 was Secretary at War. Although he never again held office he continued to be the confidential adviser of Liberal governments, and was influential in forming many ministries. "Politics cost him large sacrifices, for he was a busy and successful merchant; the first to pass from the counting-house to the cabinet."† He died in 1863.

Ellice's residence at No. 3 Richmond Terrace was very brief, and he was succeeded in 1832 by Charles Wood, afterwards 1st Viscount Halifax. Wood was the eldest son of Sir Francis Lindley Wood, and was born in 1800. He was educated at Eton and Oriel College, Oxford, and in 1826 entered Parliament as member for Grimsby. In 1832 he was appointed Joint Secretary to the Treasury, and from 1835 to 1839 was Secretary of the Admiralty. In 1846 he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, which position he held until 1852. In the latter year he was appointed President of the Board of Control, and in 1858 Secretary of State for India. In 1846 he had succeeded his father in the baronetcy, and in 1856 had been created G.C.B. He resigned his secretaryship in 1866, as the result of an accident when hunting, and was raised to the peerage as Viscount Halifax of Monk Bretton. He died in 1885. He had married in 1829 Mary, daughter of the 2nd Earl Grey and niece of Lady Hannah Ellice.

No. 4.

Sir Robert John Wilmot Horton, born in 1784, was the son of Sir Robert Wilmot, Bt., of Osmaston, Derbyshire and Juliana Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. John Byron. He was therefore first cousin to Lord Byron, the poet. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, and entered Parliament in 1818 as member for Newcastle-under-Lyme. From 1821 to 1827 he was Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. In 1830 he retired from the House of Commons, and in the following year was knighted. From 1831 to 1837 he was Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Ceylon. He succeeded his father in the baronetcy in 1834, and died in 1841. In 1806 he had married Anne Beatrix Horton, the subject of Byron's lines: "She walks in beauty," and in 1823, in compliance with the provisions of his father-in-law's will, he assumed the additional name of Horton. In conjunction with Col. Doyle, as representatives of Byron's sister, he destroyed the poet's *Memoirs*.

For details of William Huskisson, see under No. 3. He left No. 4 in the early part of 1830 some six months before his death, and the house was taken by the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

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* *Morning Chronicle*, 1st August, 1832. "She was much attached to literary pursuits, and a tale, intended to illustrate the country life of the higher class of the English Aristocracy, called *The Visit*, is ascribed to her."

† *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

William Howley, born in 1766, was the only son of William Howley, vicar of Bishop's Sutton and Ropley, Hants. He was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford. He became a Fellow of Winchester College in 1794 and ten years later a canon of Christ Church, Oxford. In 1809 he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity. He had in 1796 been instituted to the vicarage of Bishop's Sutton, and in 1802 to that of Andover, and in 1811 he obtained the rectory of Bradford Peverell. Two years later he was made Bishop of London, and in 1828, Archbishop of Canterbury. He opposed the Roman Catholic Relief Bill (1829), the second reading of the Reform Bill (1831), the Irish Church Temporalities Bill (1833), and the Jewish Civil Disabilities Repeal Bill (1833), and denounced Lord John Russell's education scheme (1839). He died in 1848.

No. 5.

Sir Charles Merrik Burrell, Bt., born 1774, was the eldest son of Sir William Burrell, brother of Peter Burrell, the builder of Gwydyr House (see p. 223). He died in 1862 and was succeeded in the baronetcy and in the occupation of No. 5 Richmond Terrace by his son, Walter Wyndham Burrell, born in 1814. He died in 1886.

Quintin Hogg, seventh son of Sir James Weir Hogg, and brother of the 1st Lord Magheramorne, was born in 1845. On leaving Eton in 1863 he entered the office of a firm of tea merchants in the City, but eighteen months later joined the firm of Bosanquet, Curtis & Co., sugar merchants, in which he afterwards became a senior partner. He retired in 1898. Not commerce, however, but philanthropy was his main concern. In 1864 he started a ragged school for boys in Of Alley, now York Place, Charing Cross. A "Youths' Christian Institute" was formed in Castle Street and afterwards transferred to Long Acre. In 1882 Hogg purchased the lease of the Polytechnic Institution in Regent Street, and the "Polytechnic" grew and prospered under his direction. He was thus the initiator of the Polytechnic movement in London. In 1889, on the coming into being of the first London County Council, Hogg was elected an alderman, an office which he held until 1895. He died at the Polytechnic in 1903.

"In May [1872] they [Quintin Hogg and his wife] moved to their first home in Richmond terrace."† This, as the directories show, was No. 5, but the same authorities indicate that in or about 1877 Hogg moved next door, to No. 4. It was at the former house that D. L. Moody, the American evangelist, stayed on the occasion of his two visits to London in 1872 and 1875. "Mr. Hogg had met him in America, and when he heard that the evangelist had no friends in London, and was going to a hotel, he immediately sent and invited him to make Richmond Terrace his home during his stay in London."* An interesting incident in the course of Moody's second visit, exhibiting Hogg's goodness of heart, is the following story by one who had experienced it: "I am an old Endell Street boy, and was picked up by Mr. Hogg at the Opera House, Haymarket, in 1875, when Messrs. Moody and Sankey were there. Mr. Hogg took me to his house in Richmond Terrace, when I was introduced to Mrs. Hogg as 'my young friend J—— H——' Poor Joe from Slumland, to ride in a hansom cab, and to be introduced to a lady in Richmond Terrace as a friend of Mr. Hogg's."‡

No. 6.

Sir Richard Rawlinson Vyvyan, born in 1800, was the eldest son of Sir Vyell Vyvyan, Bt., of Trelowarren, Cornwall. He was educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1820 succeeded to the baronetcy and the family estate. In 1825 he entered Parliament as a member for Cornwall. He was an unbending Tory and strenuously opposed the Reform Bill. He retired from Parliament in 1857, and spent the remainder of his life at Trelowarren in scientific and literary pursuits. He died in 1879.

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* "The Archbishop of Canterbury has removed to the house in Richmond Terrace, recently occupied by Mr. Huskisson, where his Grace will remain while the Palace at Lambeth is undergoing an extensive repair." (*The Times*, 22nd February, 1830.)

† *Quintin Hogg*, by his daughter, Ethel M. Hogg, 1906 edn., p. 82.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

The Earl of Selkirk, who succeeded Vyvyan at No. 6, was William Alexander Anthony Archibald, born in 1811, eldest son of the 10th Duke of Hamilton. He succeeded to the title in 1852 and died in 1863.

No. 7.

Thomas Tooke, economist, was born in 1774 at Cronstadt, where his father was chaplain to the British Factory. The early part of his life was devoted to his business interests in the City, and it was not until 1819 that he took any prominent part in the discussion of economic questions. In that year he gave evidence before Parliament on the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England, and in the course of the next few years published very important contributions on the subjects of the cause of the increase or lowering of prices of commodities. His most valuable work was the *History of Prices*, published in several volumes from 1838 to 1857. Tooke was an earnest supporter of the Free-Trade movement, and drew up the petition of the merchants of London, presented to the House of Commons in 1820, which had much influence on the subsequent development of commercial policy. He died in 1858.

The Lord Gwydyr who resided at No. 7 Richmond Terrace during 1872–9, was Sir Peter Robert Burrell, the 4th Baron. He was born in 1810 and succeeded to the title in 1870. He died in 1909, aged nearly 100. He was present at the coronations of George IV, William IV and Victoria, and was only prevented, by an accident, from attending that of Edward VII.

He was succeeded at No. 7 Richmond Terrace by the Earl of Onslow.

William Hillier Onslow, born in 1853, in 1870 succeeded his great-uncle as 4th Earl of Onslow. In 1887 he was appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and in the following year became Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade. From 1888 to 1892 he was Governor of New Zealand. In 1895 he became Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India and in 1900 resumed his old position at the Colonial Office. In 1903 he was made President of the Board of Agriculture, and from 1905 to 1911 was Chairman of Committees in the House of Lords. His interest in municipal affairs is attested by his service as alderman first of the London County Council (1896–9) and afterwards of the City of Westminster (1900–3). He died in 1911.

IN THE COUNCIL'S COLLECTION ARE :—

*General elevation to Richmond Terrace (photograph).
Detail of central feature (photograph).
*East elevation (photograph).
Another view shewing extension at south-east corner (photograph).
*West elevation (photograph).
View of entrance lodge and railings (photograph).
No. 1 Richmond Terrace, view of mantelpiece in Room No. 2 (photograph).
No. 1 Richmond Terrace, view of alcove in Room No. 2 (photograph).
No. 1 Richmond Terrace, view of wood mantelpiece in Room No. 4 (dated 1873) (photograph).
No. 1 Richmond Terrace, view of doorway in Room No. 4 (photograph).
No. 1 Richmond Terrace, view of Room No. 7 (photograph).
No. 1 Richmond Terrace, view of mantelpiece in Room No. 7 (photograph).
No. 1 Richmond Terrace, view of oak panelling (dated 1882) to Room No. 8 (photograph).
No. 1 Richmond Terrace, view shewing mantelpiece in Room No. 8 (photograph).
No. 1 Richmond Terrace, view shewing doors in Room No. 8 (photograph).
*Plans of ground and first floors (copy of plan in possession of H.M. Office of Works).
*Elevation to Richmond Terrace (measured drawing).
Elevation to Richmond Terrace (east end) (measured drawing).
Elevation to Whitehall (measured drawing).
*Alternative elevations to Richmond Terrace by Chawner, 1827 (photograph of drawing in the Crace Collection).
*Details of iron balustrading to staircases in Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, and 8 Richmond Terrace (measured drawing).

* Reproduced here.

APPENDIX A

PRIVATE ACT. 23 HY. VIII, C.33.

LE ROY LE VULT.

[*Preamble.*] Because that it is notified and declared to this the Kyngs most honourable Court of Parlement that according to the mutuall condescent and aggrement heretofore had and concluded betwene the Kyngs highnesse on the one part and the Rev*er*end father John Islyp Abbott of the monastery of Seynt Petyr of Westm' and the Priour and Covent of the same Monastery on the other part certeyn p*er*sones undernamed bey seised in their demeane as of fee to thuse of our seid sov*er*eygne lorde the Kyng and of his heyres & assignes by the feffement of the seid Abbot Pryour and Covent of the seid monastery of and in certeyn mesuages houses Cotags landys and tene*men*ts with their appurten*an*ces sett lying and beyng in the towne and felds of Westm' and in the p*ar*isshe of seynt Margarete of Westm' and elswere in the countie of middelsex as by a dede or Charter of that feffement made by the seid Abbott Pryour and Covent evidently appereth AND that the same Abbott Pryour and Covent at this p*re*sent tyme bey seised in their demeane as of fee to thuse of them and of their Successors for ev*er* of the gyfte and grawnt of our seid sov*er*eigne lorde the Kyng to them made by his l*ett*res Patentts for and in recompence and satisfaction of the p*re*misses specified in the seid dede or Charter of feffement made by the seid Abbot Priour & Covent of and in the Syte Circute and p*re*cynct of the late monastery or Pryory of seynt Margaret the vyrgyn of Powghley with thappurtenaunc*es* sett lying & beyng in the Countie of Berkshire and of and in dyv*er*s man*er*s lands tene*men*ts advowsons and other heredytamentts and comodyties lying and beying in the seid Countie of Berkshire and in the Counties of Wylteshire and Southhampton and in the seid Countie of Middelsex THE tenores of which seid dede or Charter made by the seid Abbott Pryour and Covent And of the seid l*ett*res patentts made by our seid sov*er*eigne lorde the kyng manyfestly herafter ensue and folowe in ev*er*y worde and worde by worde as they be made formed and transacted betwene the seid parties.

[*Beginning of the Charter.*] OMNIBUS Christi fidelibus ad quos . . . Johannis Islypp Abbas monasterij sancti Petri Westm' ac eiusdem monasterij Prior & Conventus Sal*ute*m in d*omi*no sempiternam Sciatis nos prefat*os* Abbatem Priorem et Conventu*m* unanimis assensu . . . totius Cap*itu*li n*ost*ri . . . dedisse . . . Roberto Norwych militi Capit*a*li Justiciario d*omi*ni Regis de Banco Ric*ard*o Lyster militi Capitali Baroni de S*c*acc*ar*io n*ost*ro Will*el*mo Pawlet militi Thome Audeley Servient*i* d*omi*ni Regis ad legem & Baldewino Malett Solicitatori d*omi*ni Regis

[*Petty Calais.*] Quoddam magnu*m* mesuagiu*m* sive tenementu*m* vulgariter nu*n*cupat*um* Pety Caleys Ac omnia mesuag*ia* Domos Orrea Stabula Columbaria Pomeria Gardina Stagna Piscar*ia* Aquas fossat*a* terras Prat*a* & Pastur*as* cum omnibus & singulis suis p*er*tinen*tibus* quoquo modo eidem magno mesuagio . . . spectan*tibus*

[*East side of King Street.*] . . . sive ad idem mesuagiu*m* adiacen*tibus* seu cu*m* eodem mesuagio antehec tempora ad firmam dimiss*is* . . . Situat*a* . . . infra d*ict*am villam Westm' . . .

Necnon om*n*ia illa mesuagia Cotagi*a* tenementa & Gardina situata . . . in Orientali parte Strate vulgariter nu*n*cupat*e* the Kyngs Strete infra d*ict*am villam Westm' . . . extendentem a quadam Aleia . . . ib*id*em vocat*a* Lamb Alley alias nuncupat*a* Lamblane usque ad barras situat*as* in pred*ict*a Regia Strata iuxta maneriu*m* d*omi*ni Regis ib*id*em vocat*um* Yorke Place Ac etiam om*n*ia illa mesuagia Cotagia tenementa Gardina terr*as* & Vasta nup*er* in tenura Joh*ann*is Henburye situat*a* . . . in d*ict*a orientali parte p*redict*e Alte Regie vie ducentis a quodam Crofto sive Pecia terre vulgariter nuncupat*a* Scotlande usque ad capellam b*ea*te marie de Rouncedevall p*ro*pe Crucem nuncupat*am* Charingcrosse

[*West side of King Street.*] Necnon om*n*ia illa mesuagia Cotagia tenementa gardina terras & Vasta iacen*tia* . . . in Occidentali parte p*redict*e Strate vocat*e* the Kyngs strete extendentia a quodam magno mesuagio sive Domo Pandoxatorio vulgarit*er* nuncupat*o* the Axe in longitudine p*er* pr*edict*am occidentalem partem usque ad & ultra d*ict*am Crucem vocat*am* Charingcrosse

[*Charing Cross to St. James's and thence to Petty Calais*] Et etiam om*n*ia alia terras tenement*a* & vasta iacen*tia* ex parte Australi Alte Regie strate ducent*is* a p*redict*a Cruce vocat*a* Charingcrosse usque ad hospitale sancti Jacobi in Campo Ac etiam om*n*ia illa alia terr*as* & prat*a* iacen*tia* iuxta & inter terr*as* nup*er* p*er*tin*entes* p*redict*o hospitali sancti Jacobi ex p*ar*te Australi eiusdem hospit*a*lis et sic a p*redict*o hospit*a*li ex parte Australi Alte Regie vie extenden*tia* versus occident*em* usque Crucem vocat*am* Eycrosse et ab eadem cruce divertend' [&] exten' versus Austru*m* p*er* Altam Regiam viam tenden*tem* versus villam Westm' usque ad pontem lapid*eu*m vocat*um* Eybrige & deinde in longitudine p*er* p*redict*am altam Regiam viam ducen*tem* versus & ad p*redict*am villam Westm' usque ad Australem p*ar*tem terre ib*id*em vocat*e* Rosamunds et sic deinde in longitudine per predictam Australem partem p*redict*e terre vocat*e* Rosamunds versus orient*em* directe usque ad terram nup*er* p*ar*cell*am* predicti magni mesuagij sive tenementi vocat*i* Pety Caleis et eidem magno mesuagio . . . p*er*tinen*tem* continen*tia* in toto p*er* estimationem Quater viginti Acr*as* terr*e* sive plus sive minus.

[*Pomfrett's Close.*] Ac unu*m* Clausum nuper in tenura Joh*ann*is Pomfrett iam defunct*i* continen*s* per estimationem viginti duas Acr*as* terr*e* iacen*tes* in Parochia sancte Margarete Westm' . . .

[*Reservations.*] Exceptis semper et nobis p*refatis*Abbati Priori & Conventui Successoribus & assig*natis* *nost*ris om*n*ino reservat*is* tam Aqueductu & Cursu Aqueductus ad monasteriu*m* *nost*r*um* predict*um* venien*tis* et discend*entis* Ac iacen*tis* . . . in terr*is* & sub terr*is* in pred*ict*is mesuagiis Cotagiis tenementis Gardinis terr*is* & Vastis iacen*tibus* & existen*tibus* in p*redict*a Occidentali parte predicte strate vocat*e* the Kyngs strete et in om*n*ibus aliis terr*is* & vast*is* iacen*tibus* ex p*ar*te Austral*i* p*redict*e Alte Regie Vie ducen*tis* a p*redict*a Cruce vocat*a* Charingcrosse usque p*redict*um hospital*e* sancti Jacobi Ac in p*redict*is om*n*ibus aliis terris & prat*is* iacen*tibus* iuxtis & inter terr*as* nuper p*er*tinen*tes* pred*ict*o hospitali sancti Jacobi ex parte Austral*i* eiusdem hospit*a*lis et sic a p*redict*o hospit*a*li ex parte Australi Alt*e* Regie vie extenden*tibus* versus Occiden*tem* usque Crucem voca*tam* Eycrosse & ab eadem Cruce divertendo & extenden' versus Austru*m* per altam Regiam viam tenden*tem* versus villam Westm' usque pontem ib*idem* vocat*um* Eybridge et deinde in longitudine per p*redict*am Altam viam ducen*tem* versus & ad p*re*dictam villam Westm' usque Austral*em* partem terre ib*idem* vocat*e* Rosamunds versus Orientem Et sic deinde in longitudine p*er* p*redict*am Austral*em* partem pred*ict*e terre vocat*e* Rosamunds versus orientem directe usque ad terram nuper p*ar*cell*am* p*redict*i magni mesuagij sive tene*men*ti vocat*i* Pety Caleis & eidem magno mesuagio . . . p*er*tinen*tem* Necnon in p*re*dicto Clauso nuper in tenura Joh*ann*is Pomfrett et in qua*libe*t p*ar*cella earundem q*u*am lib*er*is ingr*essu* & egressu in terris & pratis p*redict*is Ad cursum Aqueductus & Aqueductu*m* predict*um* Ac illos pro defectibus & impediment*is* in eisdem Cursu . . . scrutand*um* fodiend*um* . . . aperiend*um* . . . & Recop*er*iend*um* Ac cursum . . . ill*um* & inde pipas plumbeas ligneas aut luteas & cetera eidem Aqueductui sub terram et in terre ib*ide*m iacen*tia* . . . pertinen*tia* . . . p*ro*ut necesse fu*er*it de tempore in tempus . . . quotiens & quando nobis . . . oportuna videbit reperand*um*. . . . .

[*Appointment of attorneys.*] HABEND*UM* & tenend*um* p*re*dict*um* magnu*m* mesuagiu*m* . . . Exceptis p*re*exceptis prefat*is* Roberto Ric*ardo* Will*el*mo Thome et Baldewino hered*ibus* & assign*atis* suis imp*erpetuu*m ad opus & usum d*omi*ni Regis nunc hered*um* & assign*atorum* . . . & ad voluntatem eiusdem D*omi*ni Regis inde p*er* implend*um* si voluntatem inde fecerit SCIATIS nos insup*er* . . . fecisse . . . locoq*ue* nostro posuisse Dilectos nobis Will*elmu*m Middleton & Will*elmu*m Russell n*ost*ros veros . . . Attornatos ad intrand*um* in p*re*dict*a* mesuag*ia* terr*as* tene*men*t*a* Claus*um* et cetera p*re*missa . . . Et ad deliberand*um* vice et no*mini*bus n*os*tris p*re*fatis Roberto Ricardo Will*el*mo Thome & Baldewino ac eorum uni vel pluribus p*ro* eis om*n*ibus plenam possessionem . . . de & in eisdem mesuag*iis* terr*is* . . . h*ab*end*um* . . . iuxta formam . . . huius p*rese*ntis Carte n*os*tre . . .

[*Conclusion of Charter, etc.*] IN CUIUS REI . . . Dat*um* quinto die Septembris Anno regni d*omi*ni henrici Octavi . . . vicesimo tercio HENRICUS OCTAVUS dei gr*at*ia . . . OMNIBUS ad quos . . . Sal*u*tem CUM dilecti nobis . . . Joh*annes* Islippe Abbas monasterii . . . Westm' . . . p*er* Cartam suam indentata*m* cuius dat*um* est quinto die septembris Anno regni n*os*tri vicesimo tertio dederint . . . Roberto Norwyche militi capit*a*li Justic*iario* n*ost*ro de Banco Ricardo Lyster militi Capit*a*li Baroni de S*caccari*o nostro Wille*l*mo Paulet militi Thome Awdeley servienti d*omi*ni Regis ad legem & Baldewino Malett Solicit*atori* n*ost*ro quoddam magnu*m* mesuagiu*m* [etc. as above] . . . NOS IGITUR . . . in Recompensationem . . . dedimus . . . p*redict*is nunc Abb*a*ti . . . Situm . . . nuper monasterii . . . sancte margarete virginis de Powghley . . . [etc.] . . . TESTE me ip*s*o apud Chelsehith vicesimo tercio die Decembris Anno regni n*os*tri vicesimo tercio . . .

[*Conclusion of Act.*] BE IT THERFORE ordeyned . . . by auctorytie of this p*re*sent p*ar*lement that the seid Abbott . . . shall peacebly have . . . and enioy . . . all and singler the p*re*misses specyfied . . . in the seid l*ett*res patentts . . . Savyng to ev*ery* p*er*sone . . . other than to our seid sov*er*eigne lorde

the kyng his heyres . . . all such right title . . . and interest as they . . . had before the makyng of this Act in or to the p*re*misses . . . specyfied . . . in the seid l*ett*res patentts . . . AND ferthermore be it ordeyned . . . by auctoryte of this p*re*sent p*ar*lement that the seid p*er*sones to whom the seid dede or Charter is made by the seid Abbott . . . shall stande and be seised in their demeane as of fee to thuse of our seid sov*er*eigne lorde the kyng his heyres and assignes . . . of and in all the seid mesuags lands . . . specyfied in the seid dede . . . made by the seid Abbott . . . Savyng to ev*er*y p*er*sone . . . other then to the seid Abbott . . . all suche right title . . . and interest as they . . . had before the makyng of this Act in or to the p*re*misses . . . specyfied . . . in the seid dede . . .

APPENDIX B

THE PARISHES OF ST. MARGARET'S AND ST. MARTIN'S.

S.P. 1-87 [Henry VIII]. ff. 27–8.

Reverend Father in God Rt trusty & Welbeloved we greet you well Forasmuch as by naturall Inclinacion we be bounden to provide for the Safe Guard of our Personage & Majesty & for the Personage of our most Excell^{t} and most intirely beloved Lady our Queen as of our most Dear Daughter or Princess & of all other Noble Subjects Family and Traine And that part of that our Mannor at Westm^{r} is now Scite & Scituate as in the Midle of two Parishes (that is to say) of St. Margarett Where you have Jurisdiction Ordinary & of St. Martin in the Feilds Where Yee be persons & Proprietaries & that Sundry & often times by recourse of much People resorting from Sundry Parts of the World unto us often times great Sickness doth Raign in both those Parishes by reason whereof the Corpes of Such Inhabitants & Dwellers within the Bounds Limitts & precincts of the Parish of St. Martin in the Feilds & that be of the Parish of St. Margarett when they doe Dye of any Desease Pestilence Ague or any other Contagious Sickness. The same Corps of the Dead Persons be brought & borne Earley & late nightley & Dailey throughout our Said Mannor to their Buriall & Parish Church to be buryed to no little Jeperdy of us & of all other our Subjects & Trayne as well in their goeing & comeing by the Infect Persons accompying the Dead Persons & Bodys as by the Infection of their Cloaths & otherwise in time of Visitacion of Such as Chance to fall Sick Wee in Consideracion thereof & for lawfull remedy in this behalfe to be had Will & pray You & also command you haveing Ordinary Power and being as before is Said Persons and Proprietaries of both these Churches and to whom and our Monastry of Westm^{r} both those Churches be Appropriate & Incorporate & Calling also unto you in our name the Vicar of St. Martins that you together fall & goe to Such Communicacion Composition & Devise betwixt You by the Advise Decree Sentence & Confirmation Ordinarie of those that have Interest in this behalfe as shall Stand with right & Equity So that all & the whole Inhabitants now Parishioners of Your Parish of St. Margarett dwelling within the said Limitts bounds & Precincts of St. Martins afores^{d} & by North & East Our said Mannor be Seperate Divided & Dimembred from the Parish & Parishion^{rs} of St. Margaretts & that they & Every one of them Soe dwelling from henceforth be Ordained Deputed Decreed Lymitted & taken for Parishioners of St. Martins & there to hear all other Divine Services & to Receive all their Sacraments & Sacramentalls as well Buriall as other And that at St. Martins they do pay all their Tythes Rights and Oblations Offerings as other the Parishioners of St.

Martins now there doth Perpetually—demanding also all Such Your Composition Decree & Sentence in this behalfe to be made to be put in Execution And comanding the Same in our name to be published in both those Churches and inviolately to be Observed by the Inhabitants aforesaid without any Contradiction from henceforth not failing hereof with Deligent Expedition as Yee intend our Pleasure & Do bear good Zeale towards us & others in these premisses Given at our Mannor at Westm^r the 12th Day of November in the 26th Year of our Reigne.

Indorsed. The Copy of the King's most Gracious Letters delivered unto the Abbott of Westm^{r}.

King Henry the Eighth

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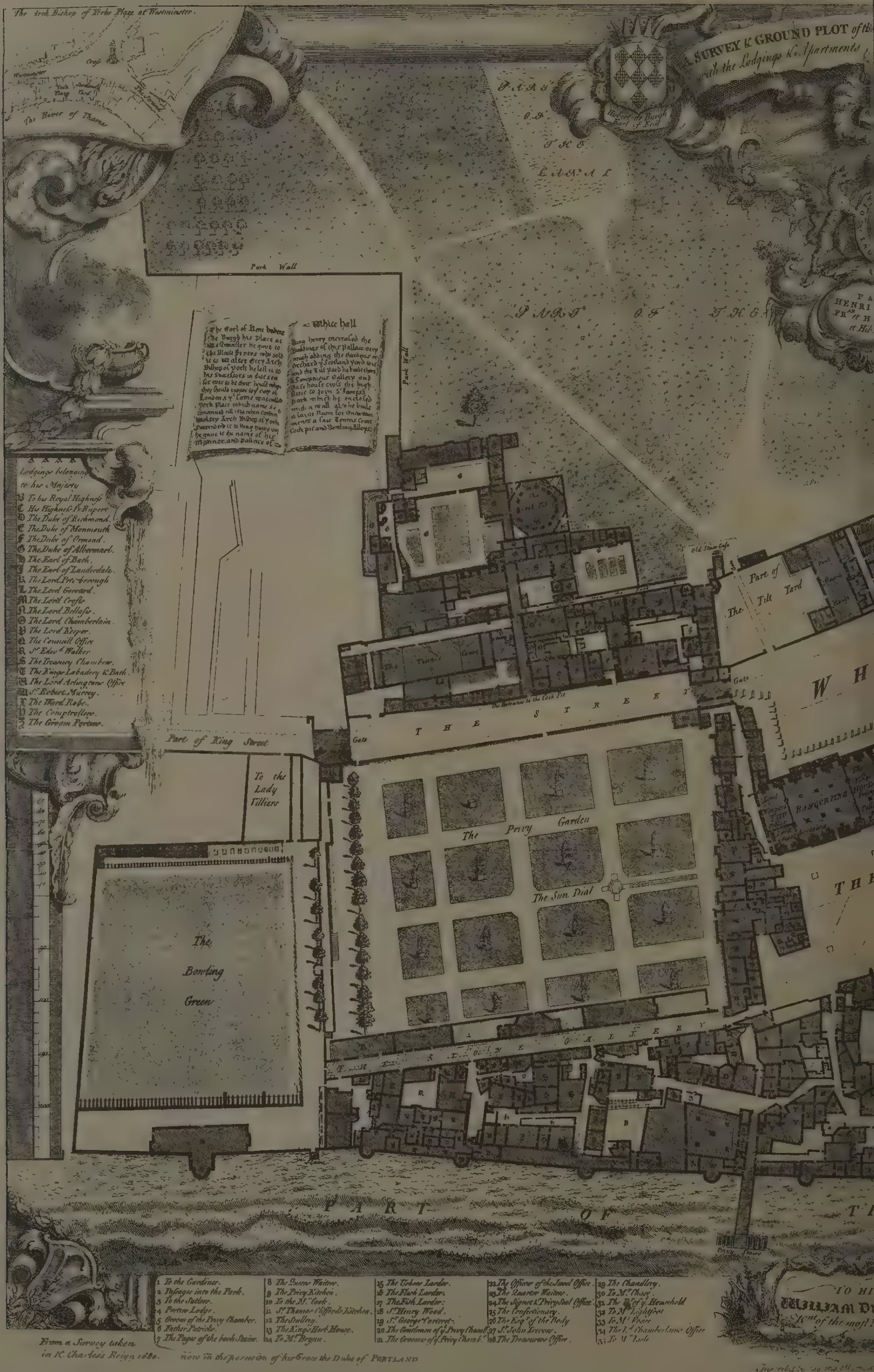
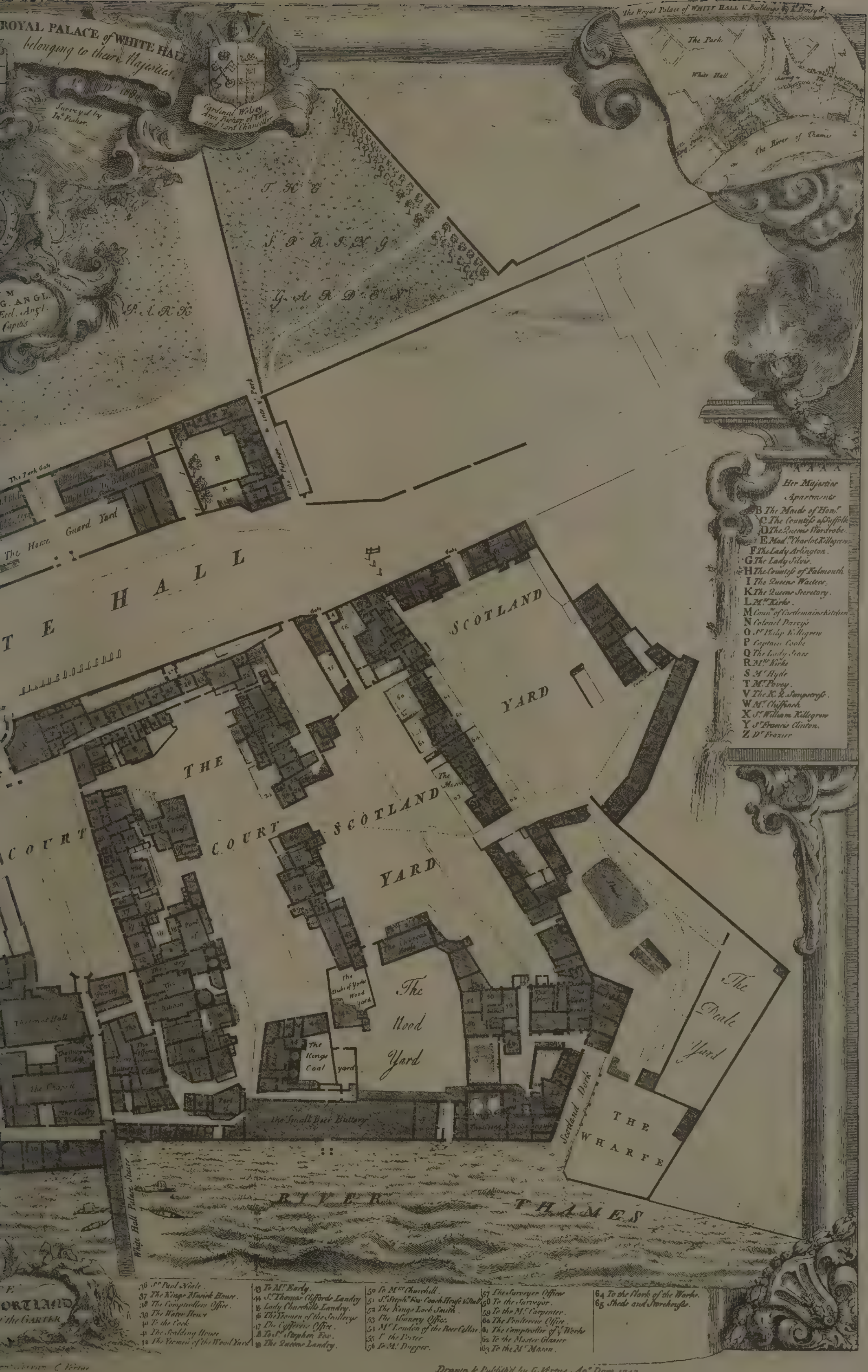
Plates, Nos. 1 to 118


The Arch Bishop of Yorke Place at Westminster.
The River of Thames
A SURVEY & GROUND PLOT of th
with the Lodgings & Apartments
Hub of de Burgh Earl of Kent
THE CANAL
PARK OF THE
Park Wall
The Earl of Kent hubert de Burgh his place at Westminster he gave to the Black Fryers who sold it to Walter Grey Arch Bishop of York he left it to his Succesors in that sea for ever to be their house when they should repair to ye city of London & ye same was called York place which name so continued till 1529 when Cardinall Wolsey Arch Bishop of York surrendered it to King Henry viii he gave it the name of his Mannor and Pallace of
White hall
King Henry encreased the Buildings of this Pallace very much adding the Gardens or orchard ye Scotland yard to it and the Tilt yard he built there a Sumptuous Gallery and Gate house cross the high street to joyn St James's park which he enclosed with a wall also he built a large Room for Entertainments a fair Tennis Court Cock pit and Bowling Alleys.
Lodgings belonging to her Majesty
B To her Royal Highness
C His Highness Pr Rupert
D The Duke of Richmond.
E The Duke of Monmouth
F The Duke of Ormond.
G The Duke of Albermarl.
H The Earl of Bath.
I The Earl of Lauderdale.
K The Lord Peterborough
L The Lord Gerrard.
M The Lord Crofts
N The Lord Bellasis.
O The Lord Chamberlain.
P The Lord Keeper.
Q The Councill Office
R Sr Edwd Walker
S The Treasury Chamber.
T The Kings Labadory & Bath.
V The Lord Arlingtons Office
W Sr Robert Murrey.
X The Ward Robe.
Y The Comptrollers.
Z The Groom Porters.
Part of King Street
To the Lady Villiers
Gate
THE STREET
The Entrance to the Cock Pit
The Tennis Court
The Cock Pit
Old Stone Cafe
Part of The Tilt Yard
Gate
WH
BANQUETING HOUSE
The Privy Garden
The Sun Dial
The Bowling Green
THE STONE GALLERY
PART OF TH
Privy Stairs
1 To the Gardiner.
2 Passages into the Park.
3 To the Sutlers.
4 Porters Lodge.
5 Groom of the Privy Chamber.
6 Father Patricks.
7 The Pages of the back Stairs.
8 The Queens Waiters.
9 The Privy Kitchen.
10 To the Mr Cook.
11 Sr Thomas Cliffords Kitchen.
12 The Scullery.
13 The Kings Herb House.
14 To Mr Bryan.
15 The Wafer Larder.
16 The Flesh Larder.
17 The Fish Larder.
18 Sr Henry Wood.
19 Sr George Carteret.
20 The Gentlemen of ye Privy Chamb.
21 The Groomes of ye Privy Chamb.
22 The Officer of the Jewel Office.
23 The Quarter Waiters.
24 The Signet & Privy Seal Office.
25 The Confectionary.
26 The Esqr of the Body
27 Sr John Trevors.
28 The Treasurers Office.
29 The Chandlery.
30 To Mr Chase.
31 The Bd of ye Household
32 To Mr Lightfoot
33 To Mr Vesee
34 The Ld Chamberlains Office
35 To Mr Lole
TO HI
WILLIAM D
Knt of the most
PA HENRI PR H et Hib
From a Survey taken in K. Charles's Reign 1680.
now in the possession of his Grace the Duke of PORTLAND

VERTUE'S VERSION OF THE PLAN OF WHITEHALL IN 1670.


ROYAL PALACE of WHITE HALL
belonging to their Majesties
1° D^r 1680
Surveyed by
Jn° Fisher.
Cardinal Wolsey
Arch Bishop of York
and Lord Chancellor
the Royal Palace of WHITE HALL & Buildings by R. Denry
The Park
White Hall
Charing +
The Strand
The River of Thames
THE SPRING GARDEN
PARK
The Park Gate
The Horse Guard Yard
The Privy Gallery
WHITE HALL
R
R
Gate
Gate
SCOTLAND YARD
THE COURT
COURT SCOTLAND YARD
COURT
The Duke of Yorks Wood yard
The Wood Yard
The Kings Coal yard
The Deale Yard
THE WHARFE
Scotland Dock
the Small Beer Buttery
White Hall Palace Stairs
RIVER THAMES
Her Majesties Apartments
B The Maids of Hon^r
C The Countess of Suffolk
D The Queens Wardrobe.
E Mad^m Charlot Killegrew
F The Lady Arlington.
G The Lady Silvis.
H The Countess of Falmouth
I The Queens Waiters.
K The Queens Secretary.
L M^rs Kirks.
M Coun^ss of Castlemains kitchen
N Colonel Darcys
O S^r Philip Killegrew
P Captain Cooke
Q The Lady Sears
R M^rs Kirke
S M^r Hyde
T M^r Povey.
V The K. Q. Sempstress.
W M^r Chiffinch
X S^r William Killegrew
Y S^r Francis Clinton.
Z D^r Frazier
36 S^r Paul Neale.
37 The Kings Musick House.
38 The Comptrollers Office.
39 The Water House
40 To the Cock
41 The Scalding House
42 The Yeomen of the Wood Yard
43 To M^r Early.
44 S^r Thomas Cliffords Landry
45 Lady Churchills Landry.
46 The Yeomen of the Scullerys
47 The Cofferers Office.
48 To S^r Stephen Fox.
49 The Queens Landry.
50 To M^rs Churchill.
51 S^r Steph^n Fox Coach House & Stab.
52 The Kings Lock Smith.
53 The Mewsery Office.
54 M^r London of the Beer Cellar.
55 To the Porter
56 To M^r Dugger.
57 The Surveyer Office
58 To the Surveyor.
59 To the M^r Carpenter.
60 The Poulterers Office.
61 The Comptroller of y^e Works
62 To the Master Glazier
63 To the M^r Mason.
64 To the Clark of the Works.
65 Sheds and Storehouses.
ORTLAND
of the GARTER

C. Vertue

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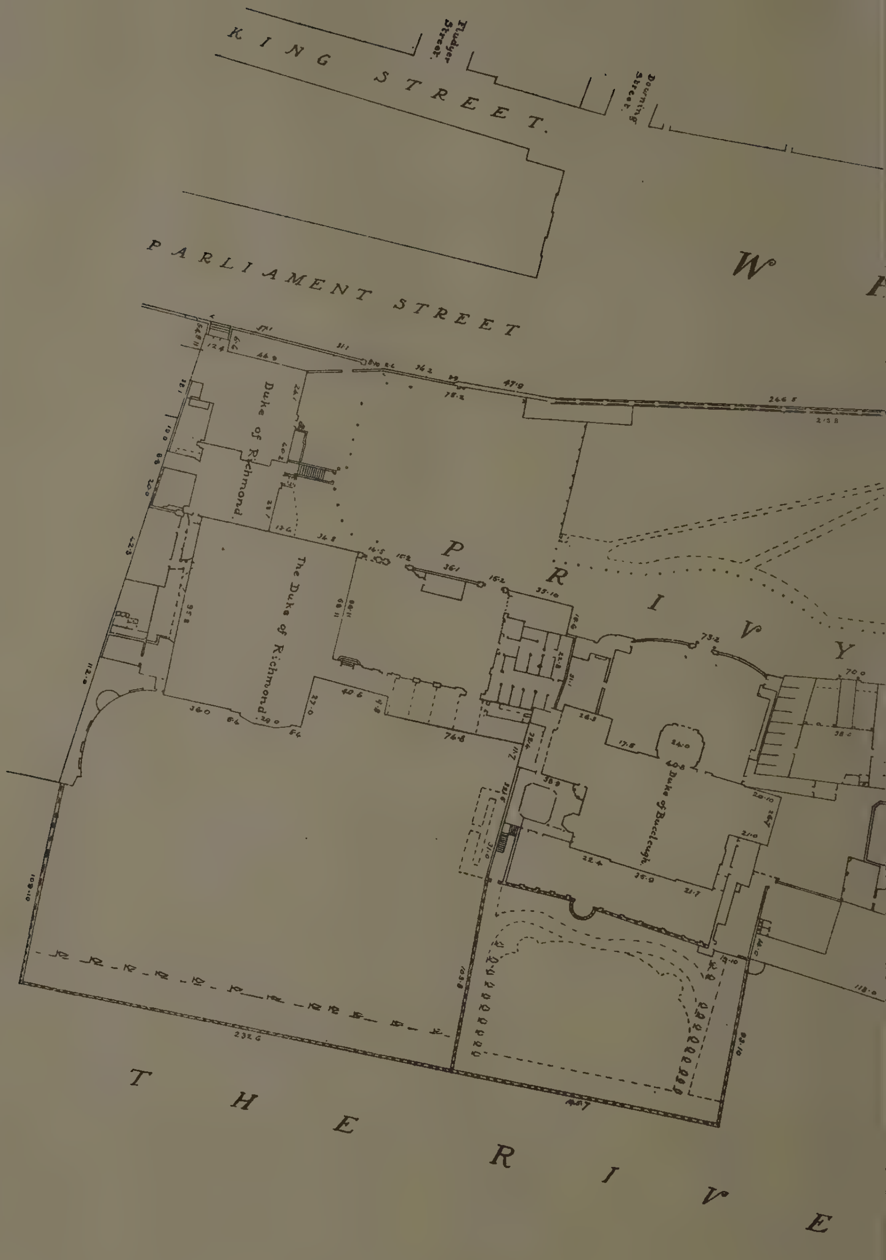
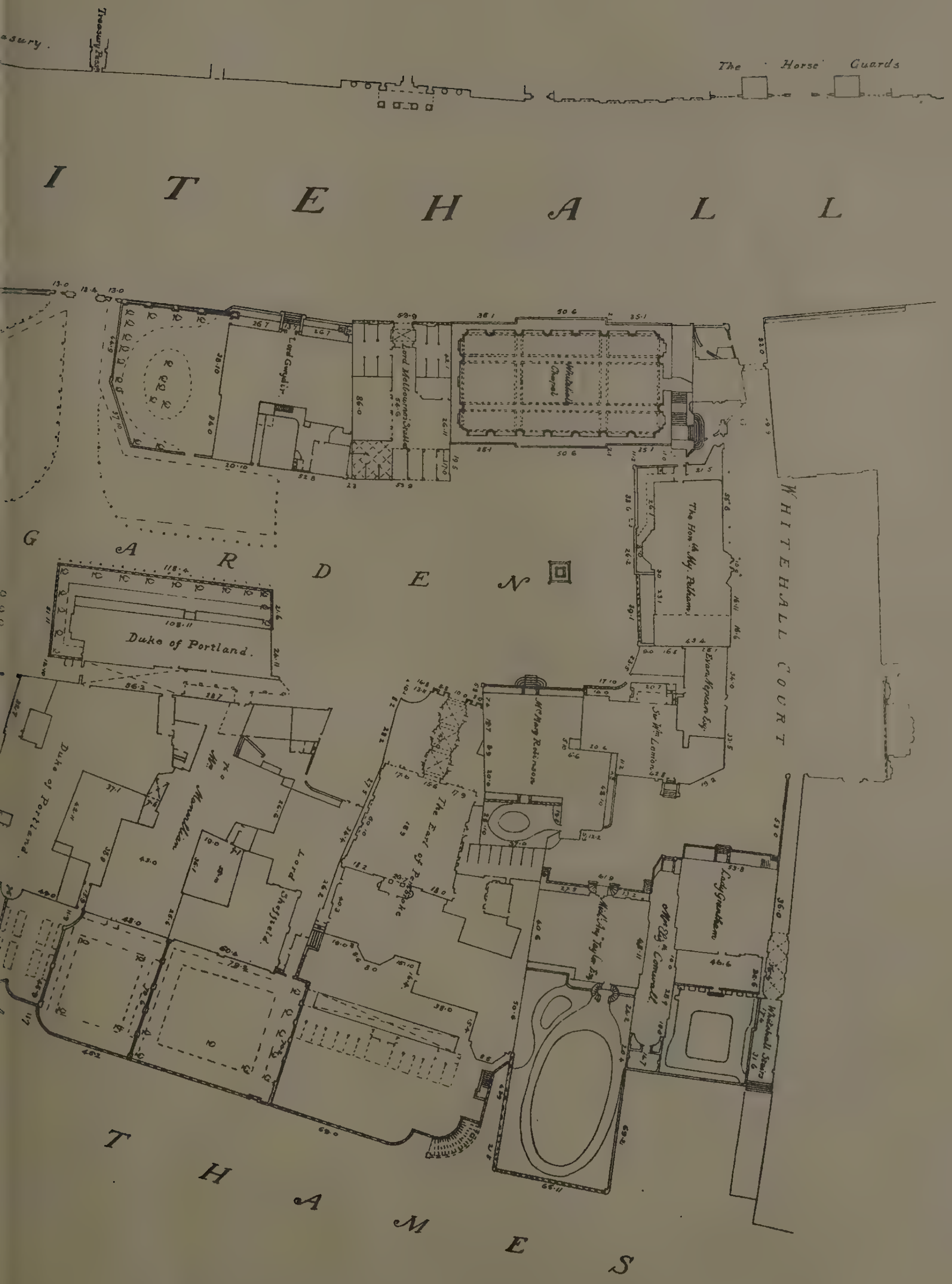
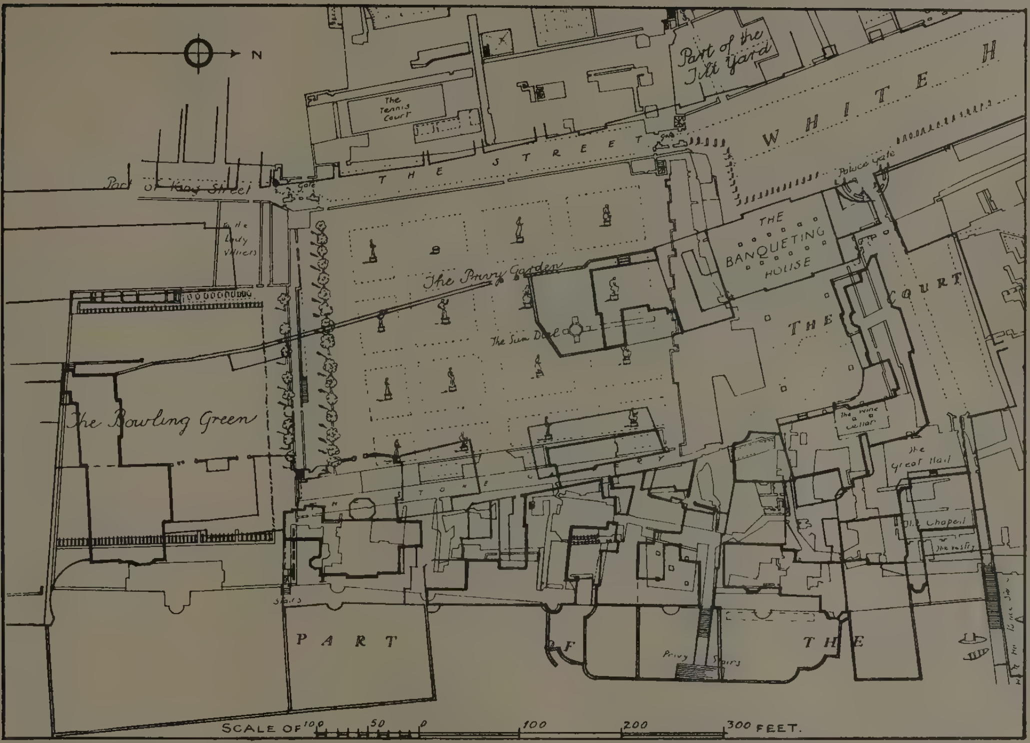
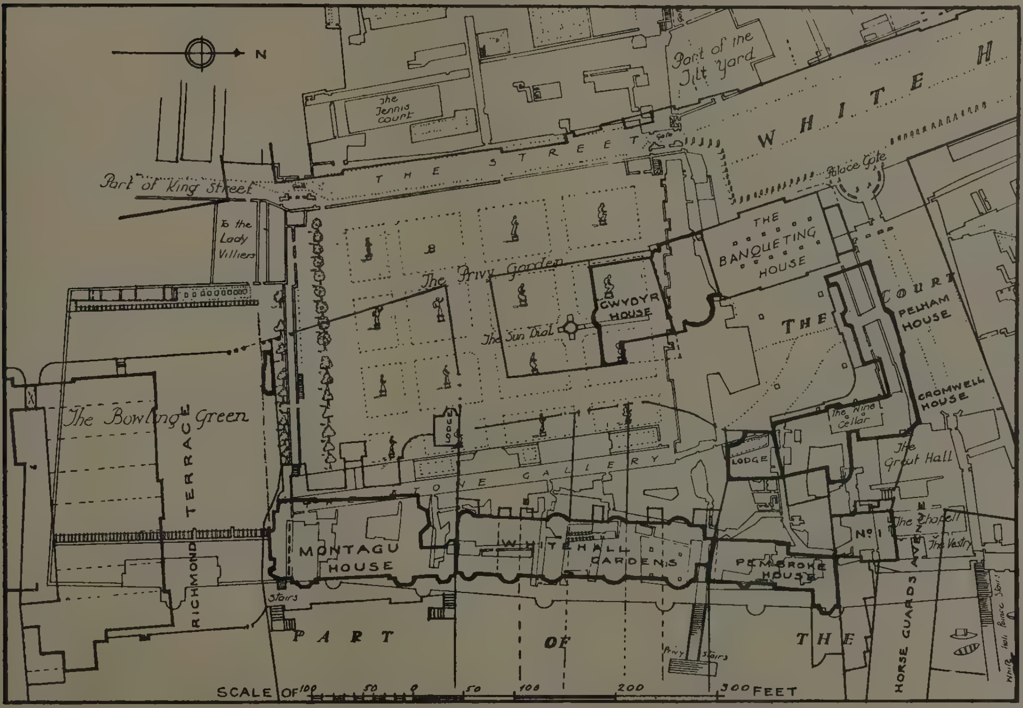
PLATE 2


KING STREET.
Fludyer Street.
Downing Street
PARLIAMENT STREET
W
PRIVY
Duke of Richmond.
The Duke of Richmond
Duke of Buccleugh.
THE RIVE

PLAN OF WHITEHALL IN 1804.

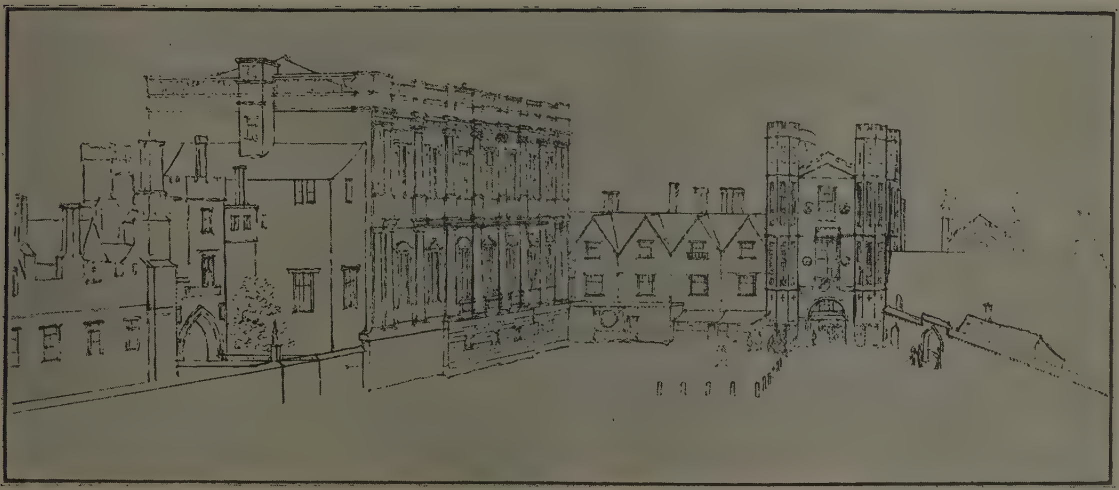

asury.
Treasury Pass.
The Horse Guards
ITEHALL
Lord Gwydir
Lord Melbourne's Stables
Whitehall Chapel
GARDEN
The Hon.ble Mr. Pelham
WHITEHALL COURT
Duke of Portland.
Evan Nepean Esq.
Sir Wm. Lemon
Mrs. Mary Robinson
The Earl of Pembroke
Duke of Portland
Lord Sheffield
Mich. Ang. Taylor Esq.
Mrs. Eliz. Cornwall
Lady Grantham
Whitehall Stairs
THAMES

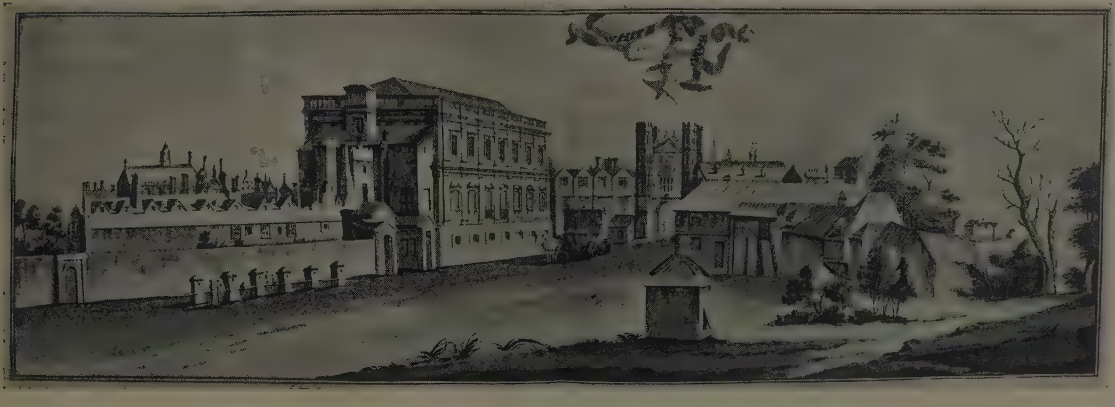

N
Part of the Tilt Yard
The Tennis Court
THE STREET
WHITE H
Part of King Street
Gate
To the Lady Villiers
Palace Gate
THE BANQUETING HOUSE
The Privy Garden
The Sun Dial
THE COURT
The Bowling Green
The Wine Cellar
The Great Hall
The Chapell
The Vestry
STONE GALLERY
Stairs
PART OF THE
Privy Stairs
SCALE OF 100 50 0 100 200 300 FEET.


N
Part of the Tilt Yard
The Tennis Court
THE STREET
WHITE H
Part of King Street
To the Lady Villiers
Palace Gate
THE BANQUETING HOUSE
The Privy Garden
GWYDYR HOUSE
The Sun Dial
THE COURT
PELHAM HOUSE
CROMWELL HOUSE
The Wine Cellar
The Great Hall
LODGE
STONE GALLERY
The Bowling Green
RICHMOND TERRACE
MONTAGU HOUSE
WHITEHALL GARDENS
PEMBROKE HOUSE
No 1
The Chapell
The Vestry
HORSE GUARDS AVENUE
Stairs
PART OF THE
Privy Stairs
Whitehall Stairs
SCALE OF 100 50 0 50 100 200 300 FEET

(*a*) THE PLAN OF 1804 IMPOSED ON THE PLAN OF 1670

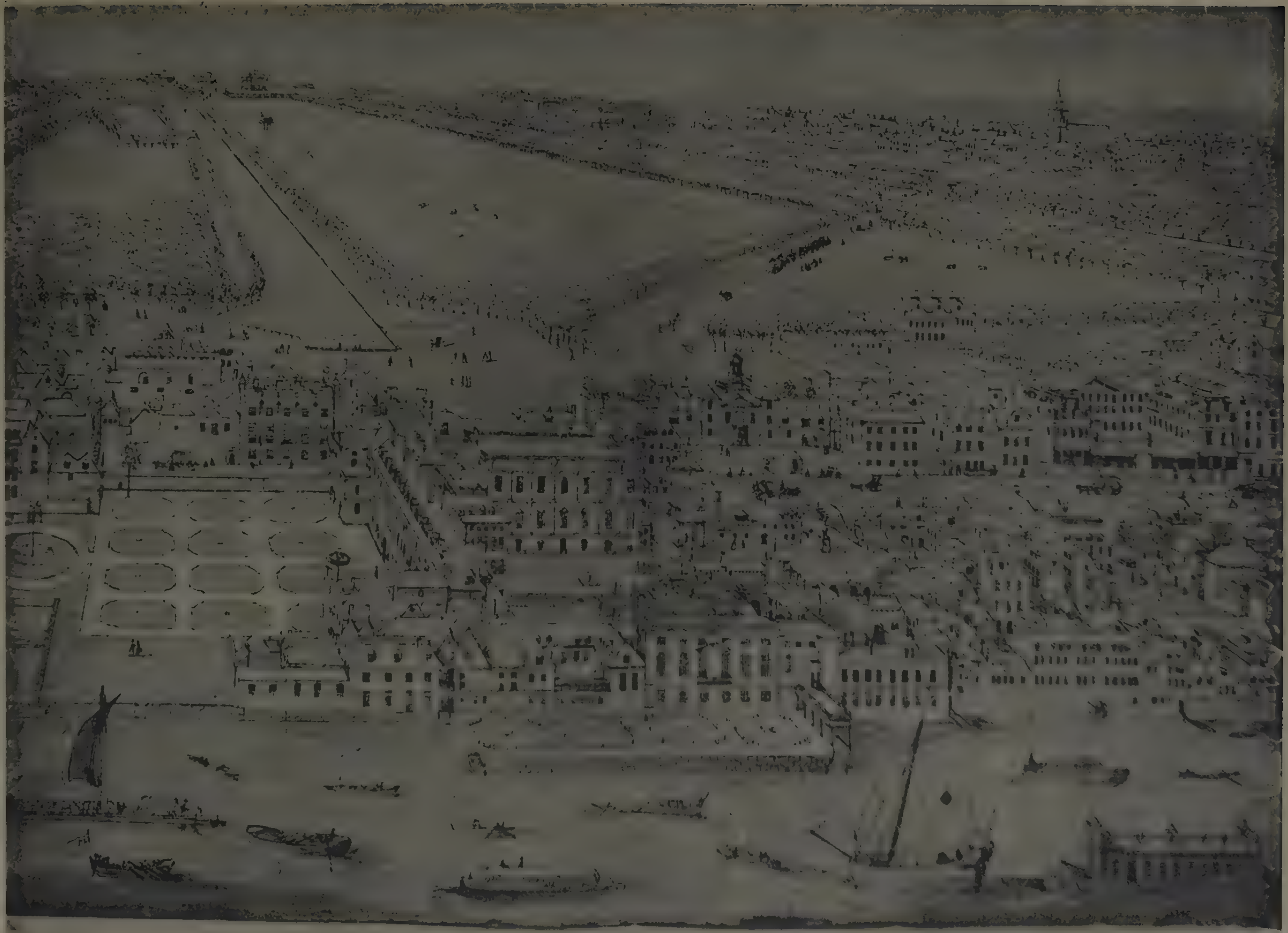
(*b*) PLAN OF WHITEHALL, SHOWING BUILDINGS AS EXISTING TO-DAY IMPOSED ON THE PLAN OF 1670





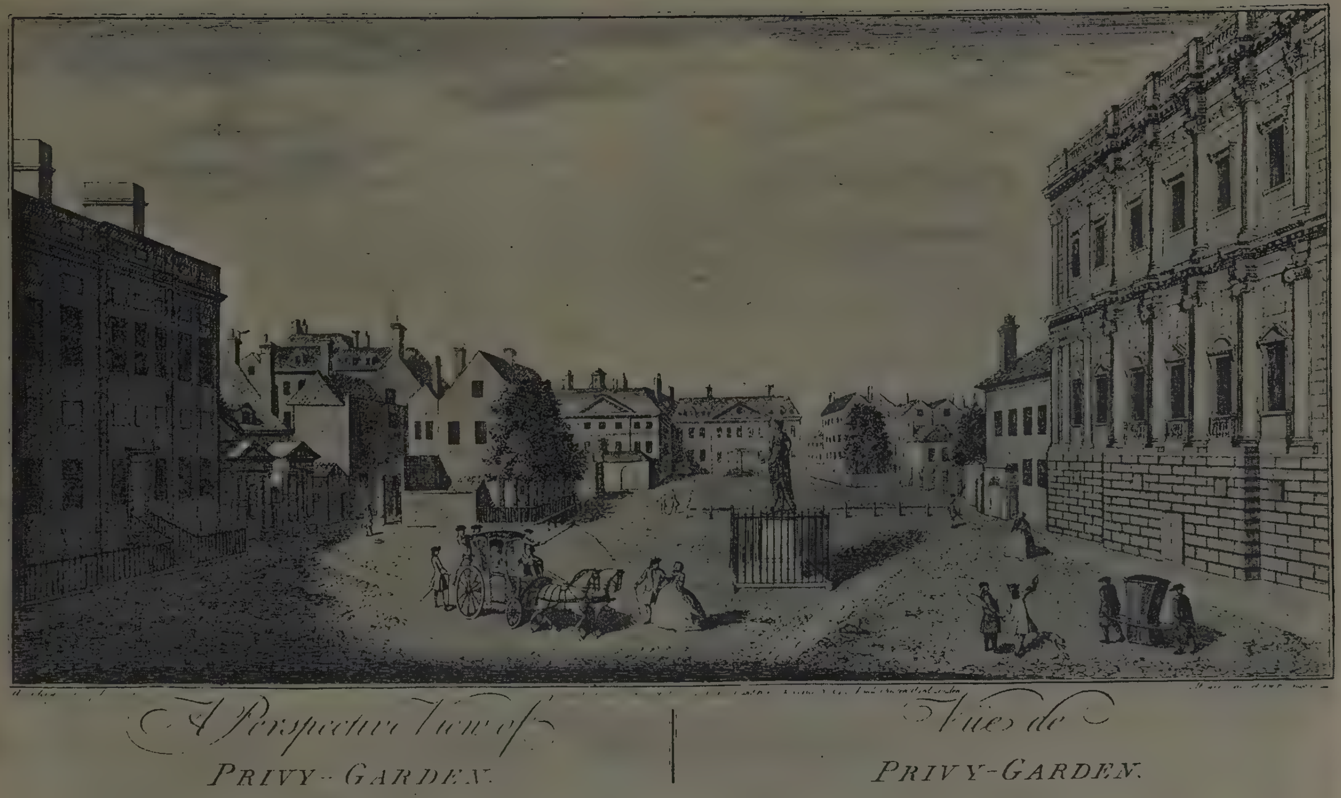
(*a*) HOLLAR'S VIEW OF THE BANQUETING HOUSE, ETC.
(*b*) THE "COSIMO" VIEW OF THE BANQUETING HOUSE, ETC., 1669

PLATE 5



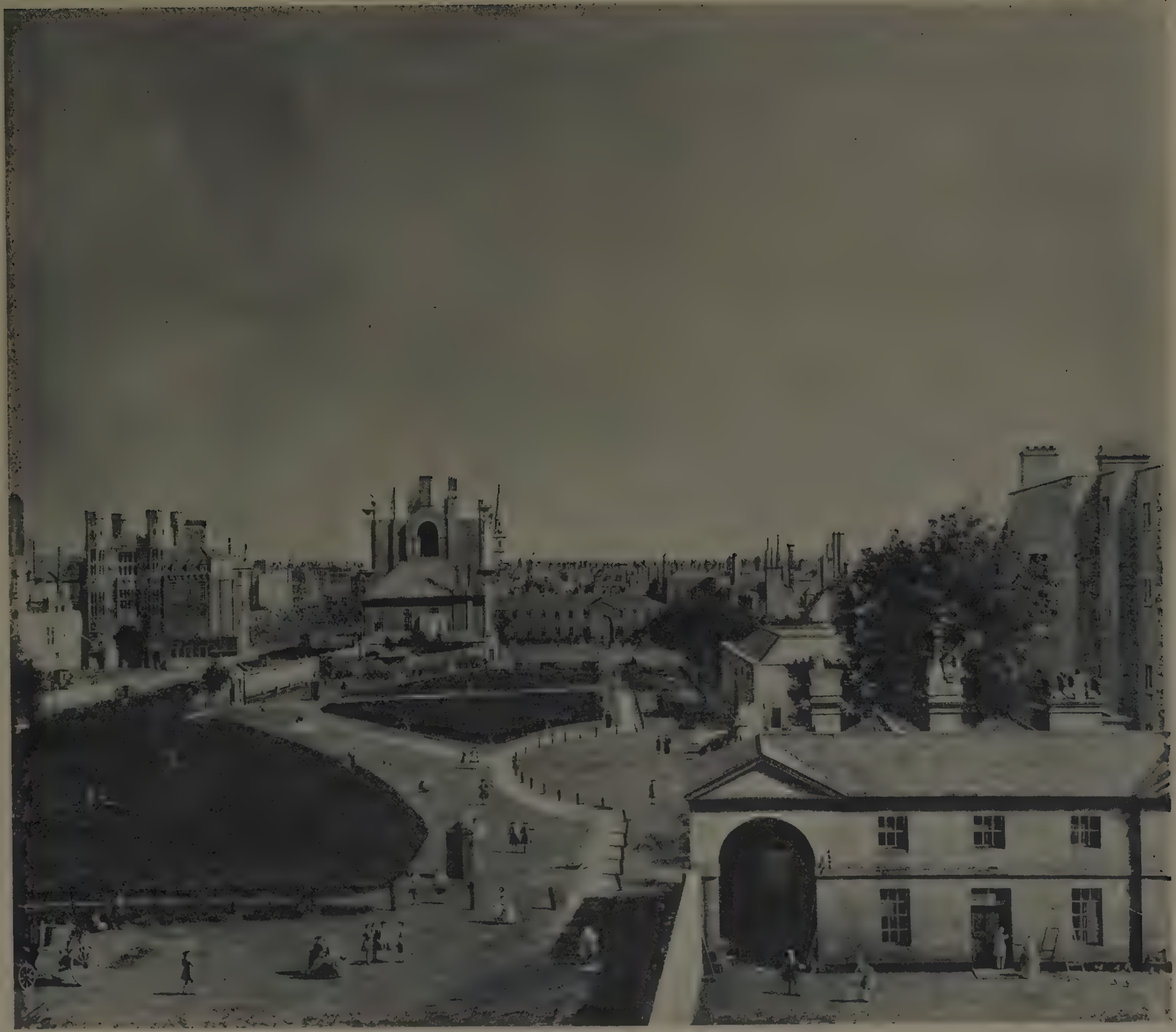
WHITEHALL IN 1695–8 (*p.* 111)

PLATE 6


A Perspective View of
PRIVY-GARDEN.
Vue de
PRIVY-GARDEN.

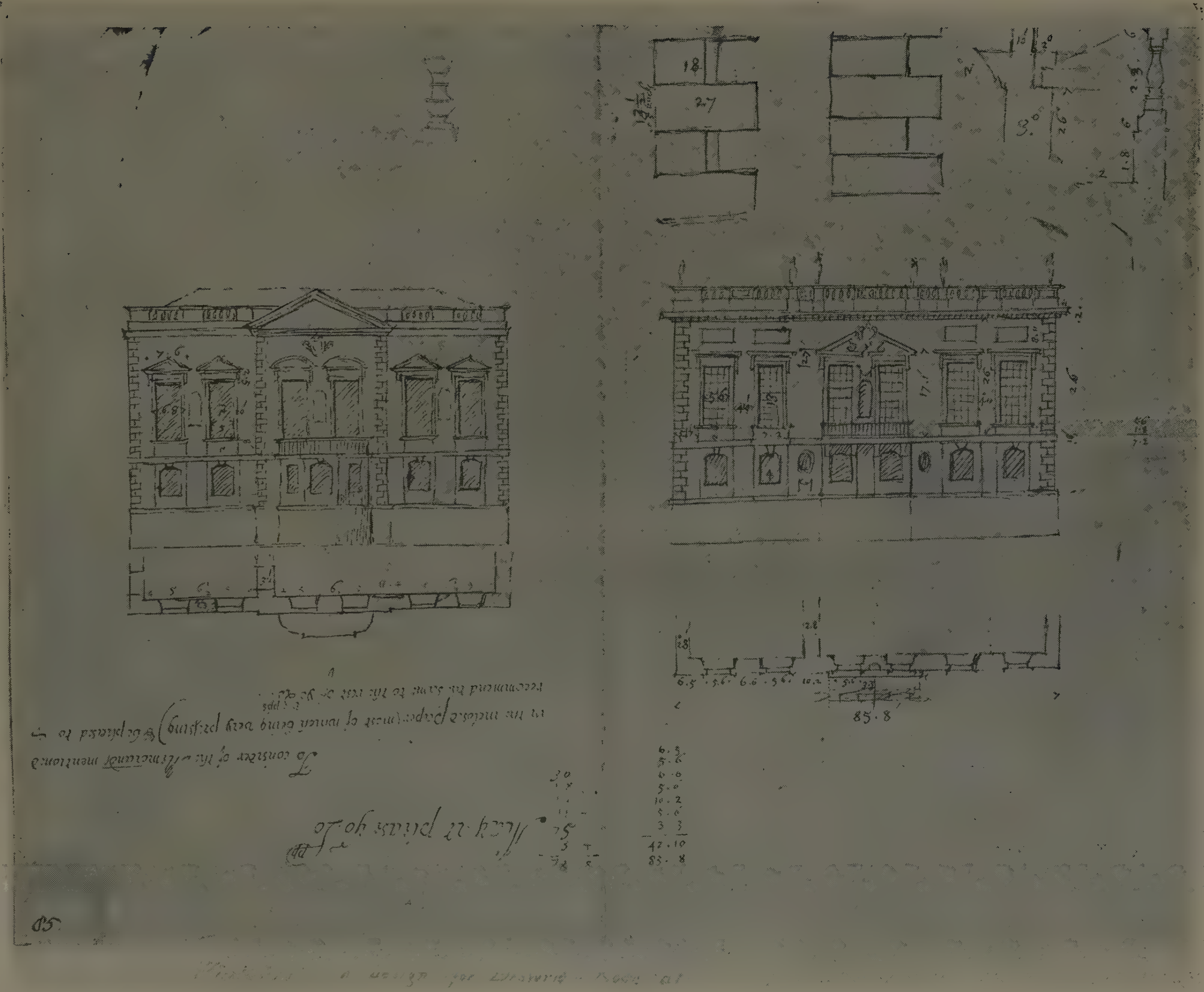
THE PRIVY GARDEN IN 1741

PLATE 7

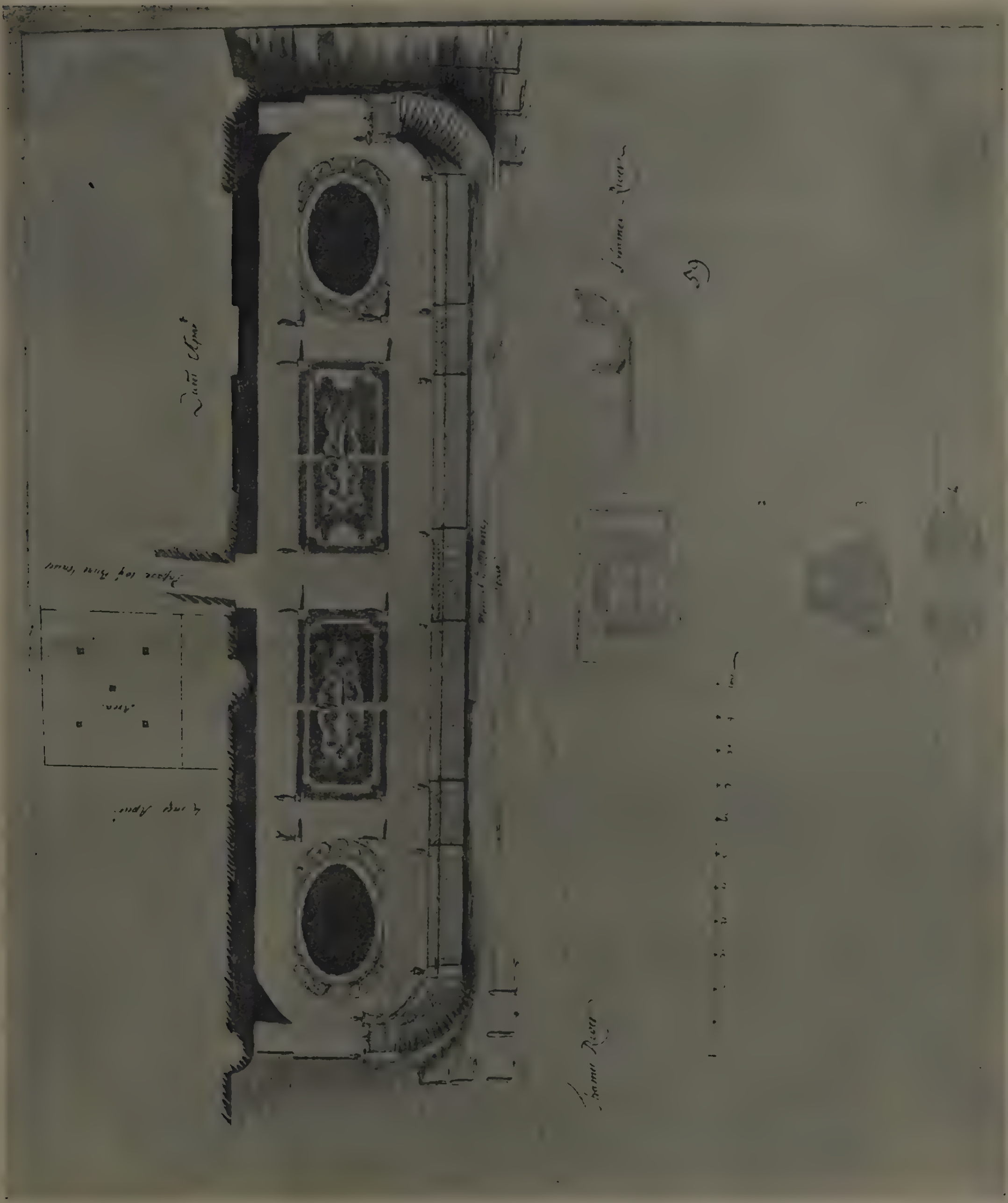


WHITEHALL FROM RICHMOND HOUSE IN 1746

PLATE 8

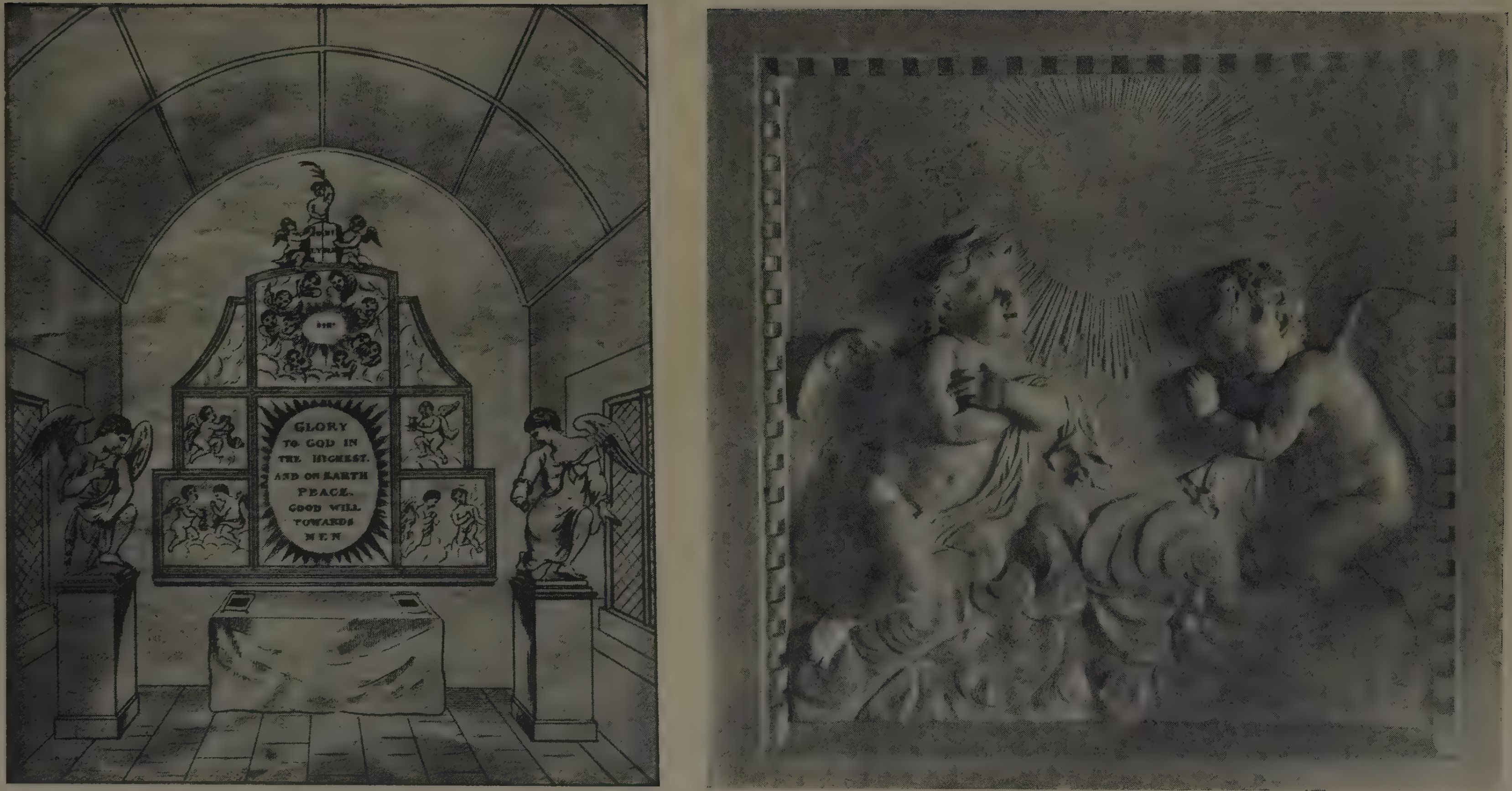


WREN'S DESIGNS FOR THE QUEEN'S DRAWING-ROOM (*p.* 71)



A DESIGN FOR QUEEN MARY'S TERRACE (*p.* 59)

PLATE 10


GLORY
TO GOD IN
THE HIGHEST.
AND ON EARTH
PEACE.
GOOD WILL
TOWARDS
MEN

ALTAR-PIECE FROM ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPEL, NOW IN CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW, BURNHAM (*pp.* 107–9)

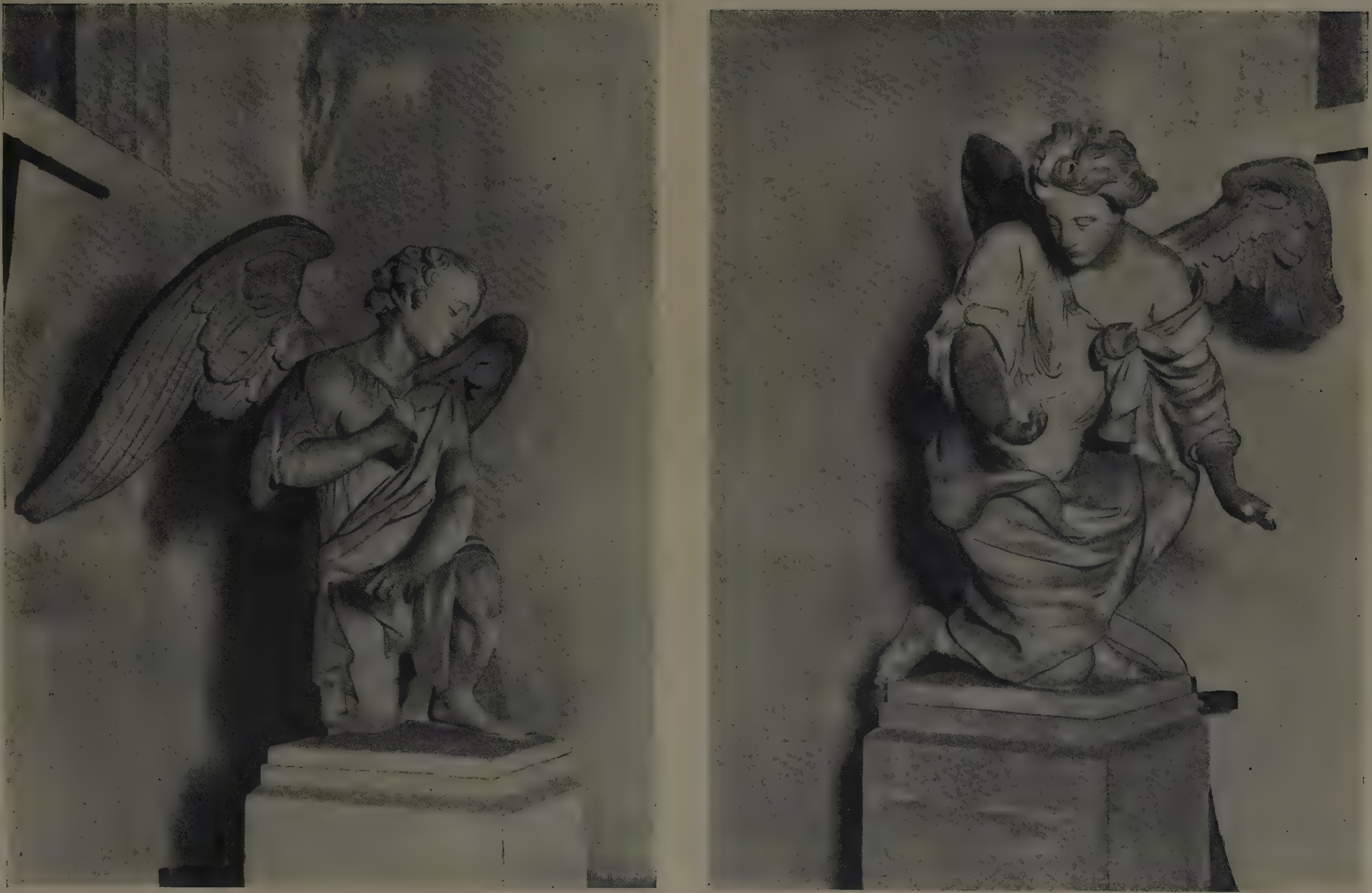
AS ORIGINALLY SET UP AT BURNHAM

PANEL OF CHERUBS

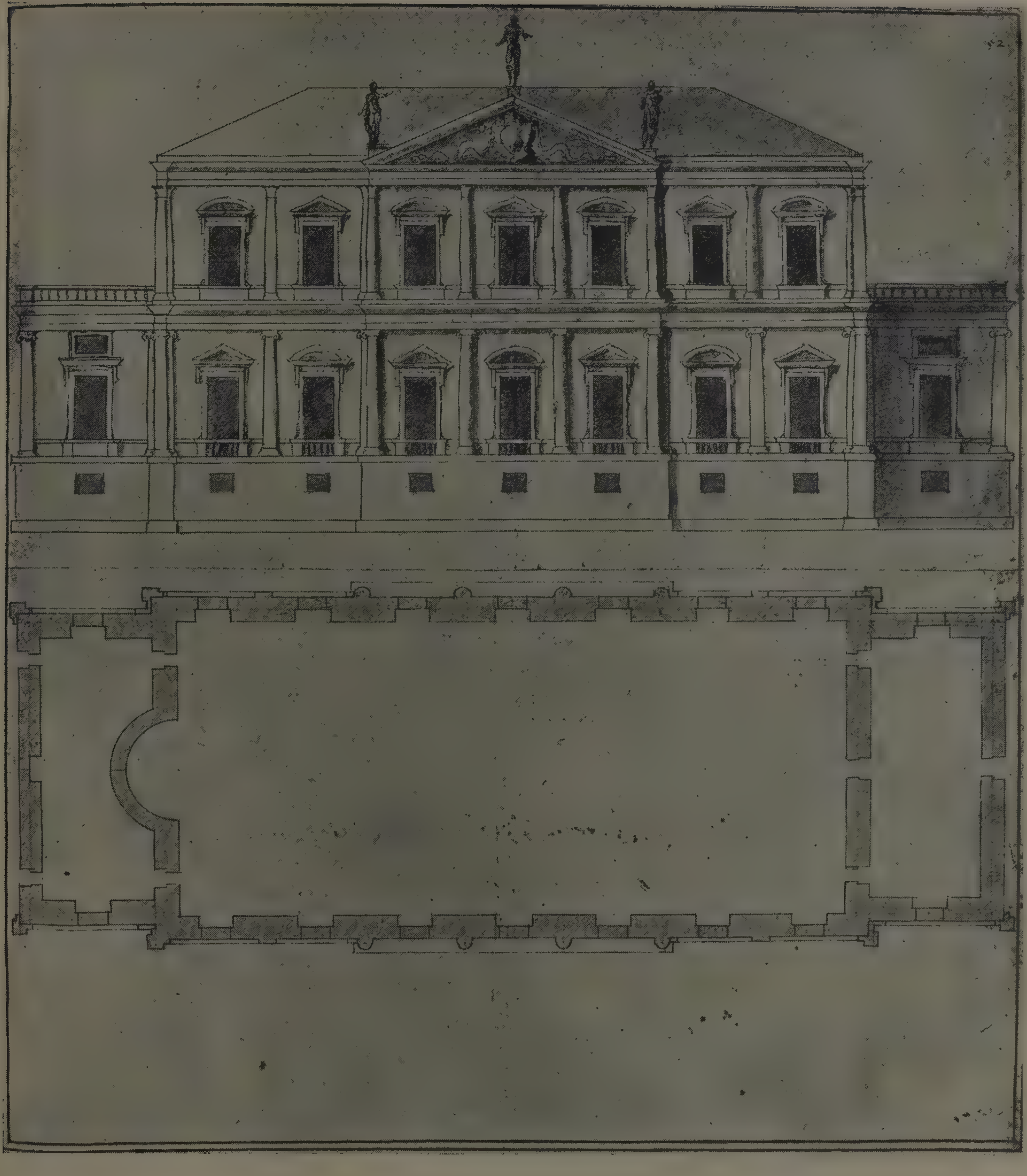
ALTAR-PIECE FROM ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPEL (*pp.* 107–9)

PANEL OF CHERUBS

PANEL WITH SACRED NAME

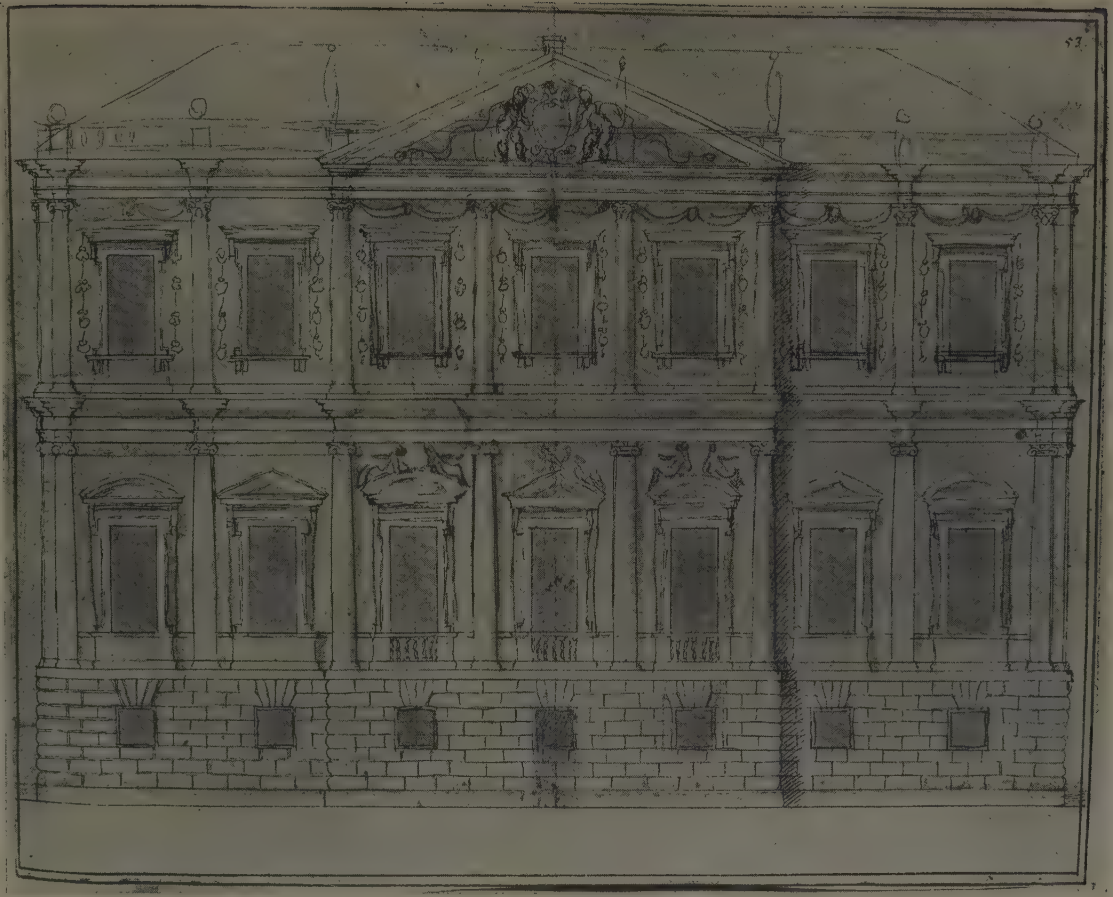


ALTAR-PIECE FROM ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPEL (*pp.* 107–9)
FIGURES OF ANGELS



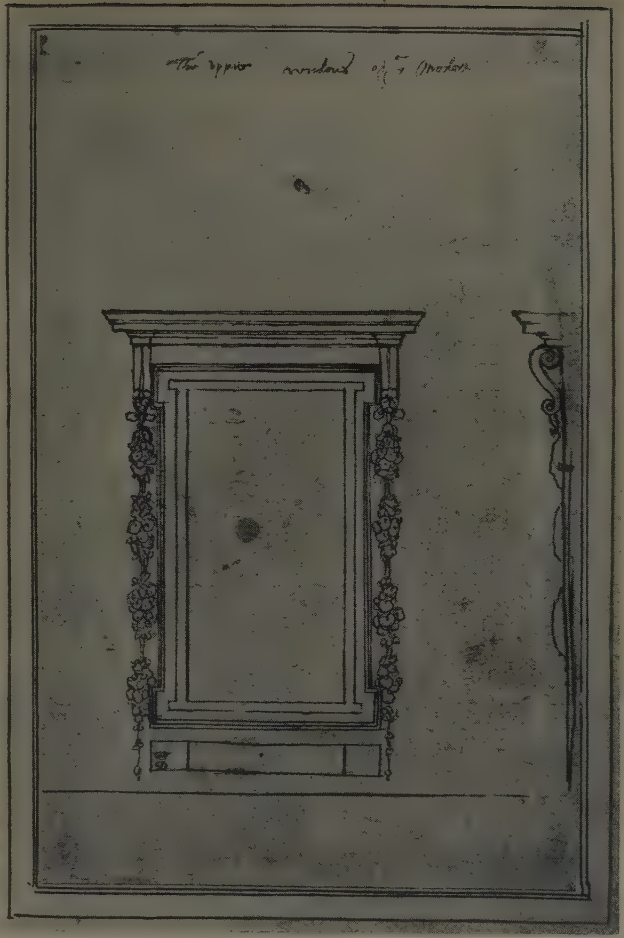
PRELIMINARY SKETCH FOR THE BANQUETING HOUSE
PROBABLY BY INIGO JONES (*p.* 121)

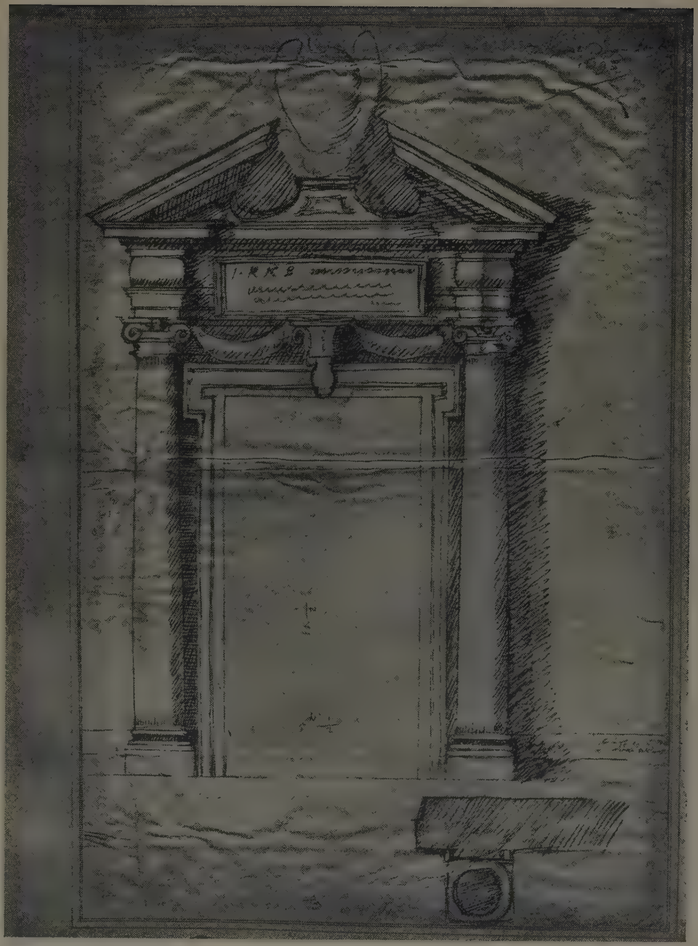
PLATE 14



DESIGN FOR ELEVATION OF THE BANQUETING HOUSE
PROBABLY BY INIGO JONES (*p.* 121)

PLATE 15


The upper windowe of ye [illegible]

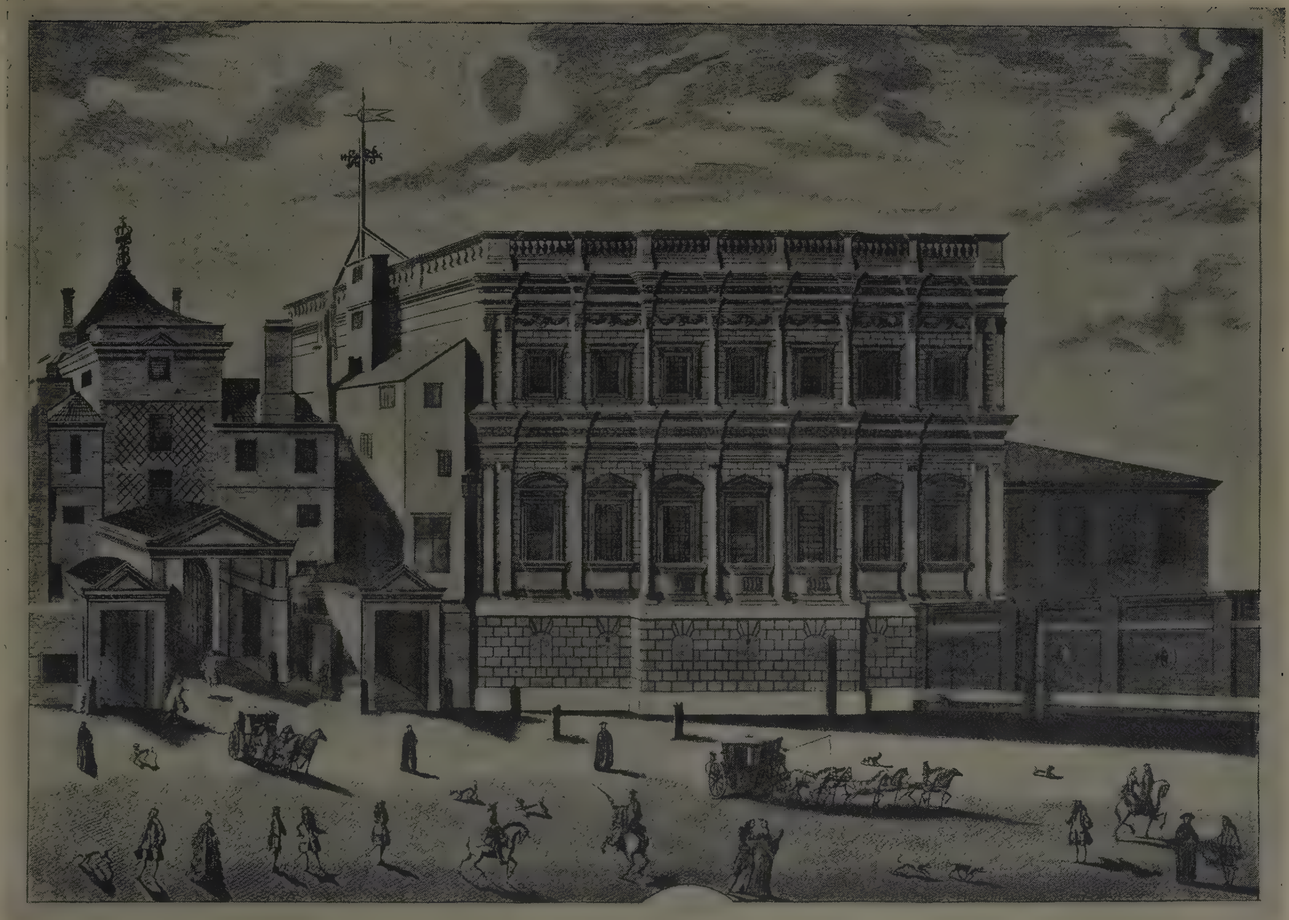


BANQUETING HOUSE

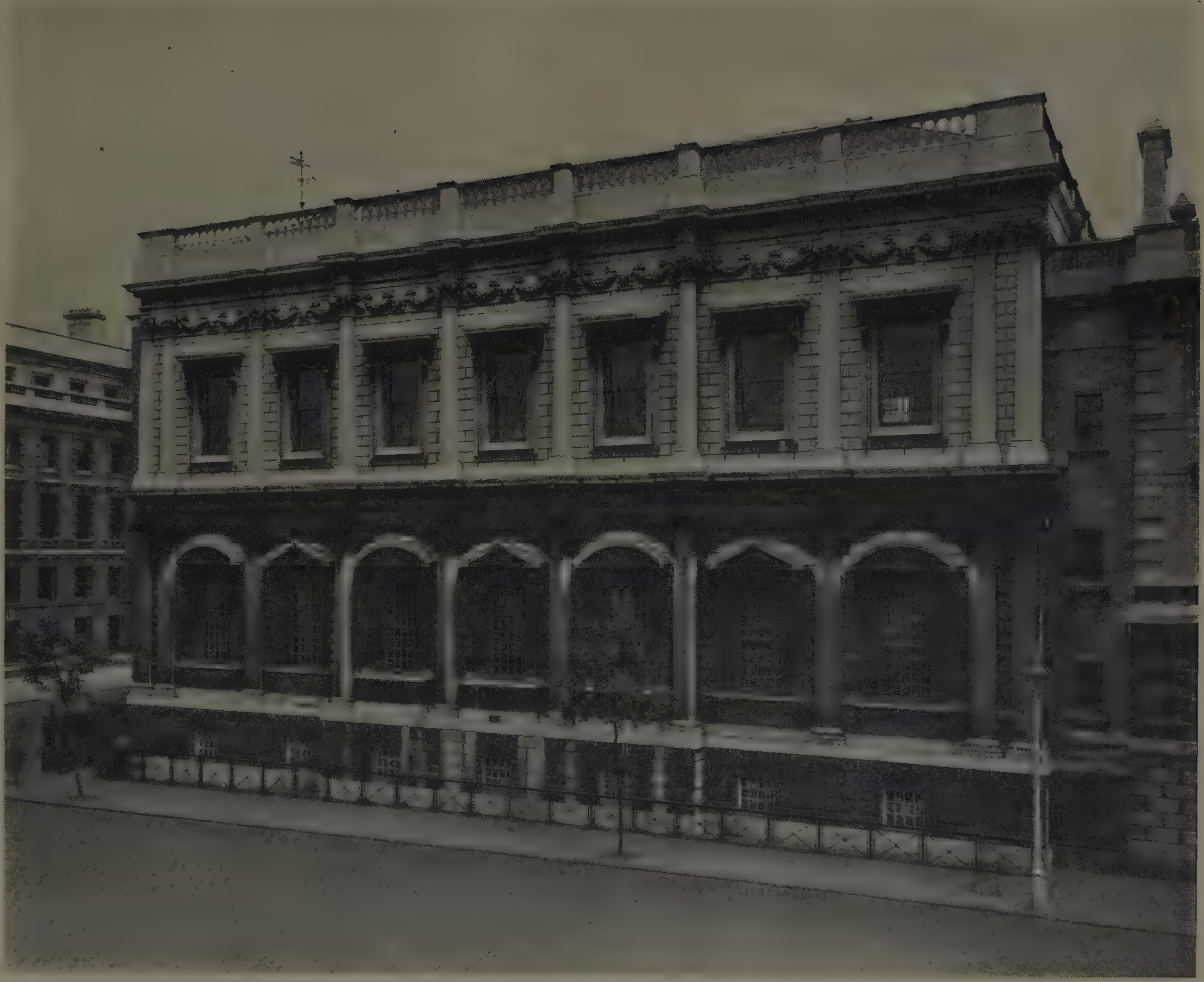
DESIGN FOR UPPER WINDOWS
(*p.* 121)

" ELEVATION OF THE GREAT DOURE "
(*p.* 121)

PLATE 16

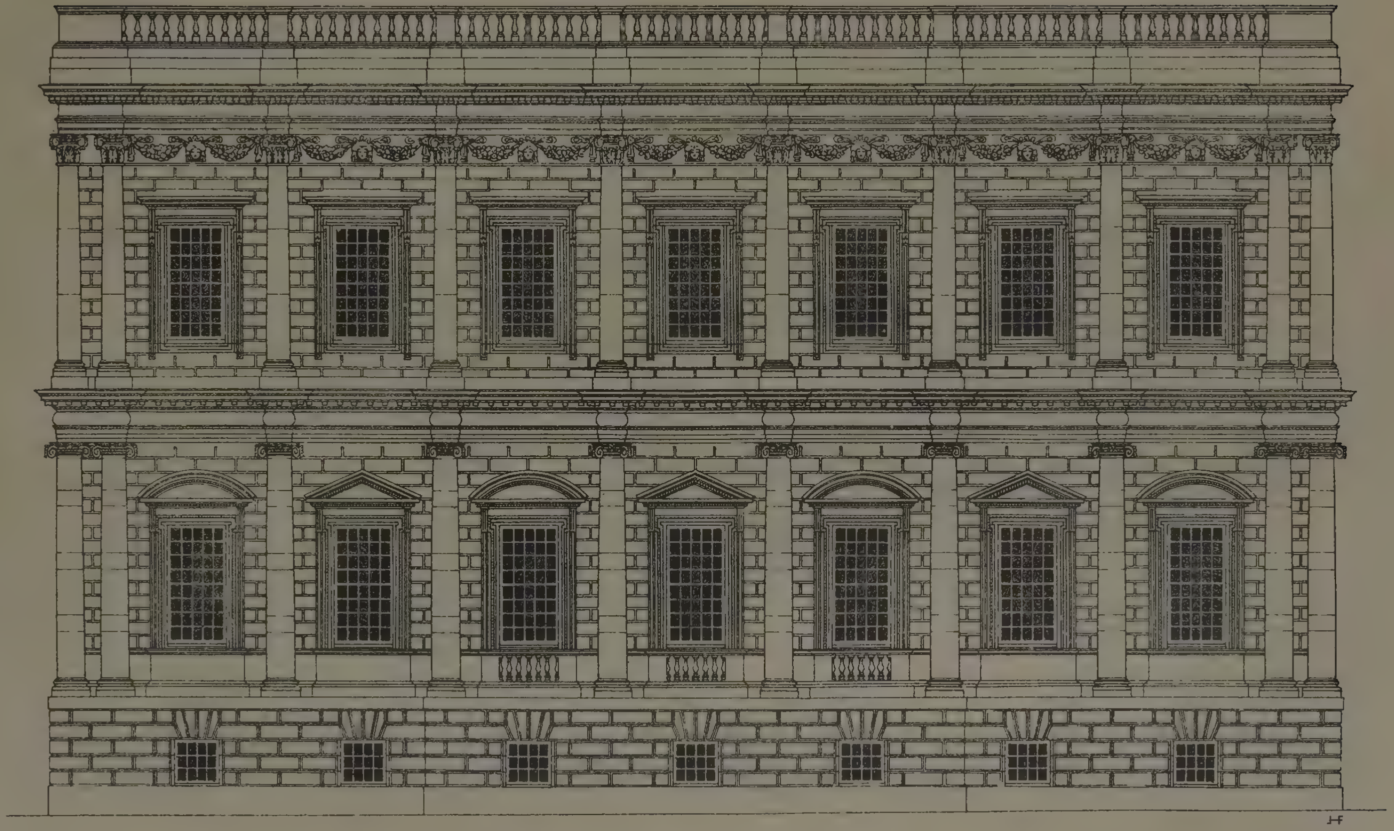


THE BANQUETING HOUSE IN 1713



THE BANQUETING HOUSE. ELEVATION TO WHITEHALL (*p.* 130)

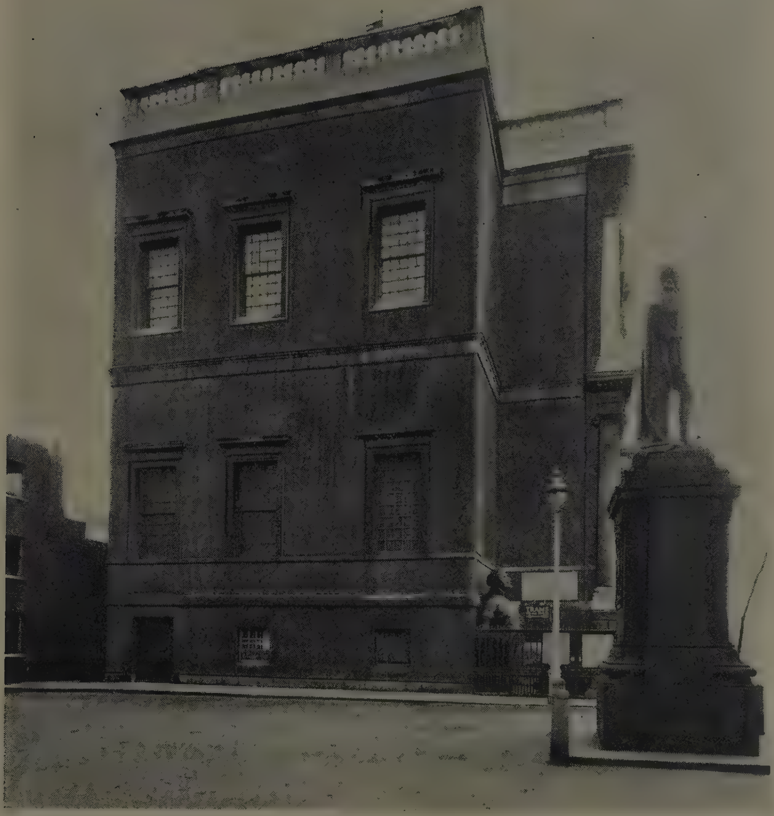
THE BANQUETING HOUSE WHITEHALL


HF

ELEVATION TO WHITEHALL

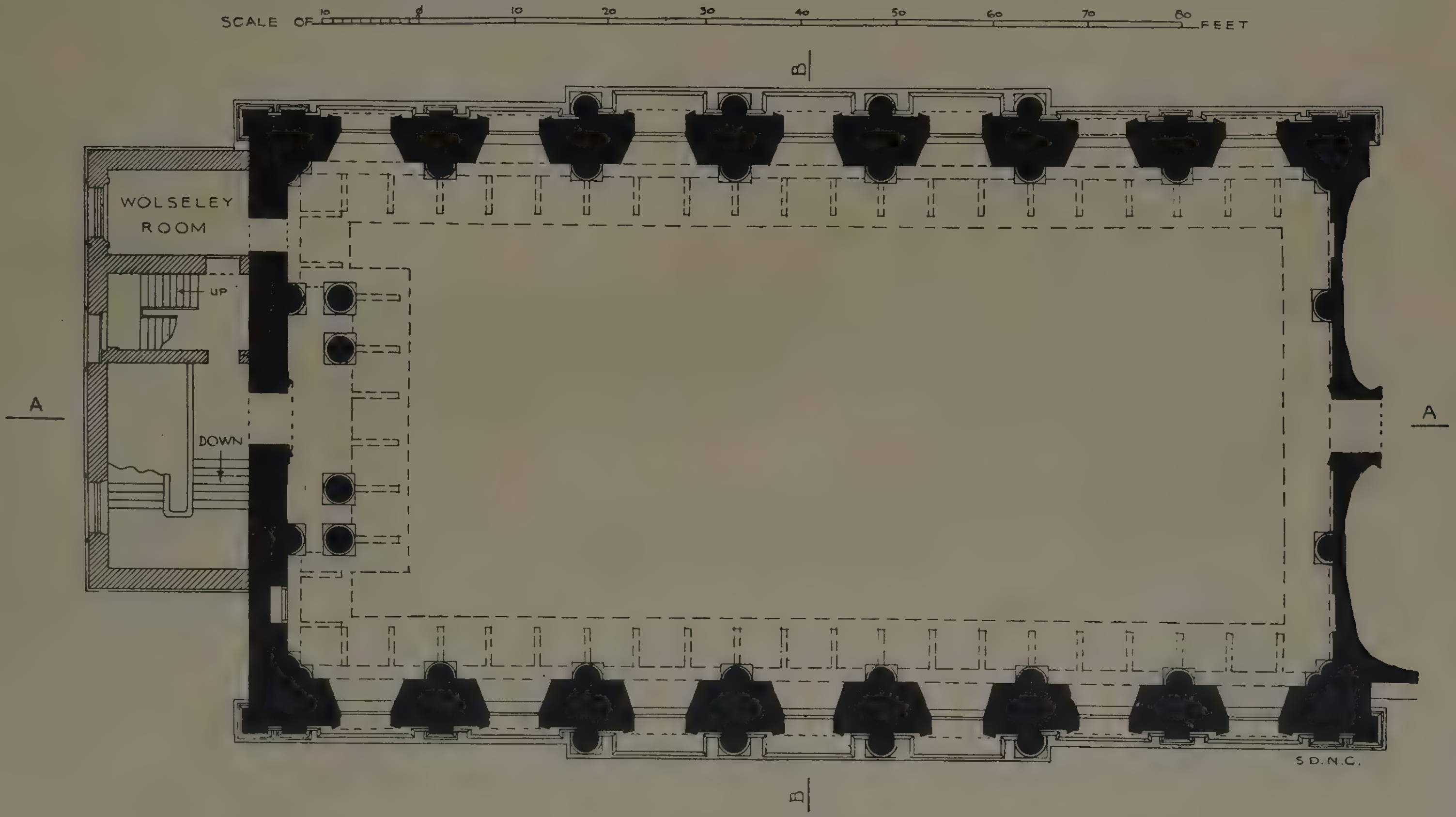
10
5
0
10
20
30
40
50 FEET

Inigo Jones:



THE BANQUETING HOUSE. NORTH ELEVATION
(*pp.* 126, 131)

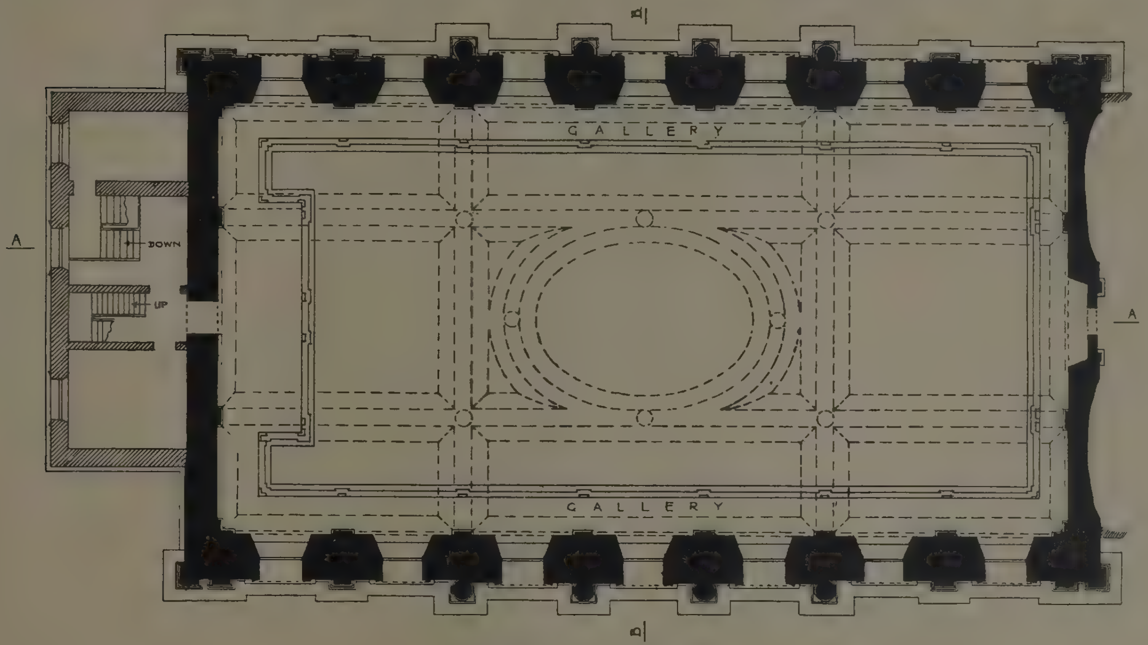
THE BANQUETING HOUSE, WHITEHALL


SCALE OF FEET
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
B
B
A
A
WOLSELEY ROOM
UP
DOWN
S.D.N.C.

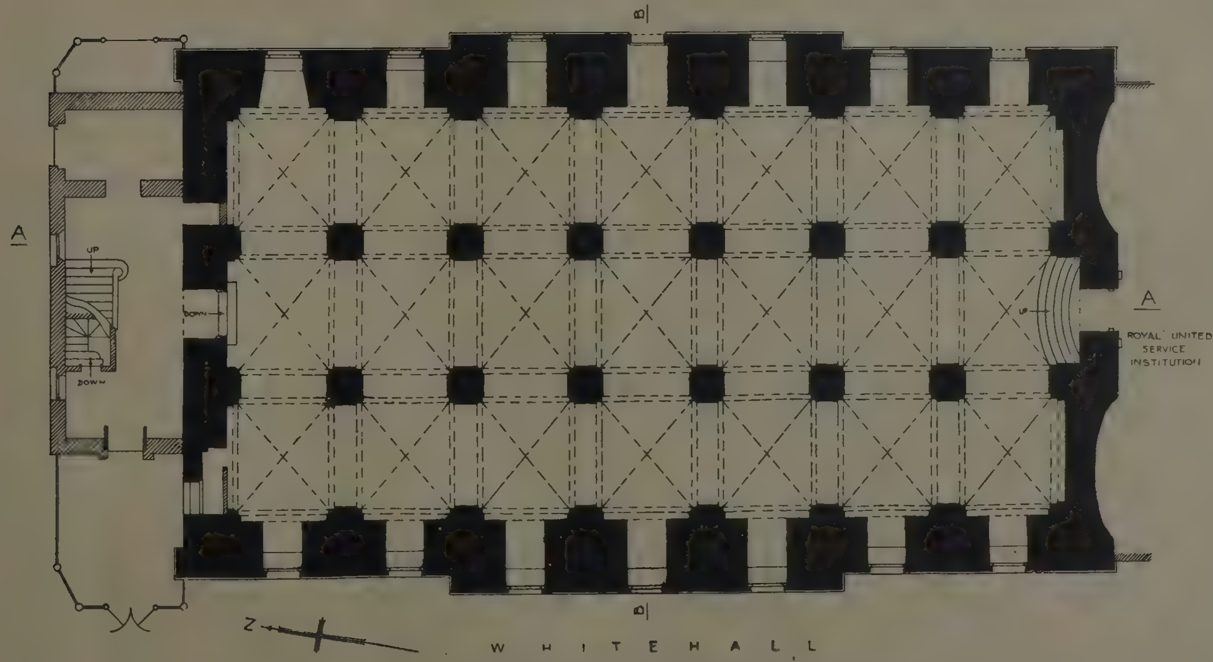
PLAN OF HALL

THE BANQUETING HOUSE, WHITEHALL

SCALE OF 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 FEET

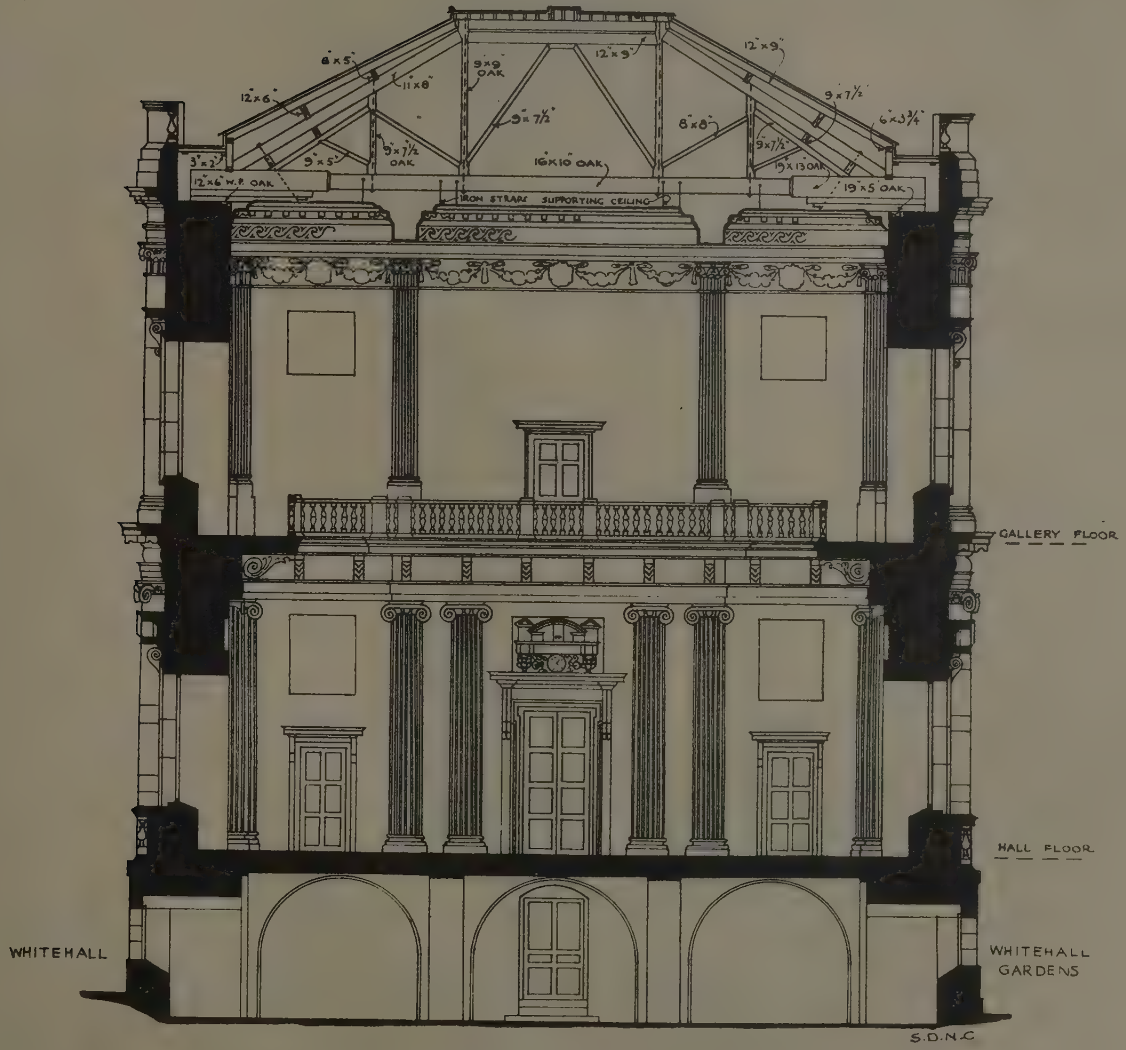

B
A
DOWN
UP
GALLERY
GALLERY
A
B

PLAN AT GALLERY LEVEL


B
A
UP
DOWN
DOWN
UP
A
ROYAL UNITED SERVICE INSTITUTION
N
WHITEHALL
B

PLAN AT GROUND LEVEL

THE
BANQUETING HOUSE
WHITEHALL

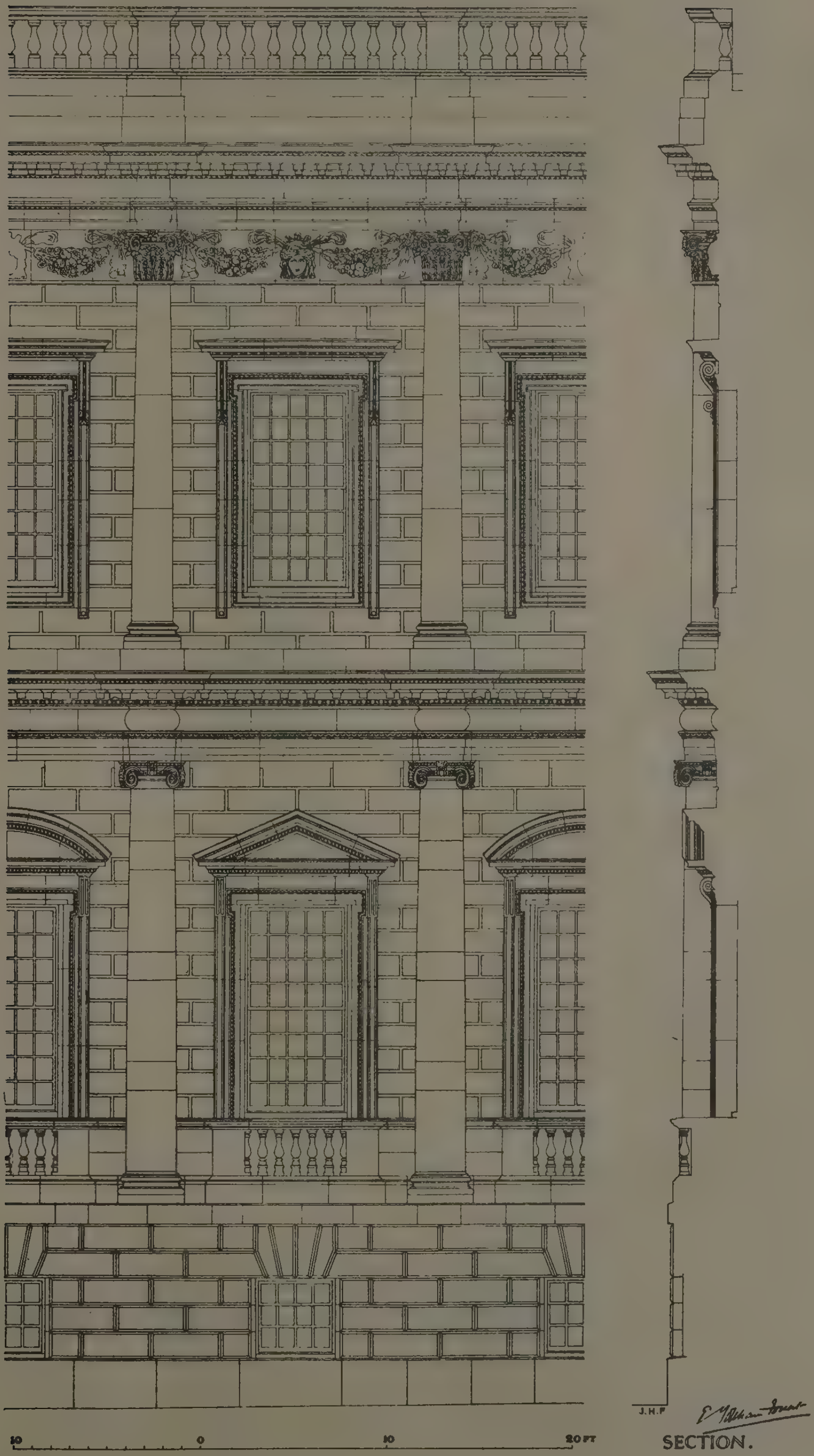

8×5
12"×9"
12"×9"
9×9 OAK
11×8"
12×6
9×7½
9"×7½
8"×8"
6"×3¾"
9"×7½"
9"×7½ OAK
3"×2"
9"×5"
16"×10" OAK
19"×13 OAK
12"×6" W.P. OAK
19"×5" OAK
IRON STRAPS SUPPORTING CEILING
GALLERY FLOOR
HALL FLOOR
WHITEHALL
WHITEHALL GARDENS
S.D.N.C.

SECTION BB

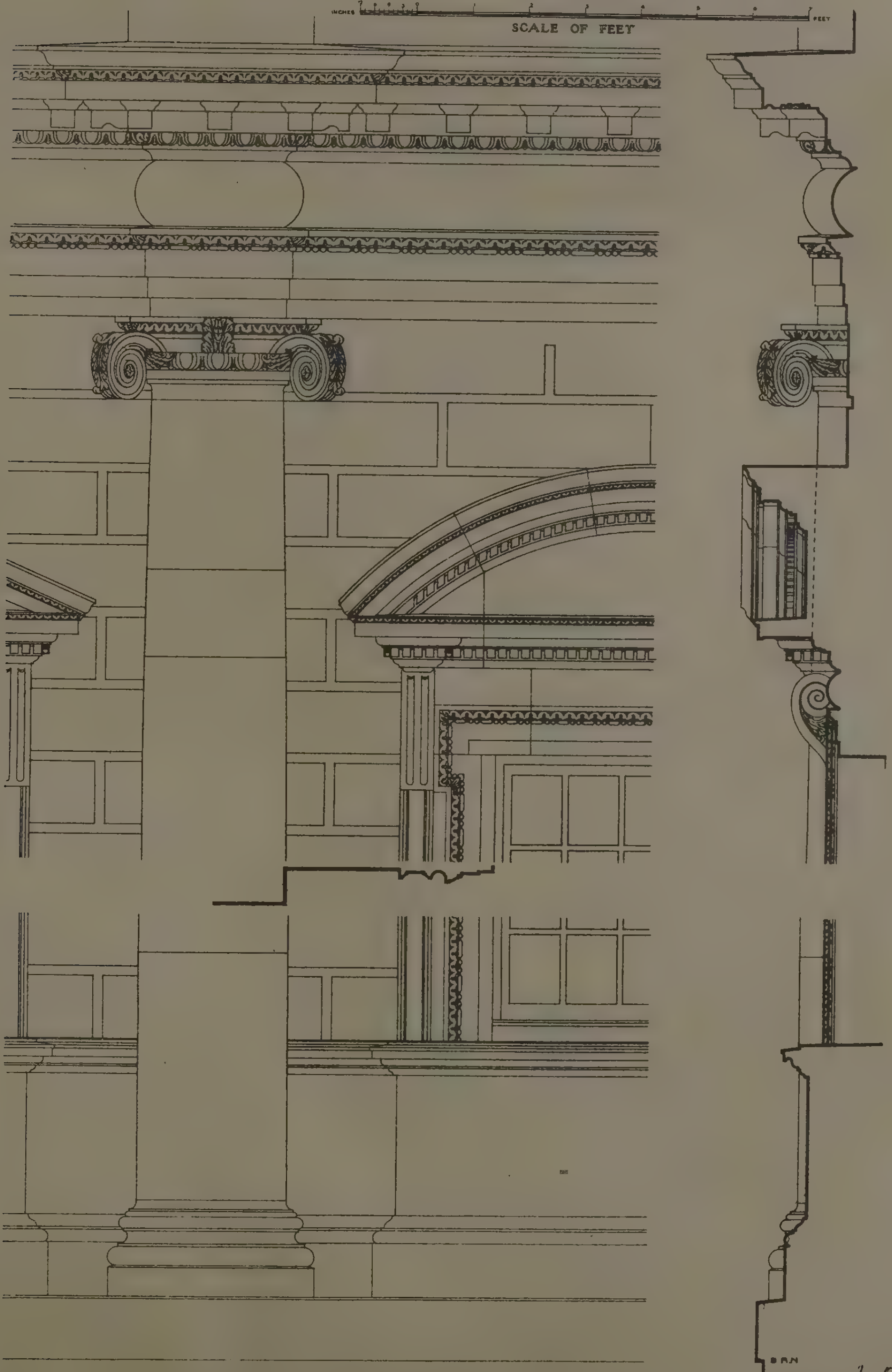
SCALE OF 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 FEET

THE BANQUETING HOUSE WHITEHALL

DETAIL OF CENTRAL BAY OF FACADE


10
0
10
20 FT
J.H.P
SECTION.

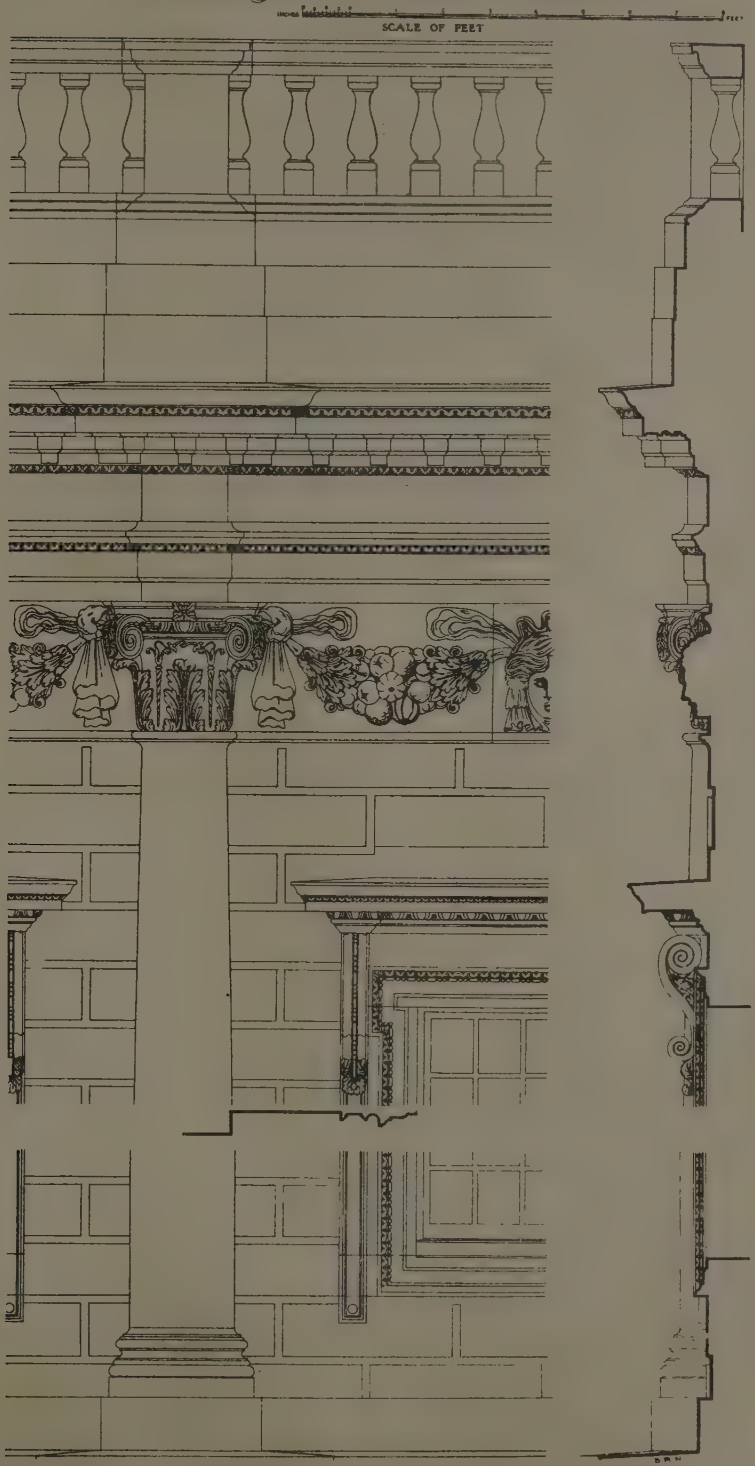
THE BANQUETING HOUSE WHITEHALL


INCHES
FEET
SCALE OF FEET
B R N

DETAIL OF LOWER ORDER – END BAY

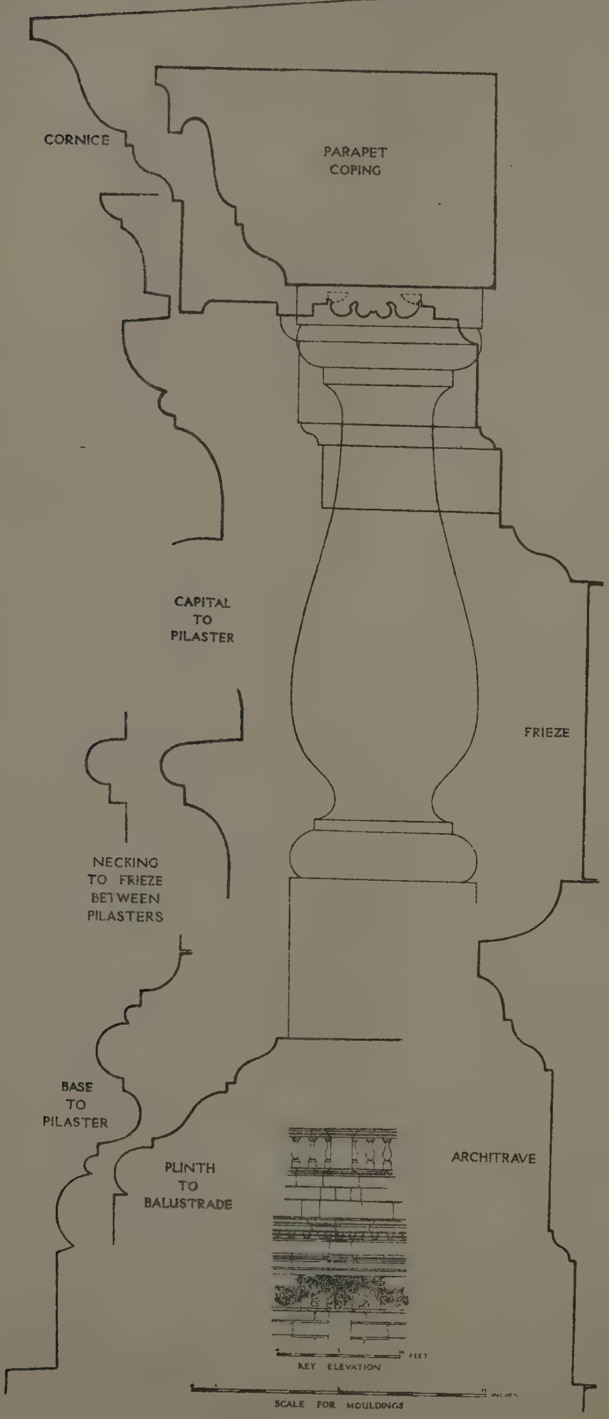
PLATE 25

THE BANQUETING HOUSE WHITEHALL

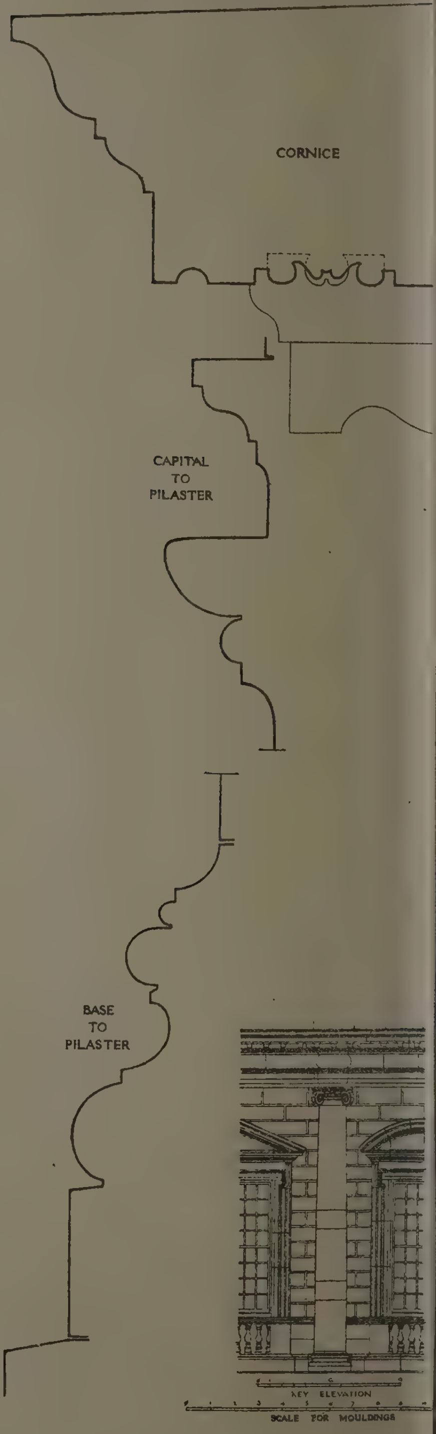

INCHES
FEET
SCALE OF FEET
BRN

DETAIL OF UPPER ORDER — END BAY

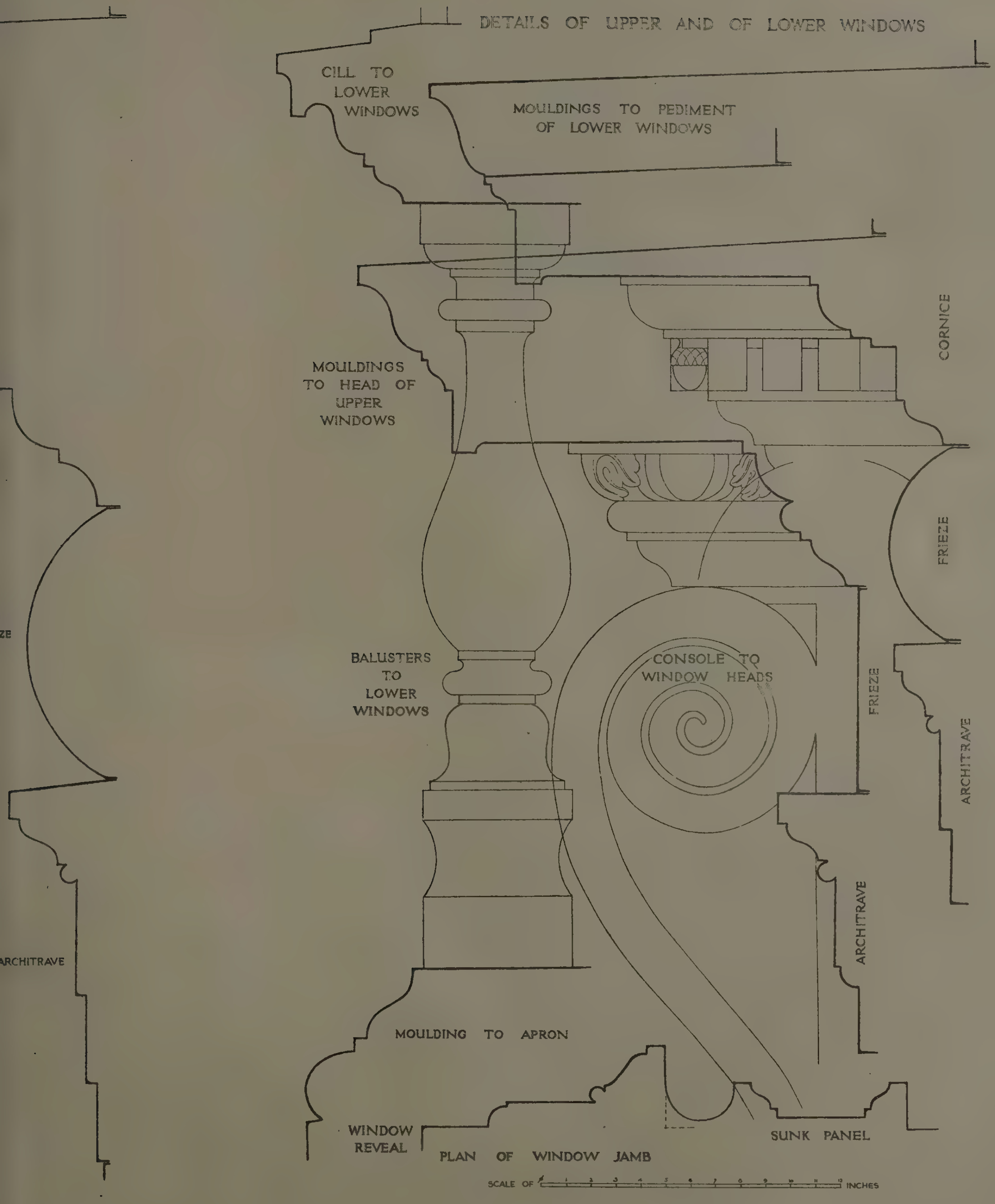
DETAIL OF MOULDINGS TO MAIN ORDER


CORNICE
PARAPET COPING
CAPITAL TO PILASTER
FRIEZE
NECKING TO FRIEZE BETWEEN PILASTERS
BASE TO PILASTER
PLINTH TO BALUSTRADE
ARCHITRAVE
FEET
KEY ELEVATION
INCHES
SCALE FOR MOULDINGS

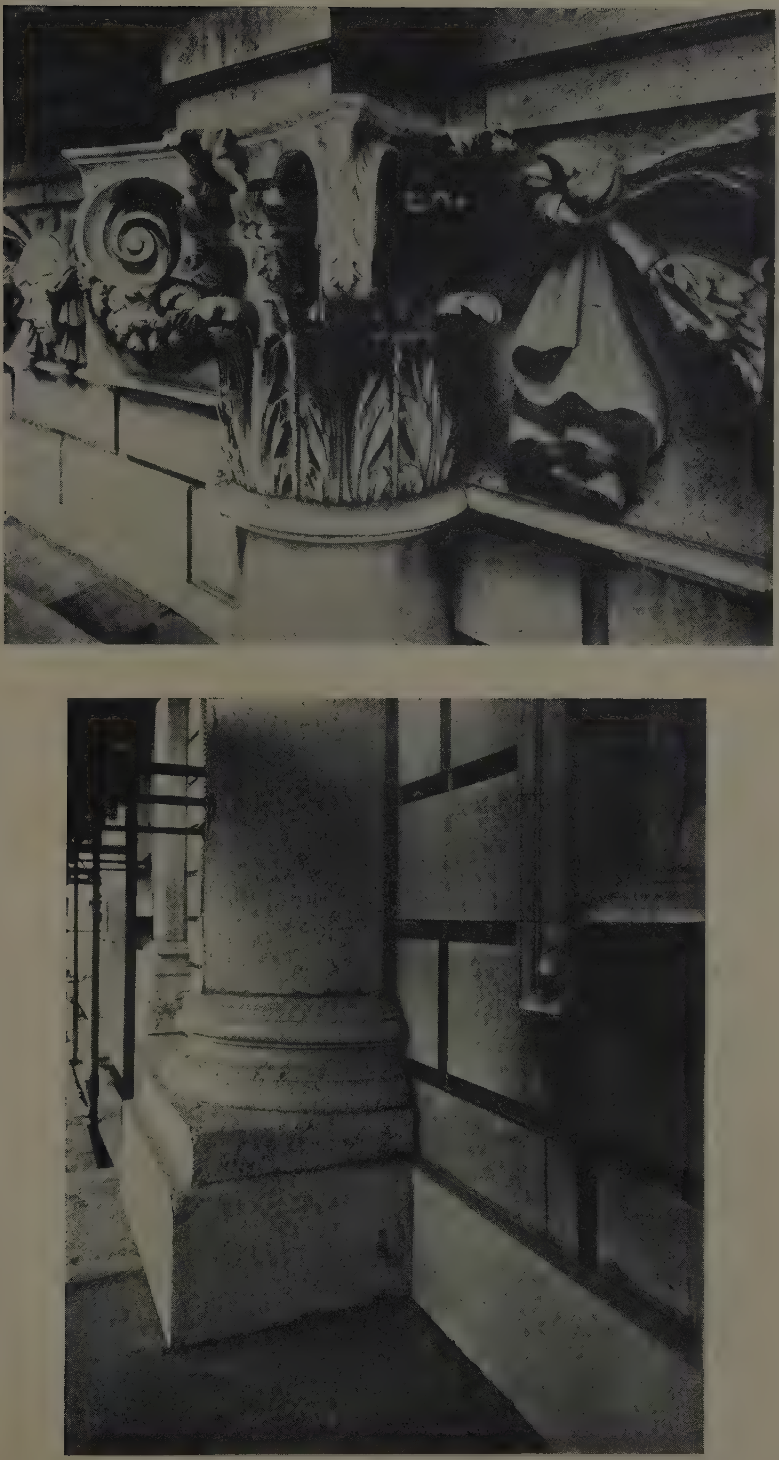
DETAIL OF MOULDINGS TO LOWER


CORNICE
CAPITAL TO PILASTER
BASE TO PILASTER
KEY ELEVATION
SCALE FOR MOULDINGS

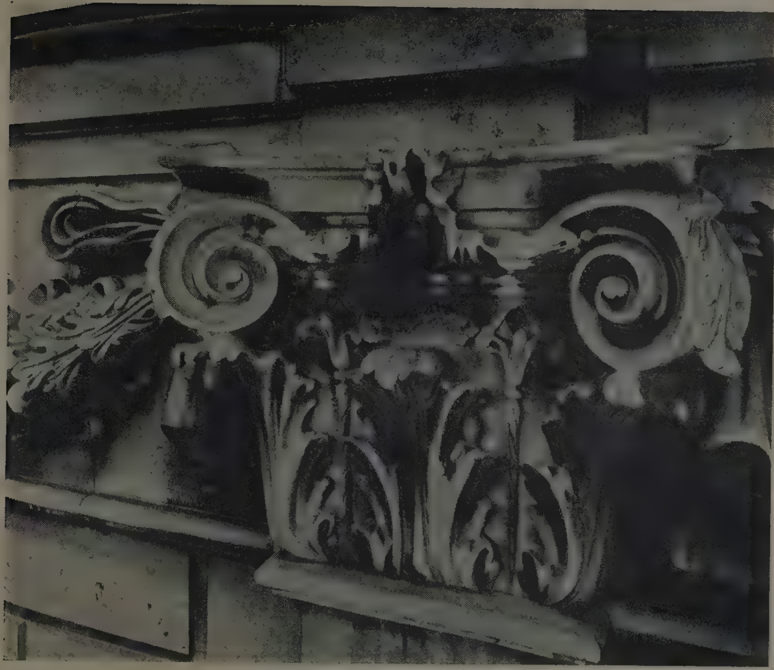
THE BANQUETING
SECTION OF PRINCIPAL

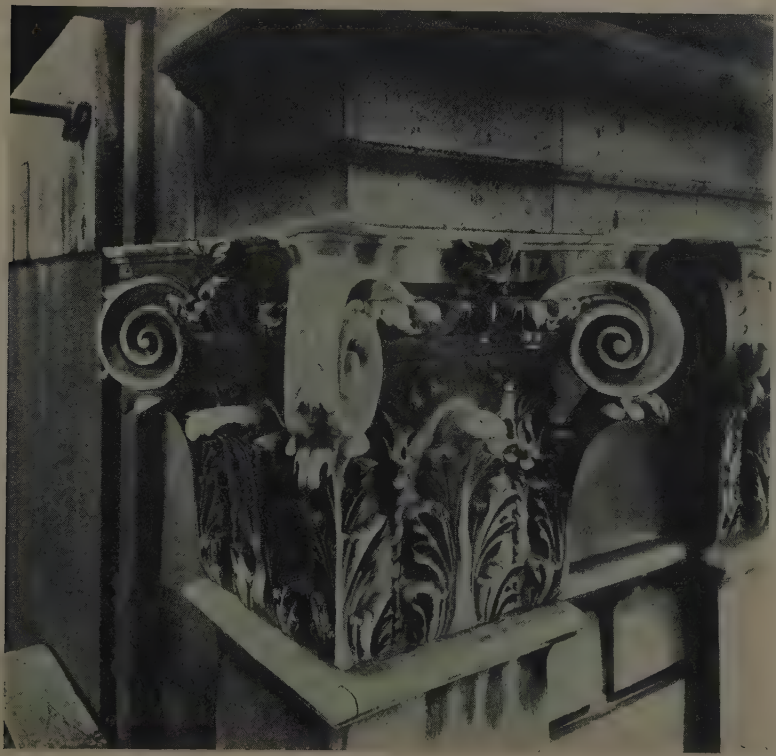

DETAILS OF UPPER AND OF LOWER WINDOWS
CILL TO LOWER WINDOWS
MOULDINGS TO PEDIMENT OF LOWER WINDOWS
CORNICE
MOULDINGS TO HEAD OF UPPER WINDOWS
FRIEZE
ZE
BALUSTERS TO LOWER WINDOWS
CONSOLE TO WINDOW HEADS
FRIEZE
ARCHITRAVE
ARCHITRAVE
ARCHITRAVE
MOULDING TO APRON
WINDOW REVEAL
PLAN OF WINDOW JAMB
SUNK PANEL
SCALE OF INCHES

OUSE, WHITEHALL.
OULDINGS TO EXTERIOR.

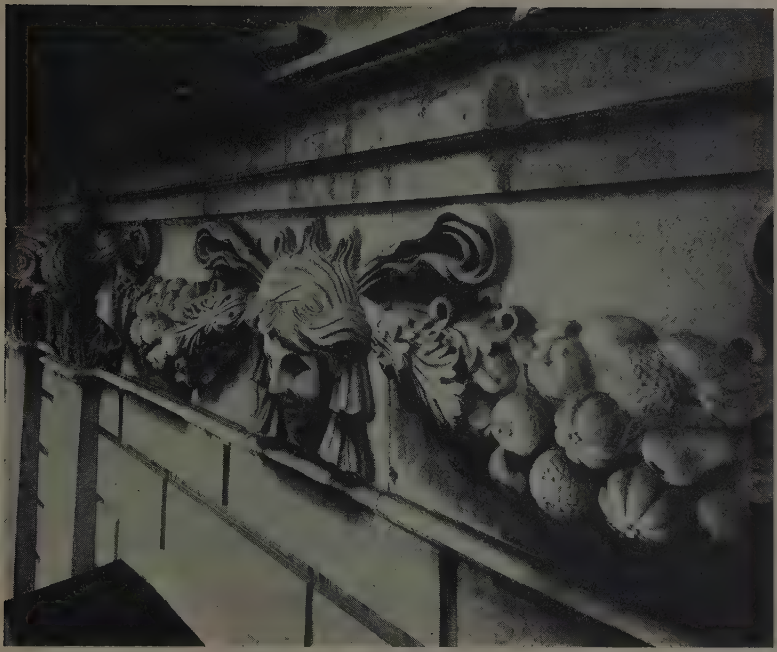


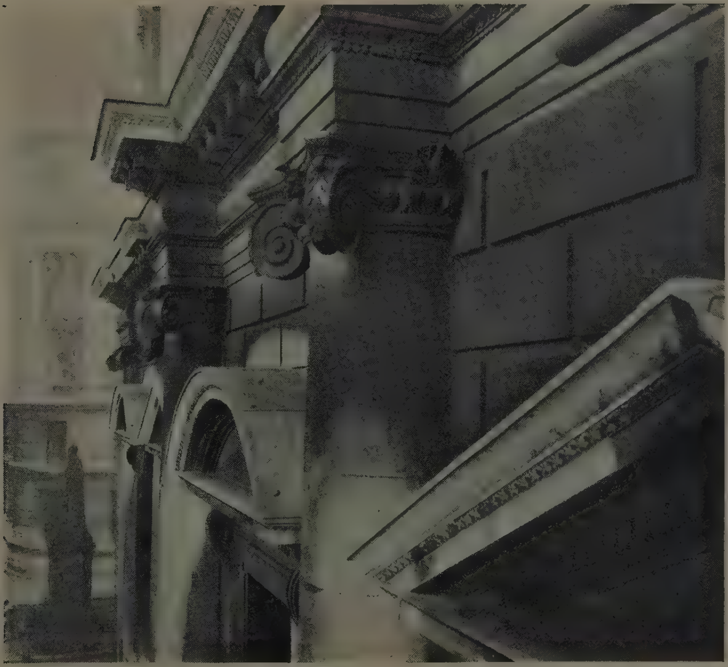
BANQUETING HOUSE. (*a*) CAPITAL OF COLUMN TO UPPER ORDER. (*b*) BASE OF COLUMN TO UPPER ORDER



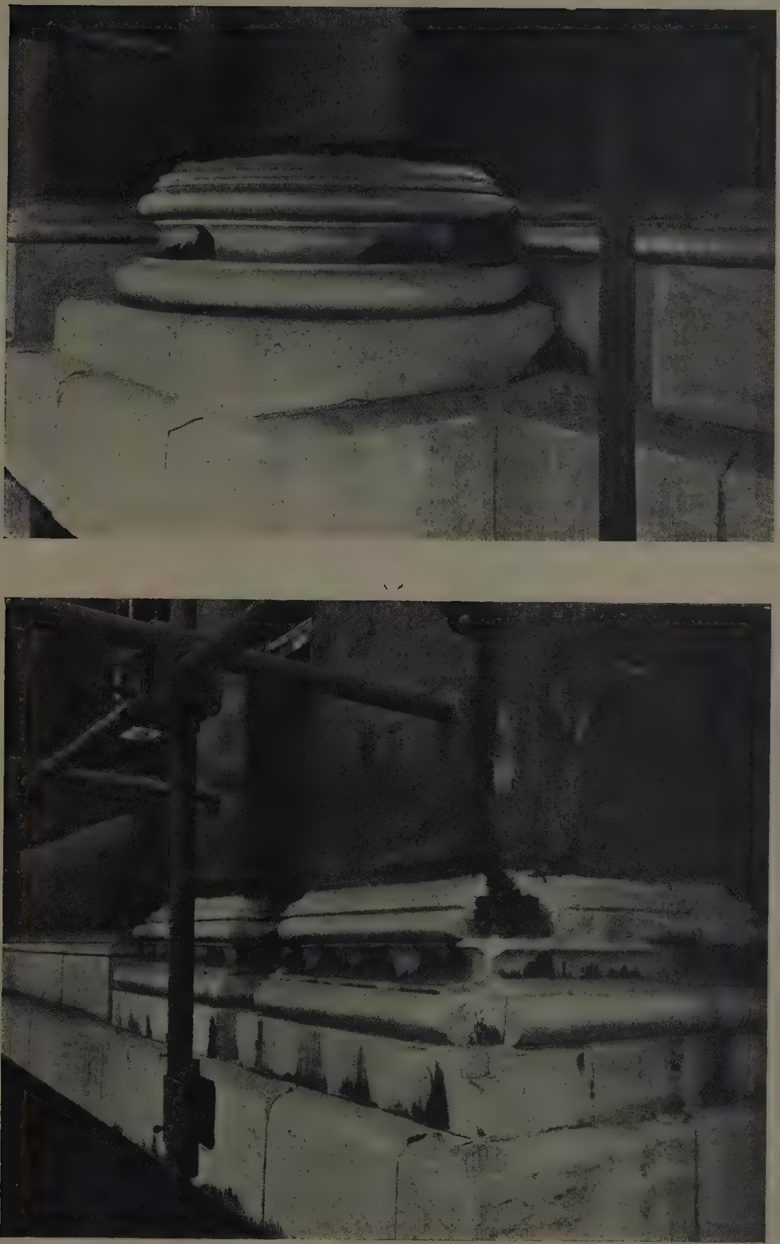


BANQUETING HOUSE. (*a*) CAPITAL OF PILASTER TO UPPER ORDER (*b*) CAPITAL OF ANGLE PILASTER TO UPPER ORDER

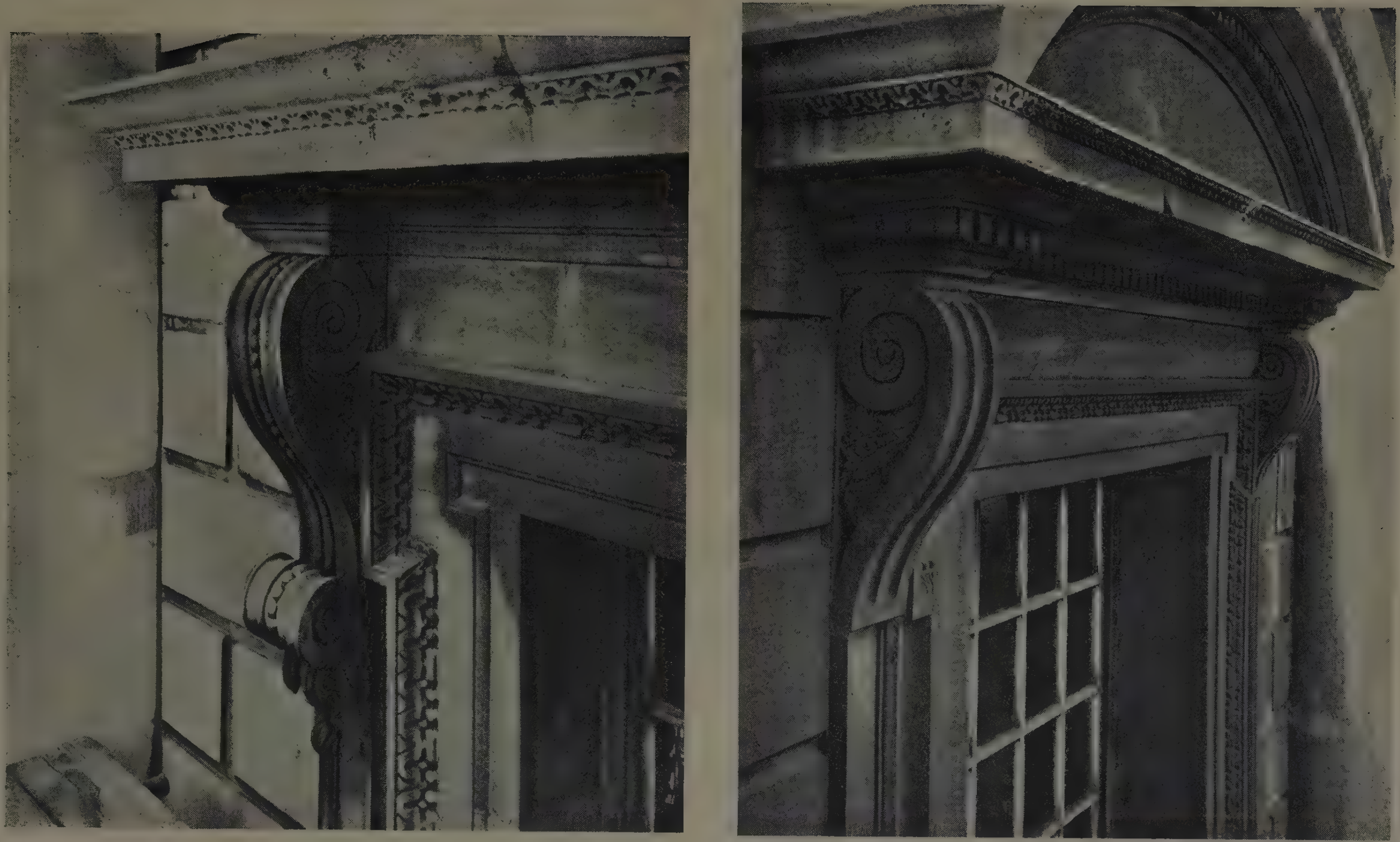




BANQUETING HOUSE. (*a*) FRIEZE TO MAIN CORNICE (*b*) IONIC CAPITALS AND WINDOW HEADS TO LOWER STAGE



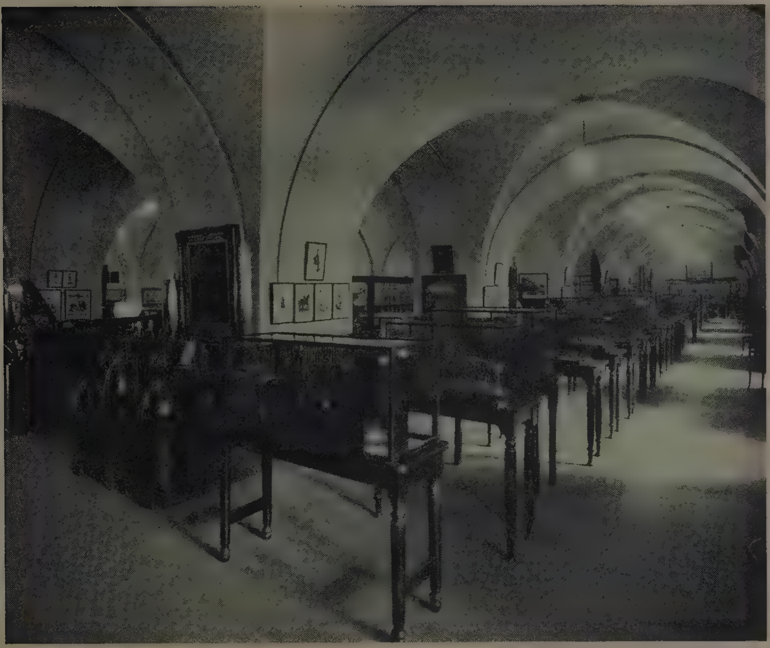
BANQUETING HOUSE. (*a*) BASE OF COLUMN TO LOWER ORDER (*b*) BASE OF PILASTER TO LOWER ORDER, SHOWING ACTION OF FIRE AT SOUTH-WEST CORNER (*p.* 122)

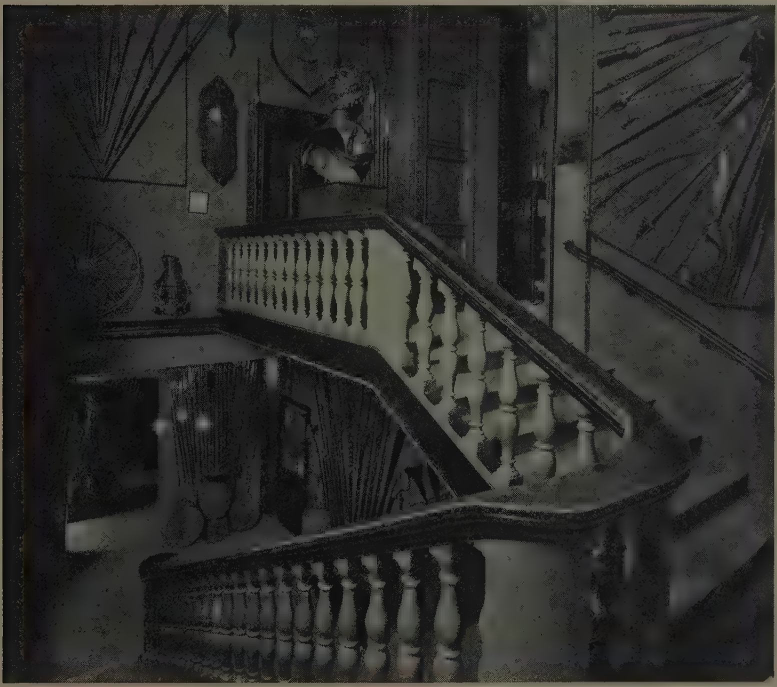


BANQUETING HOUSE. CONSOLES TO WINDOW HEADS

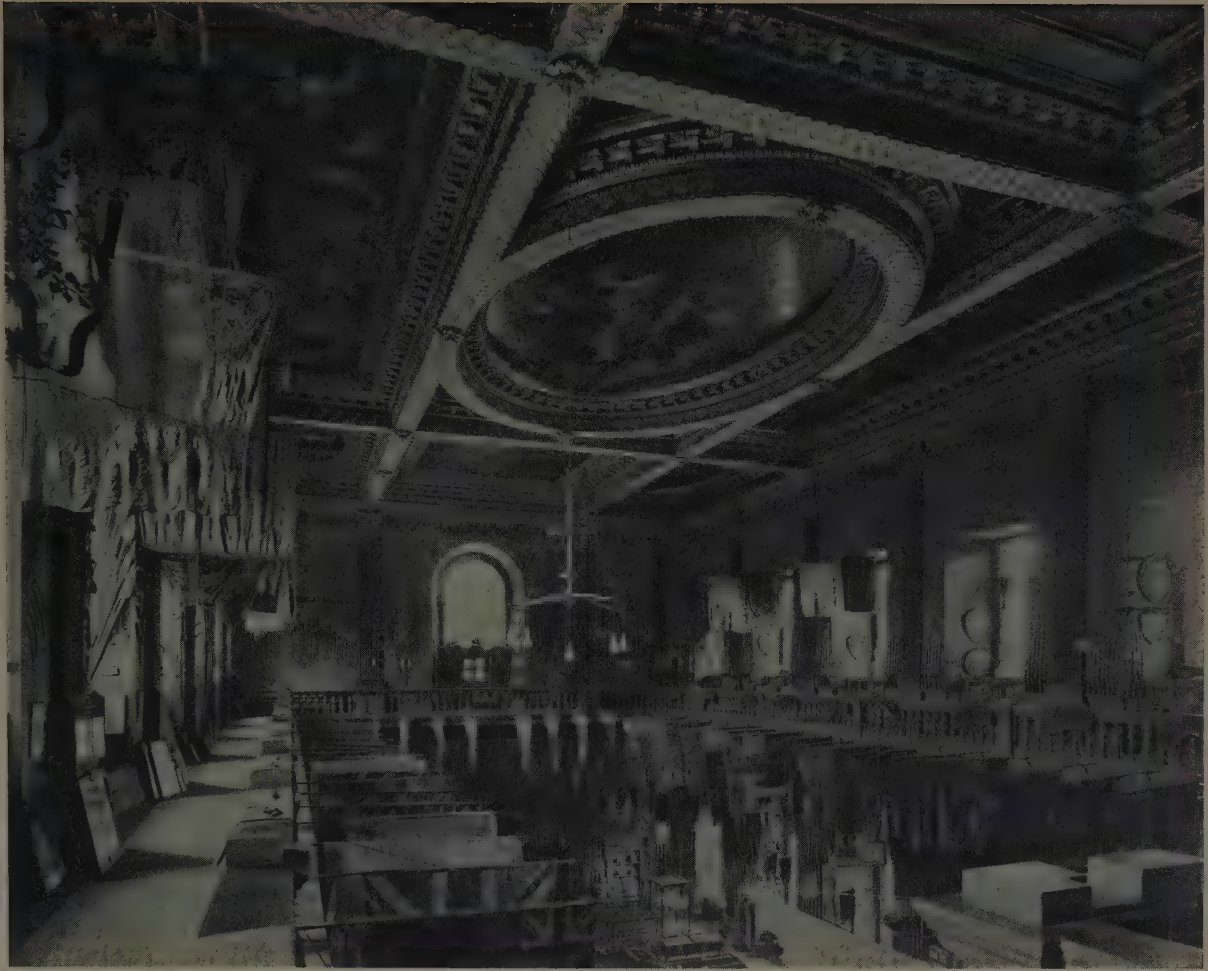
UPPER STAGE

LOWER STAGE

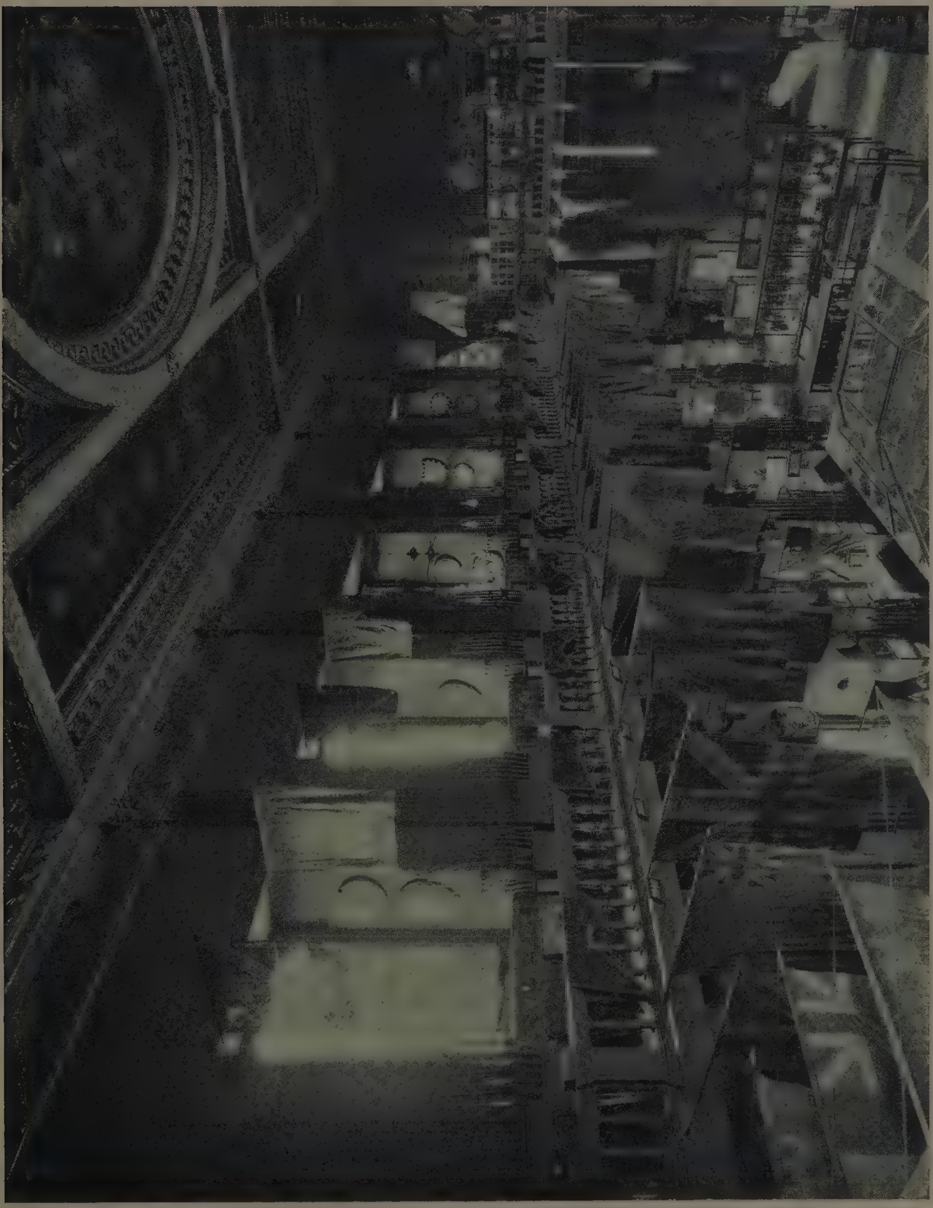




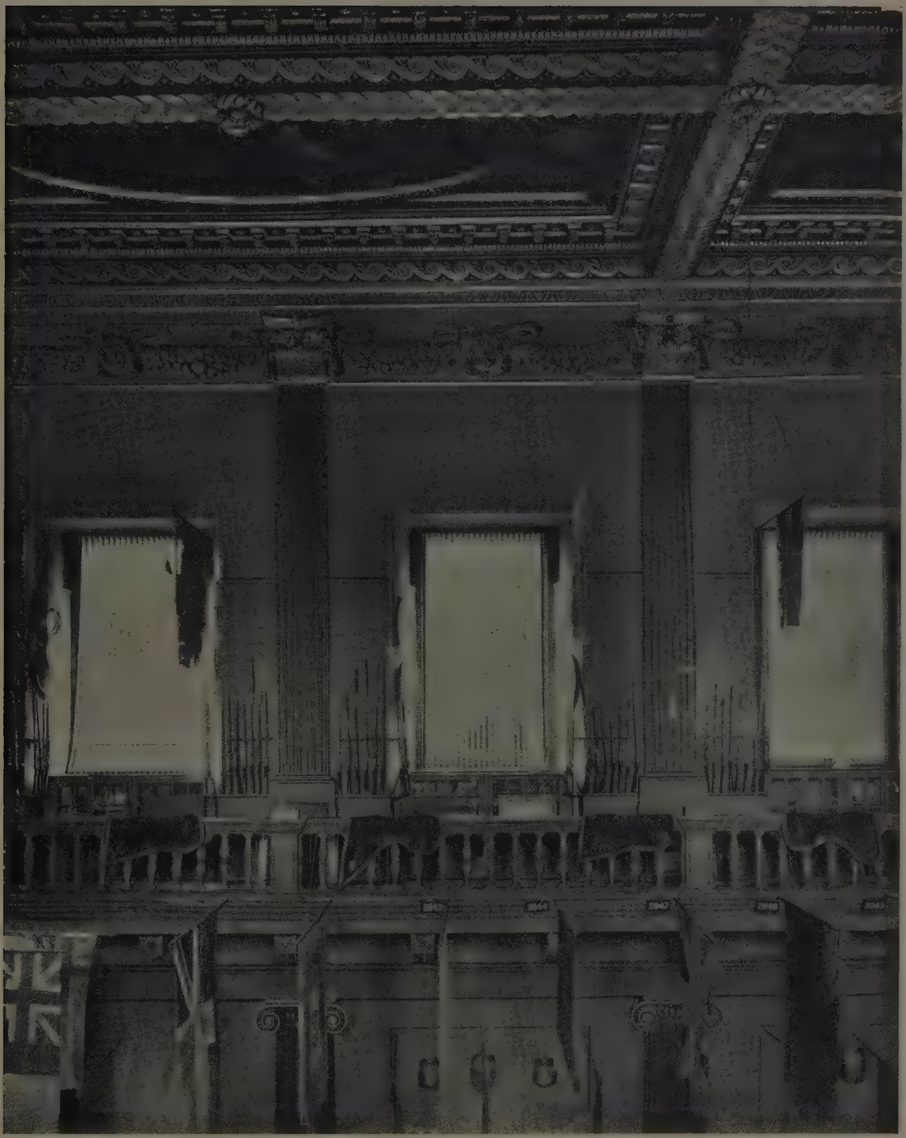
BANQUETING HOUSE. (*a*) INTERIOR OF GROUND STOREY, LOOKING SOUTH. (*b*) MAIN STAIRCASE AND ENTRANCE HALL



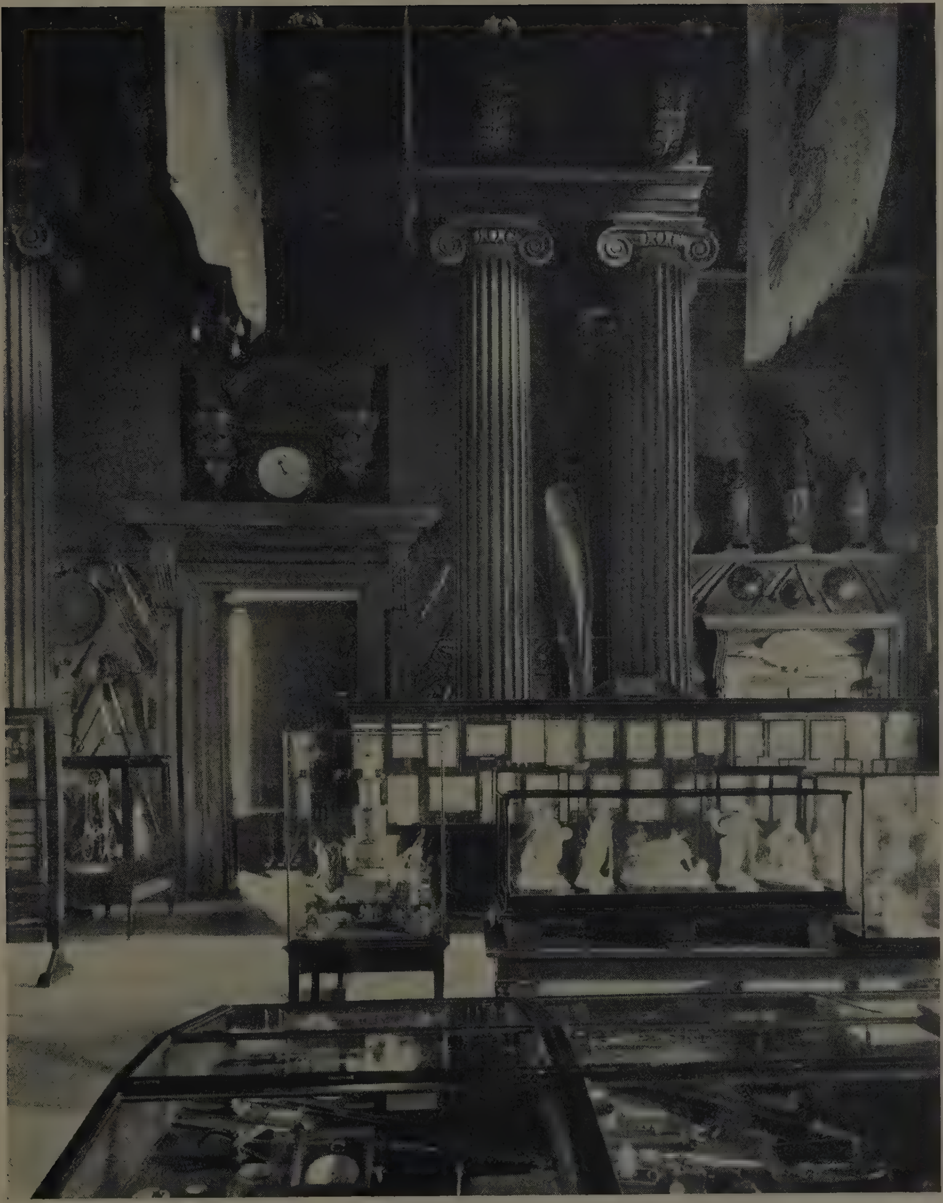
BANQUETING HOUSE. INTERIOR OF HALL. VIEW FROM GALLERY
LOOKING SOUTH-WEST



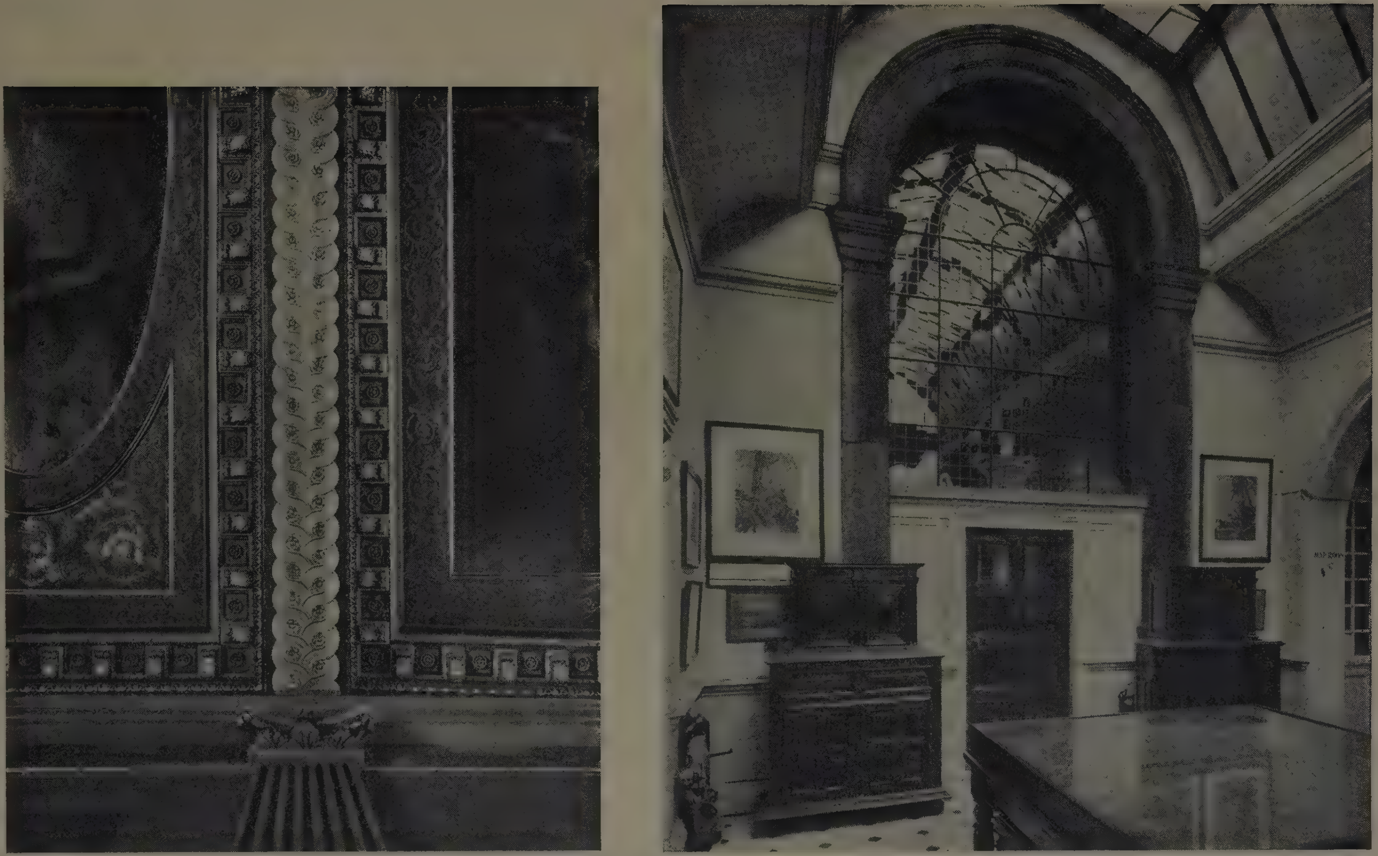
BANQUETING HOUSE. INTERIOR OF HALL, LOOKING NORTH-WEST



BANQUETING HOUSE. INTERIOR OF HALL.
WINDOWS ABOVE GALLERY IN SIDE WALL



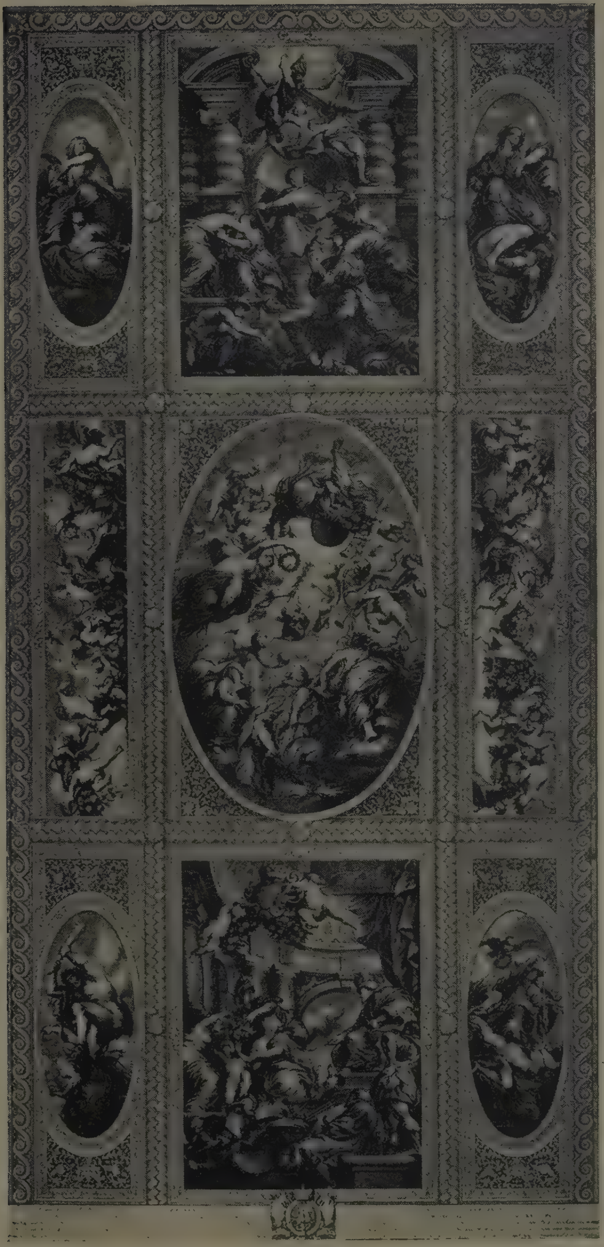
BANQUETING HOUSE. CENTRAL DOORWAY AT NORTH END OF HALL



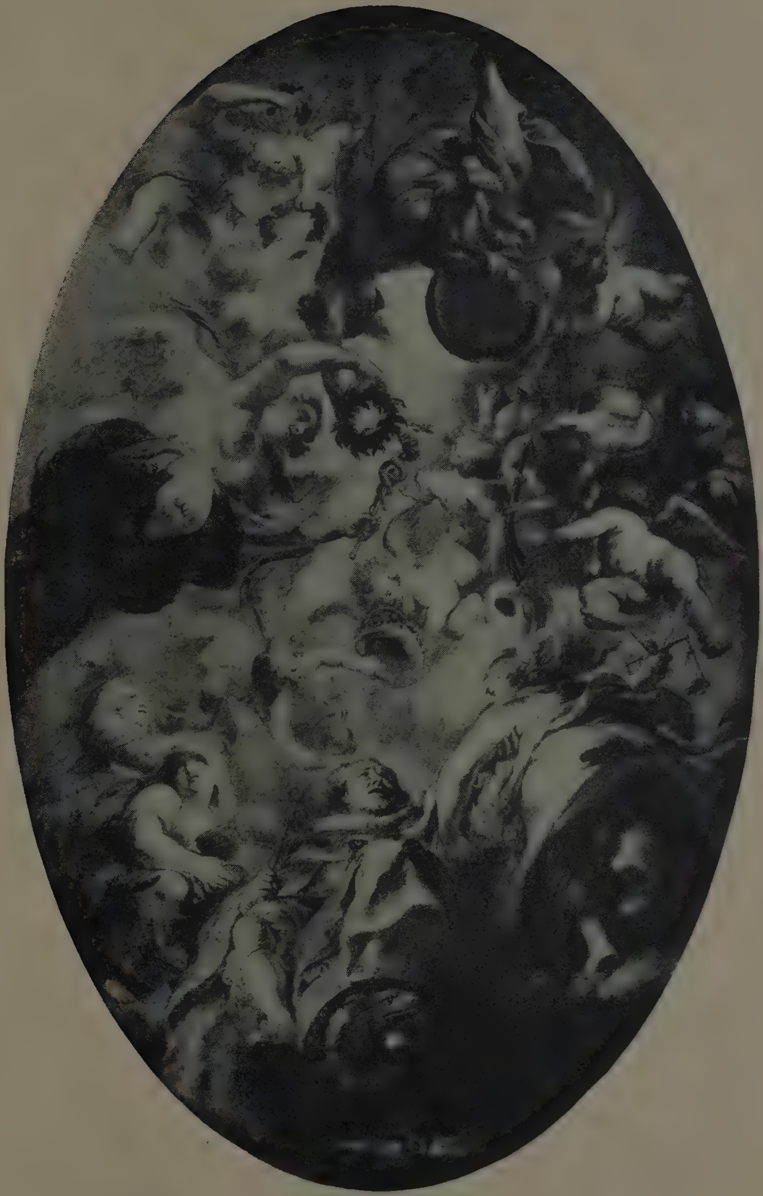
BANQUETING HOUSE

(*a*) DETAIL OF CORNICE AND RIBS TO PANELS OF CEILING

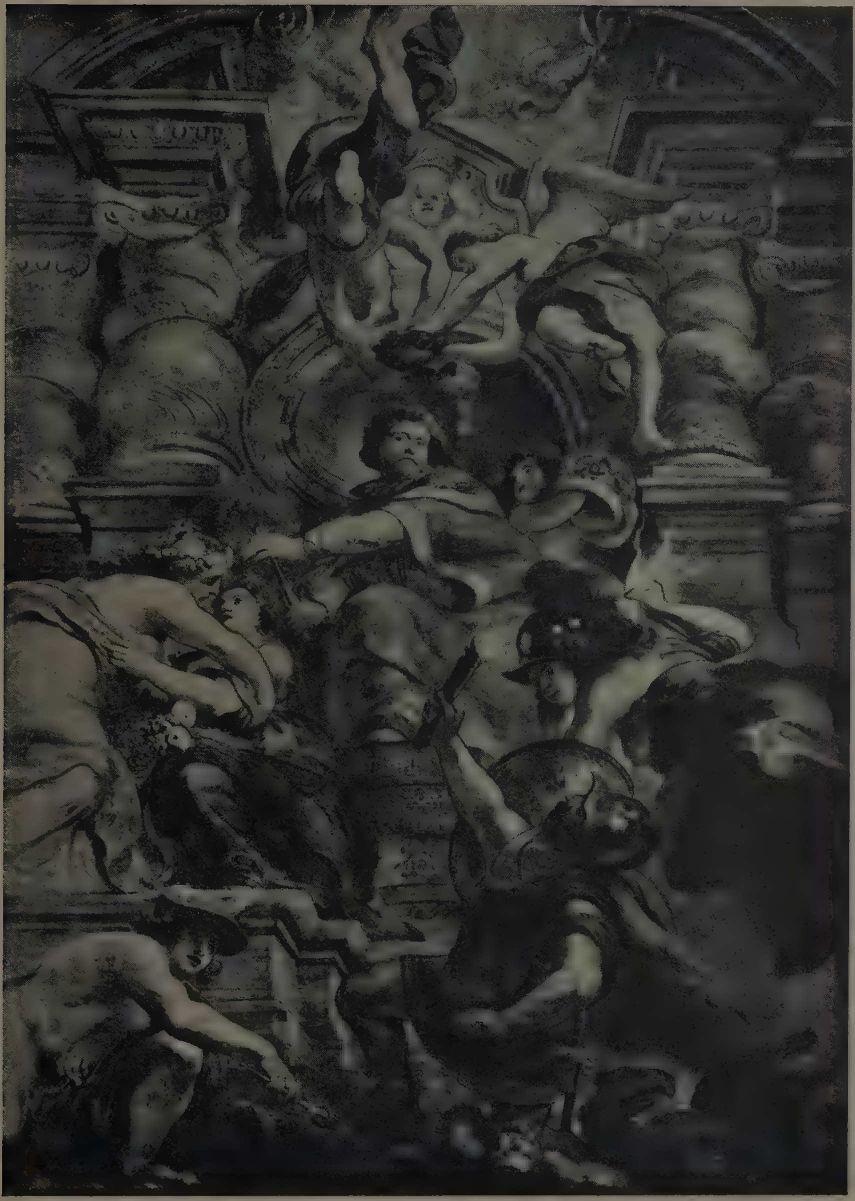
(*b*) EXTERNAL FACE OF SEMI-CIRCULAR WINDOW AND DOORWAY AT SOUTH END OF HALL



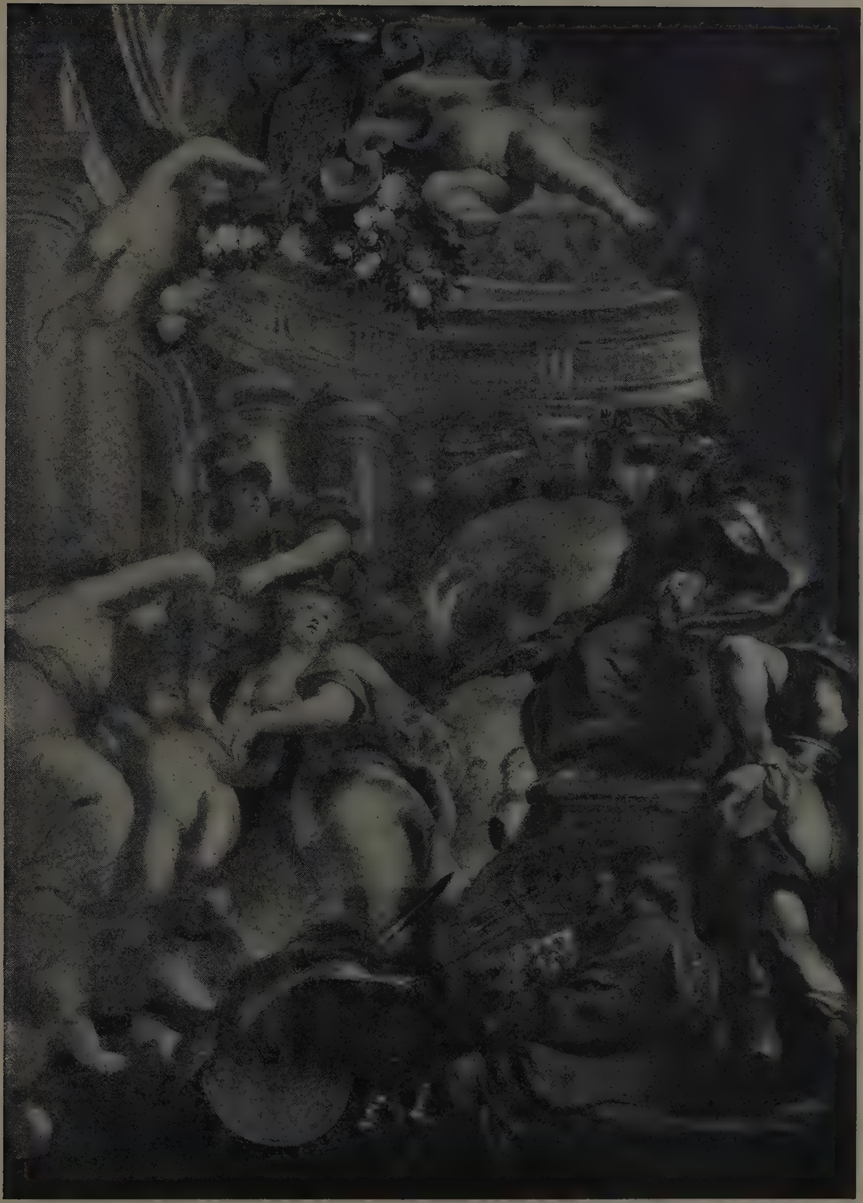
BANQUETING HOUSE.
CEILING, GENERAL PLAN



BANQUETING HOUSE.
CEILING, CENTRAL PANEL (*p.* 132)

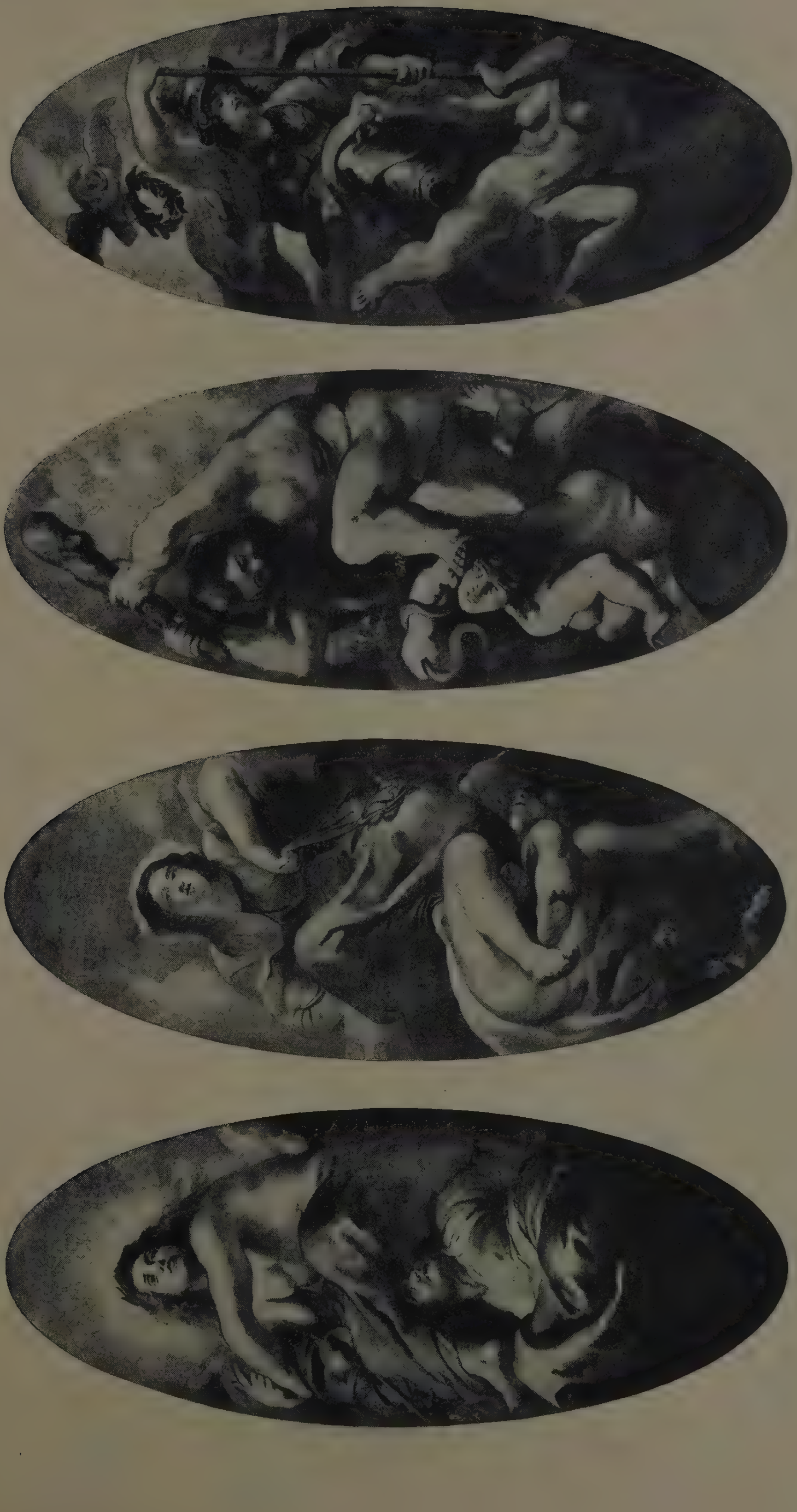


BANQUETING HOUSE. CEILING, SQUARE PANEL AT SOUTH END (*p.* 132)

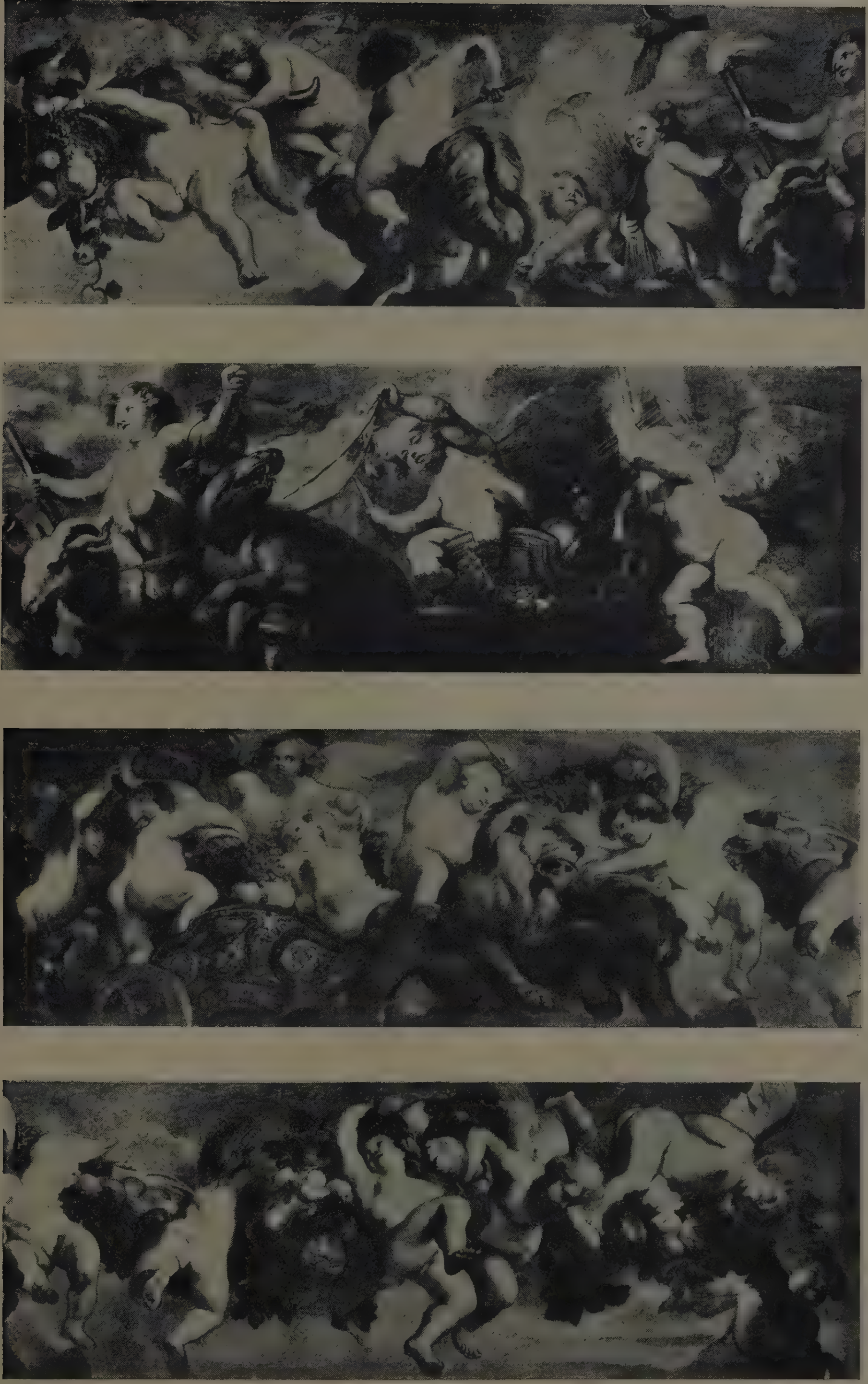


BANQUETING HOUSE. CEILING, SQUARE PANEL AT NORTH END (*p.* 133)

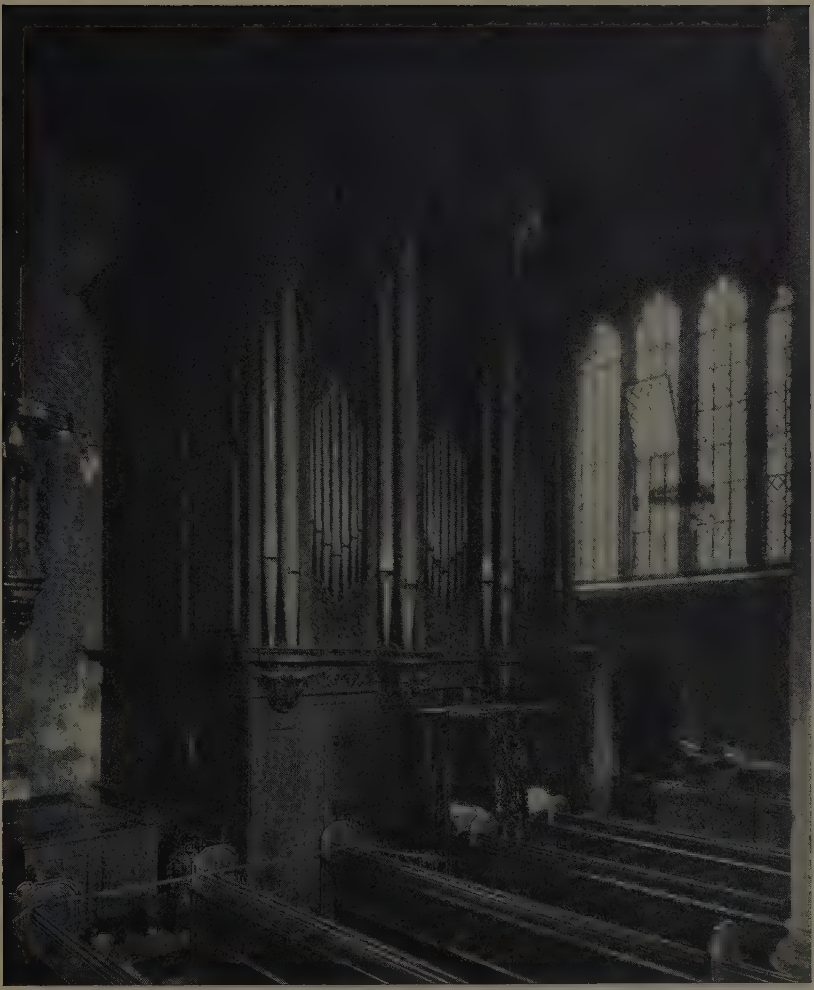
PLATE 42



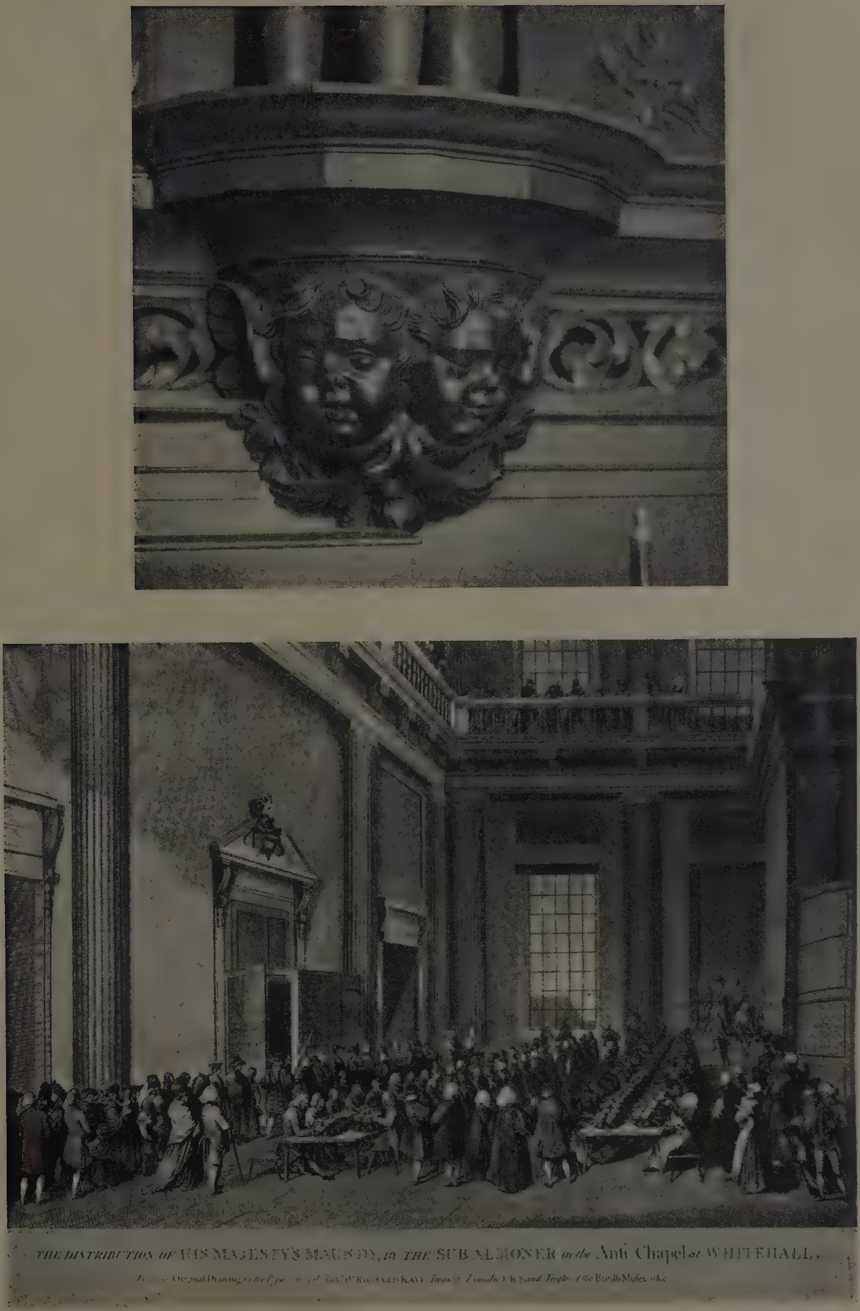
BANQUETING HOUSE. CEILING, CORNER PANELS (*p.* 133)



BANQUETING HOUSE. CEILING, LONG PANELS
AT SIDES (*p.* 133) (*a*) AND (*b*) WEST PANEL
(*c*) AND (*d*) EAST PANEL

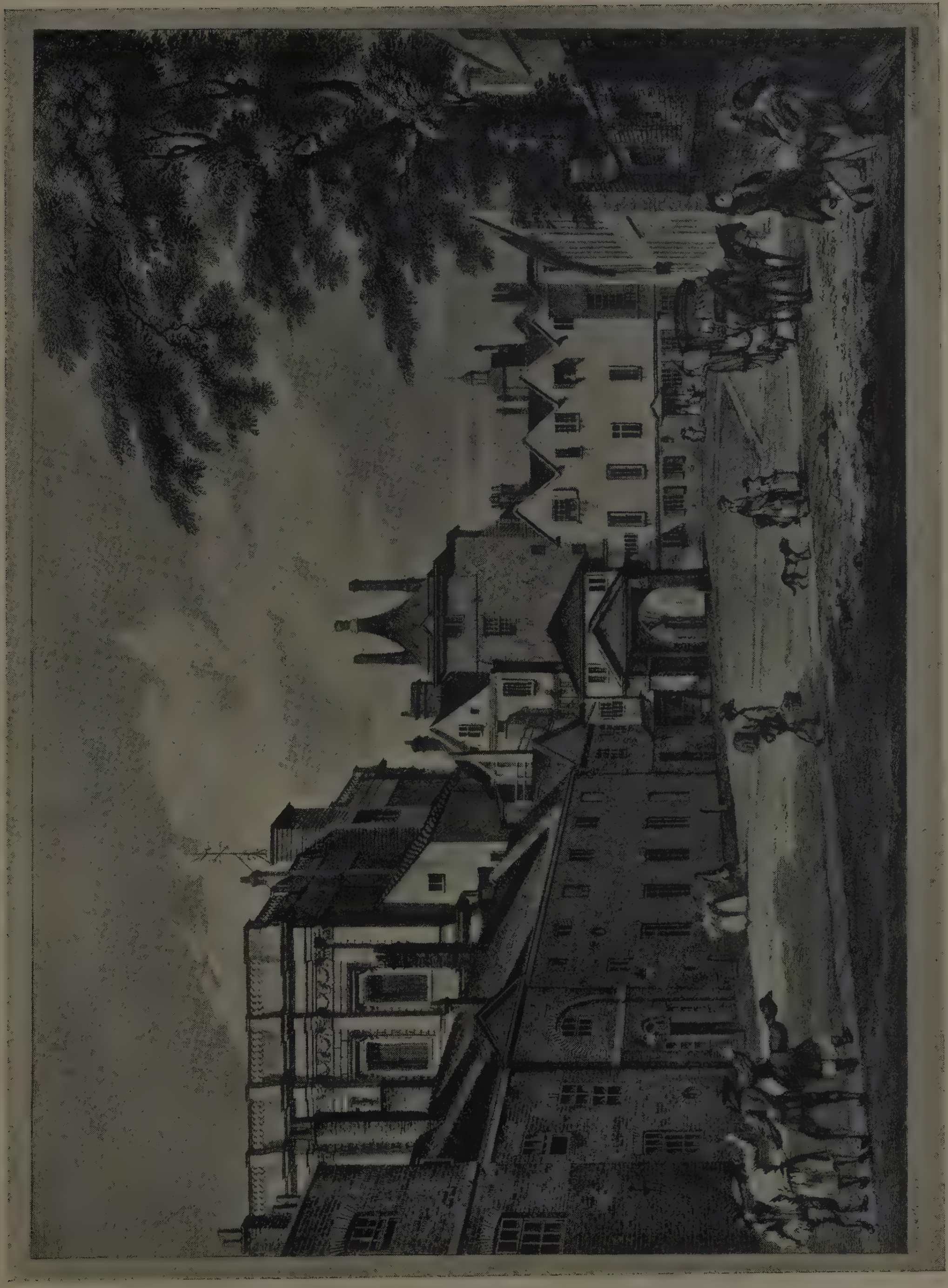


BANQUETING HOUSE. FRONT OF ORGAN, AS AT PRESENT IN THE CHAPEL ROYAL OF ST. PETER-AD-VINCULA (*pp.* 129, 133)

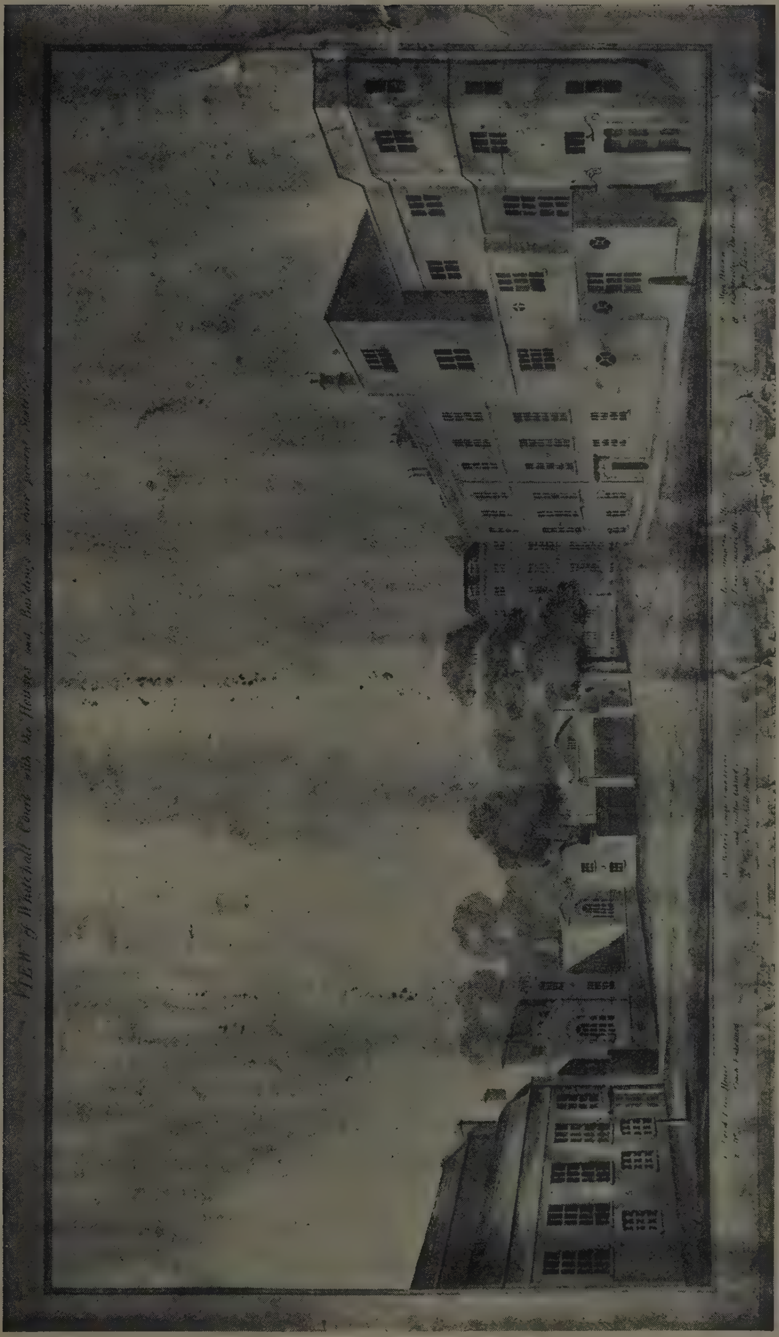

THE DISTRIBUTION OF HIS MAJESTY'S MAUNDY, by THE SUB ALMONER in the Anti Chapel at WHITEHALL.

BANQUETING HOUSE. (*a*) DETAIL OF ORGAN FRONT
(*b*) THE ANTE-CHAPEL AT WHITEHALL IN 1773

PLATE 46

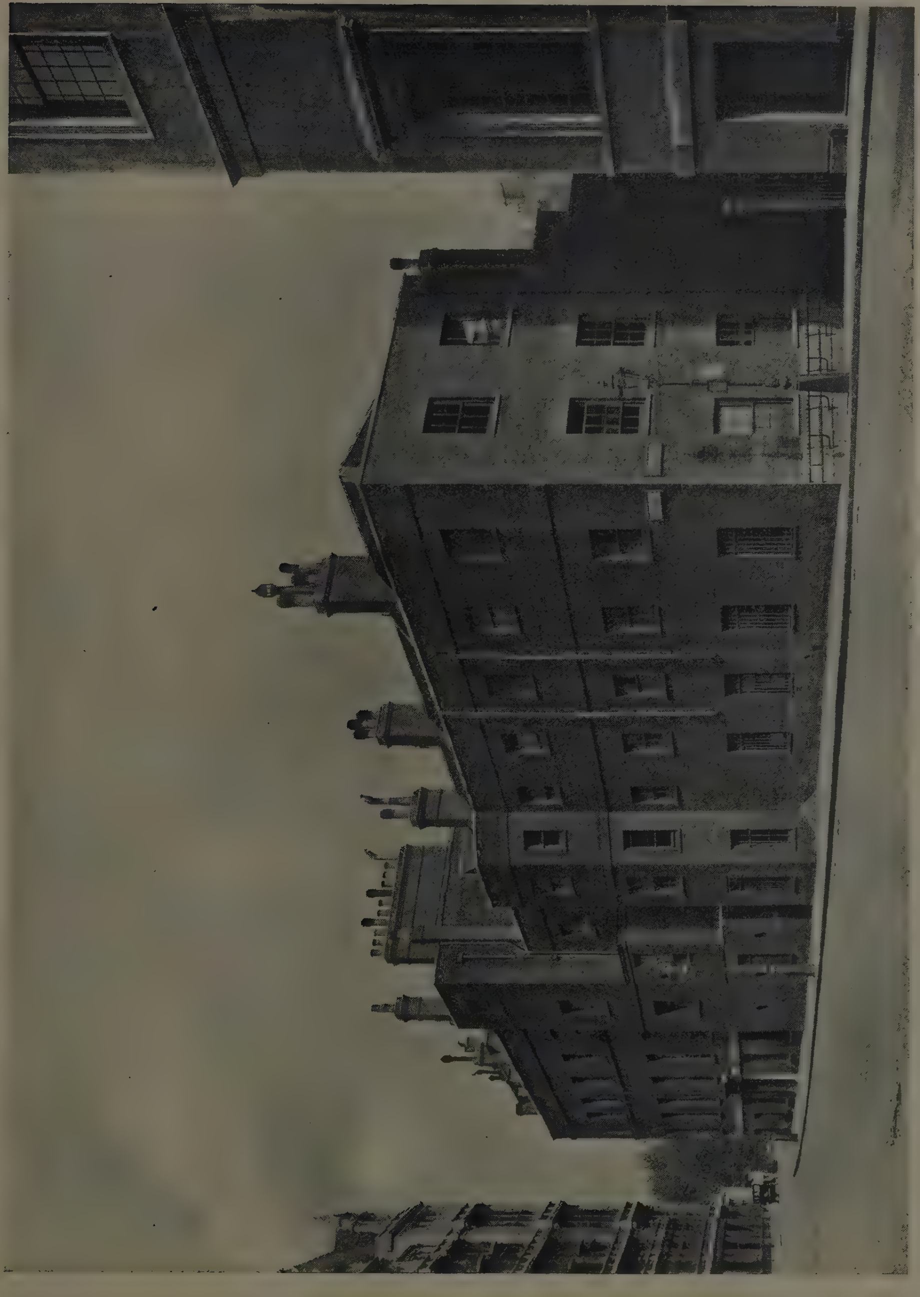


WHITEHALL COURT (YARD) *circa* 1764 (*p.* 142)

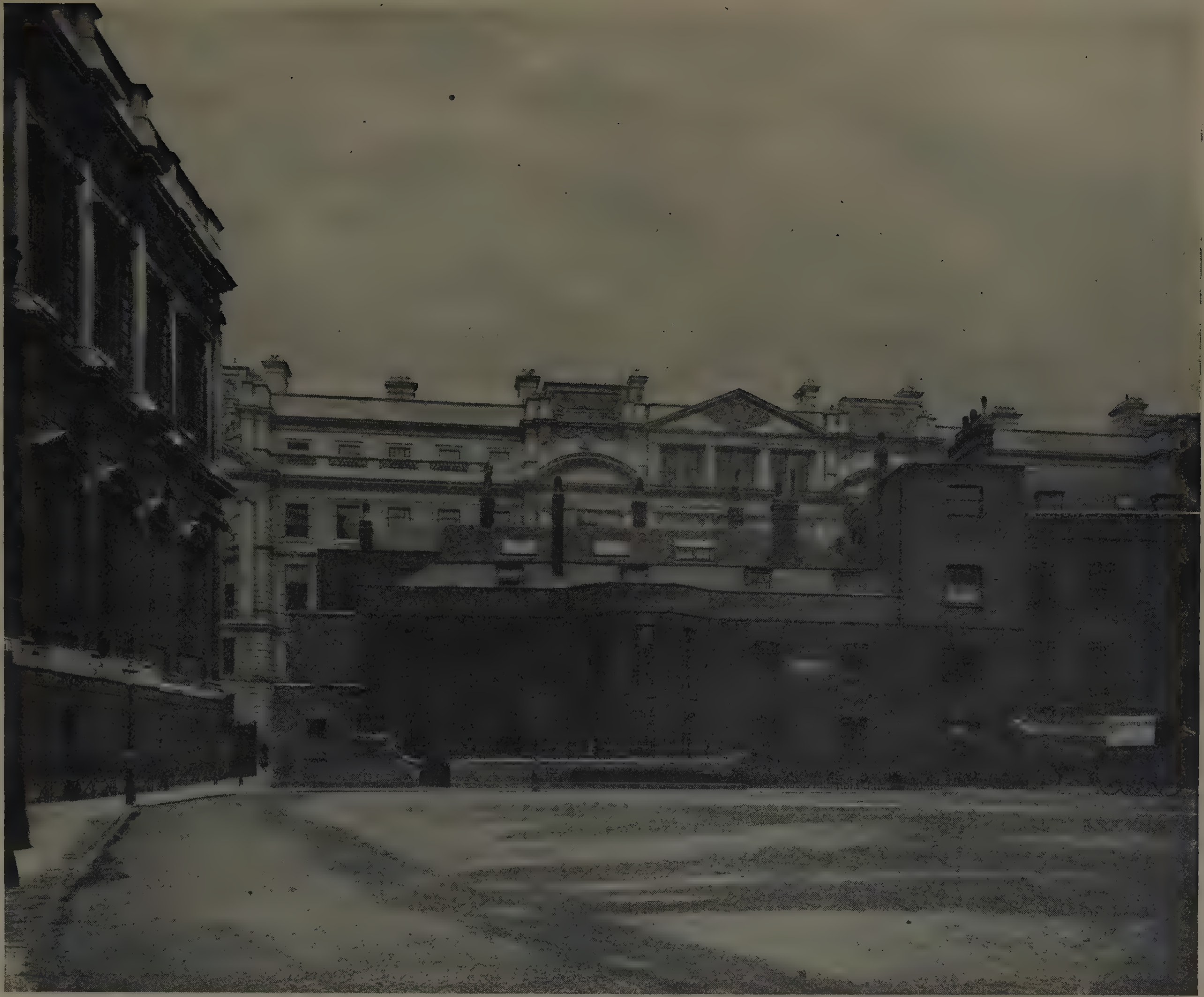

VIEW of Whitehall Court with the Houses and Buildings in their present State

WHITEHALL COURT (YARD) IN 1803

PLATE 48

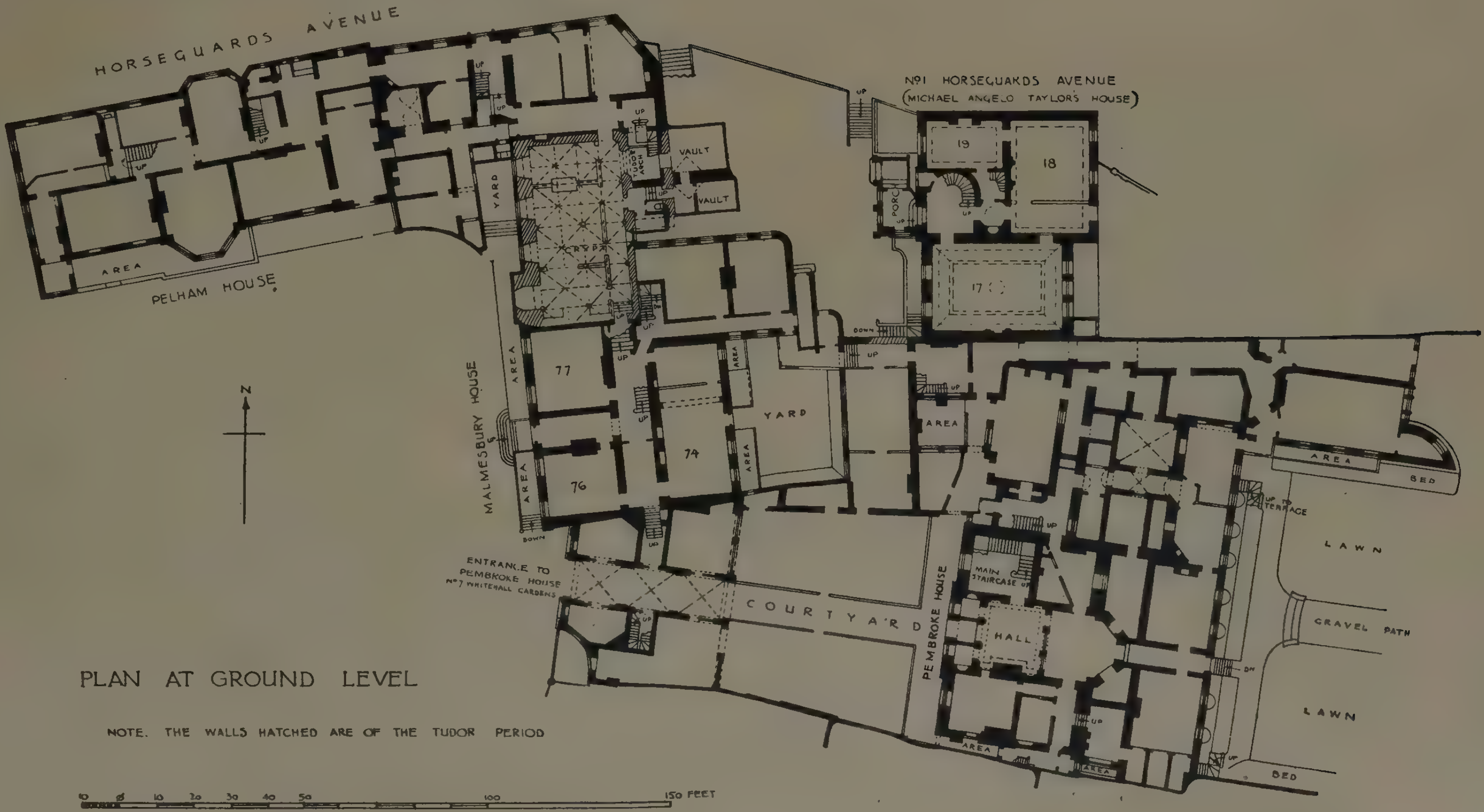


HORSE GUARDS AVENUE, LOOKING EAST



PELHAM HOUSE. SOUTH FRONT (*p.* 143)

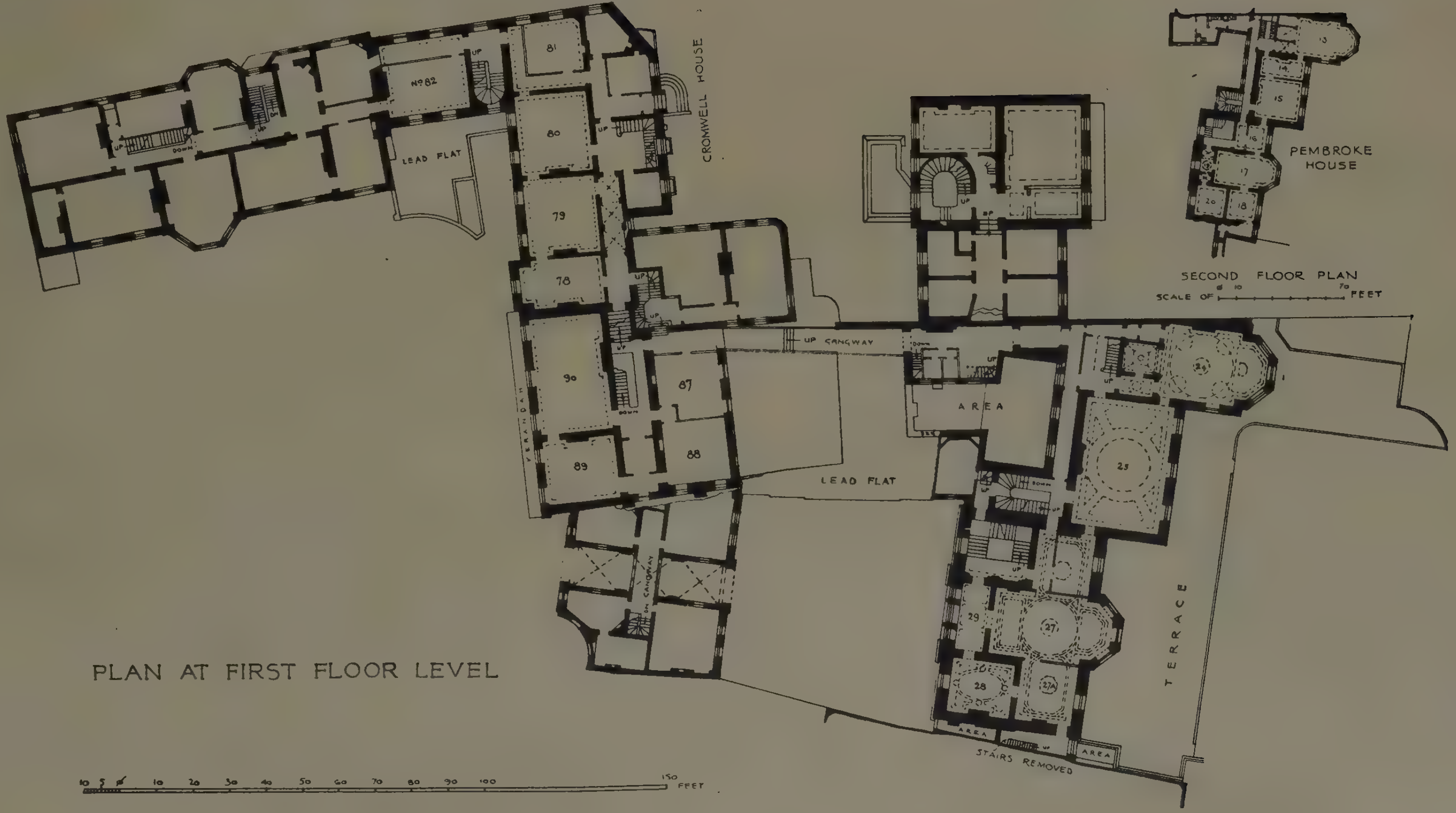
PREMISES IN WHITEHALL GARDENS ETC


HORSEGUARDS AVENUE
No1 HORSEGUARDS AVENUE
(MICHAEL ANGELO TAYLOR'S HOUSE)
19
18
17 (?)
PORC
VAULT
VAULT
TUDOR ARCH
CRYPT
YARD
AREA
PELHAM HOUSE
MALMESBURY HOUSE
77
74
76
YARD
AREA
ENTRANCE TO PEMBROKE HOUSE No7 WHITEHALL GARDENS
COURTYARD
PEMBROKE HOUSE
MAIN STAIRCASE
HALL
UP TO TERRACE
LAWN
GRAVEL PATH
LAWN
BED
BED
UP
DOWN
DN
N
0
10
20
30
40
50
100
150 FEET

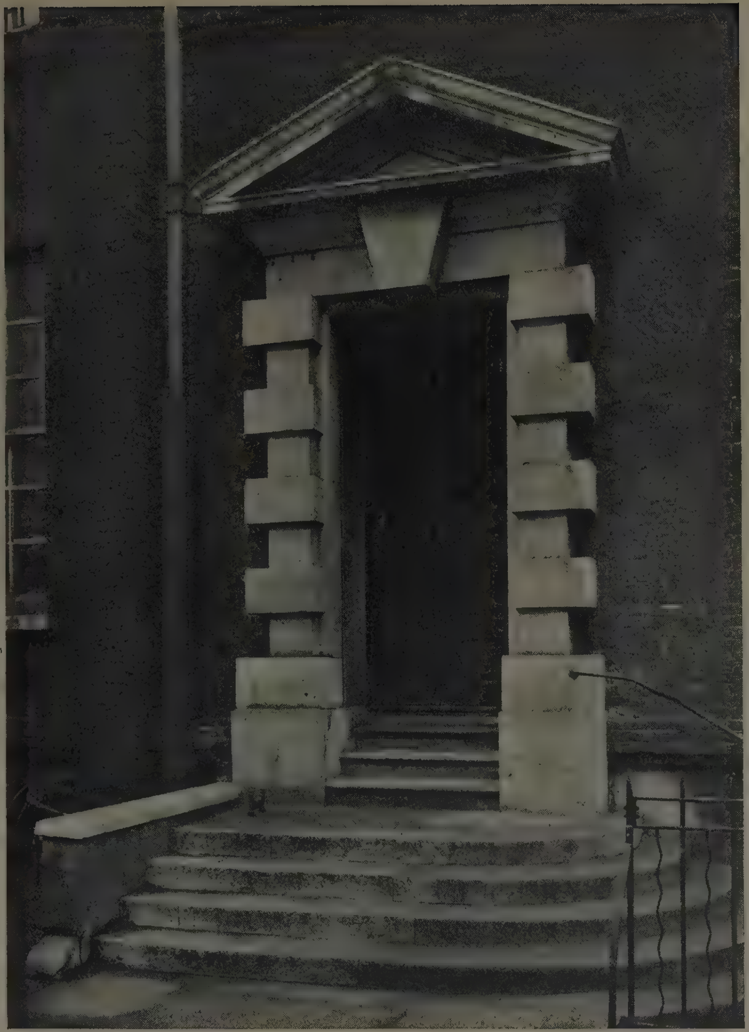
PLAN AT GROUND LEVEL

NOTE. THE WALLS HATCHED ARE OF THE TUDOR PERIOD

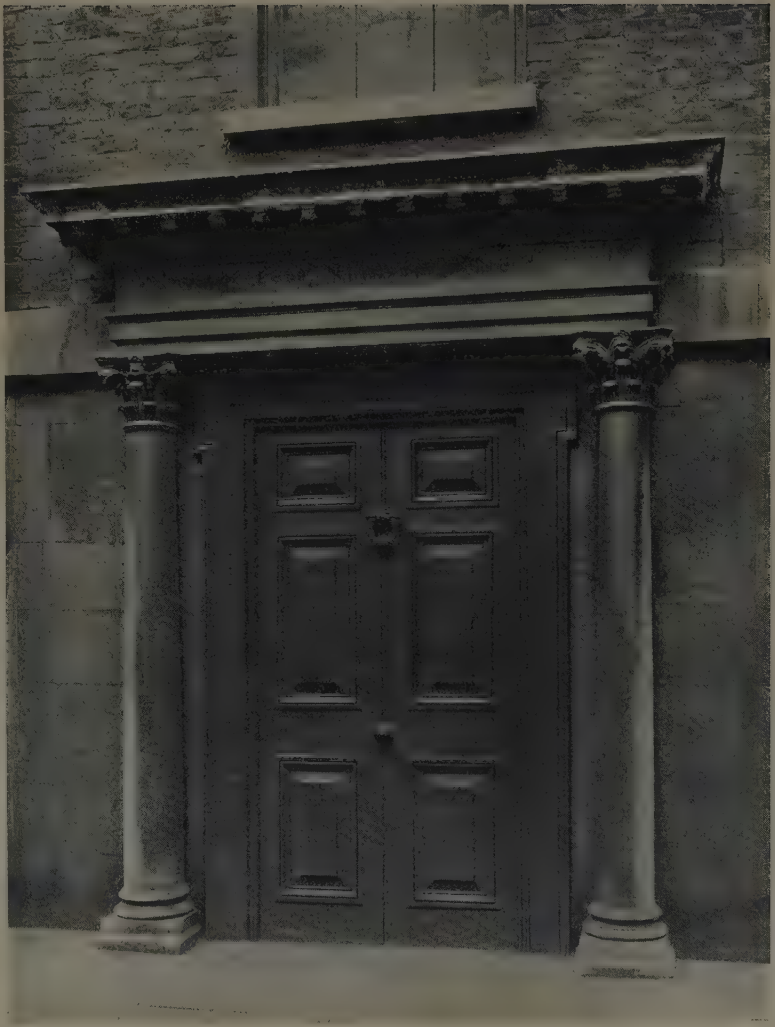
PREMISES IN WHITEHALL GARDENS ETC.


CROMWELL HOUSE
No 82
81
80
79
78
90
89
87
88
LEAD FLAT
UP
DOWN
VERANDAH
UP GANGWAY
ON GANGWAY
LEAD FLAT
AREA
24
25
27
27A
28
29
TERRACE
AREA
STAIRS REMOVED
AREA
PEMBROKE HOUSE
13
14
15
16
17
18
20
SECOND FLOOR PLAN
SCALE OF 10 70 FEET
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 150 FEET

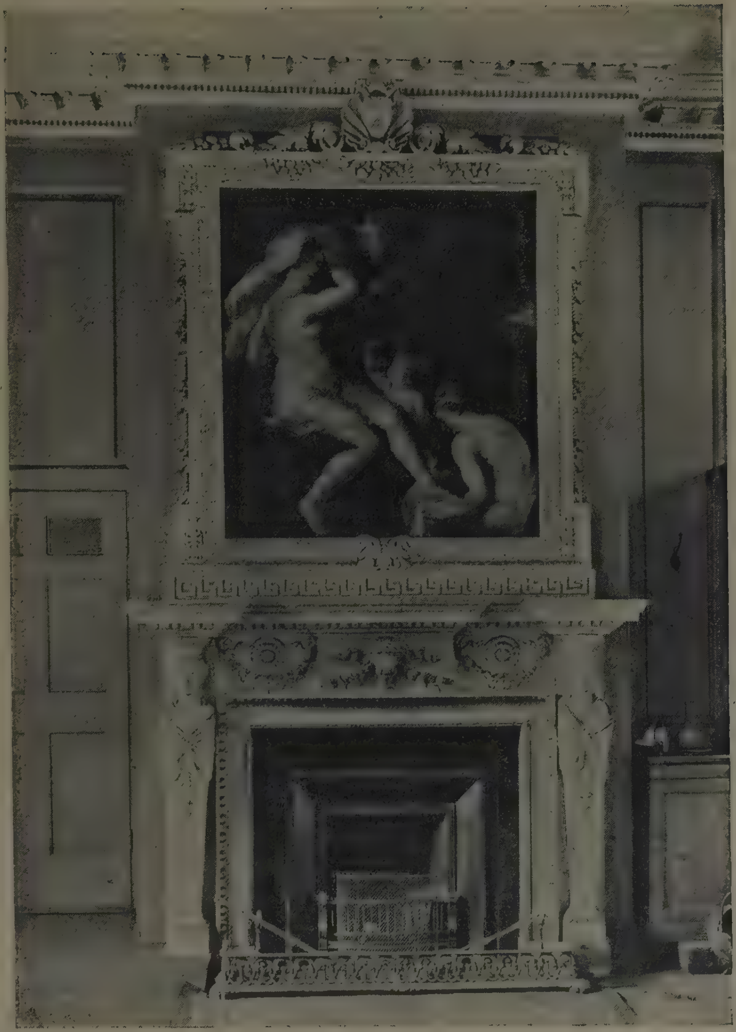
PLAN AT FIRST FLOOR LEVEL



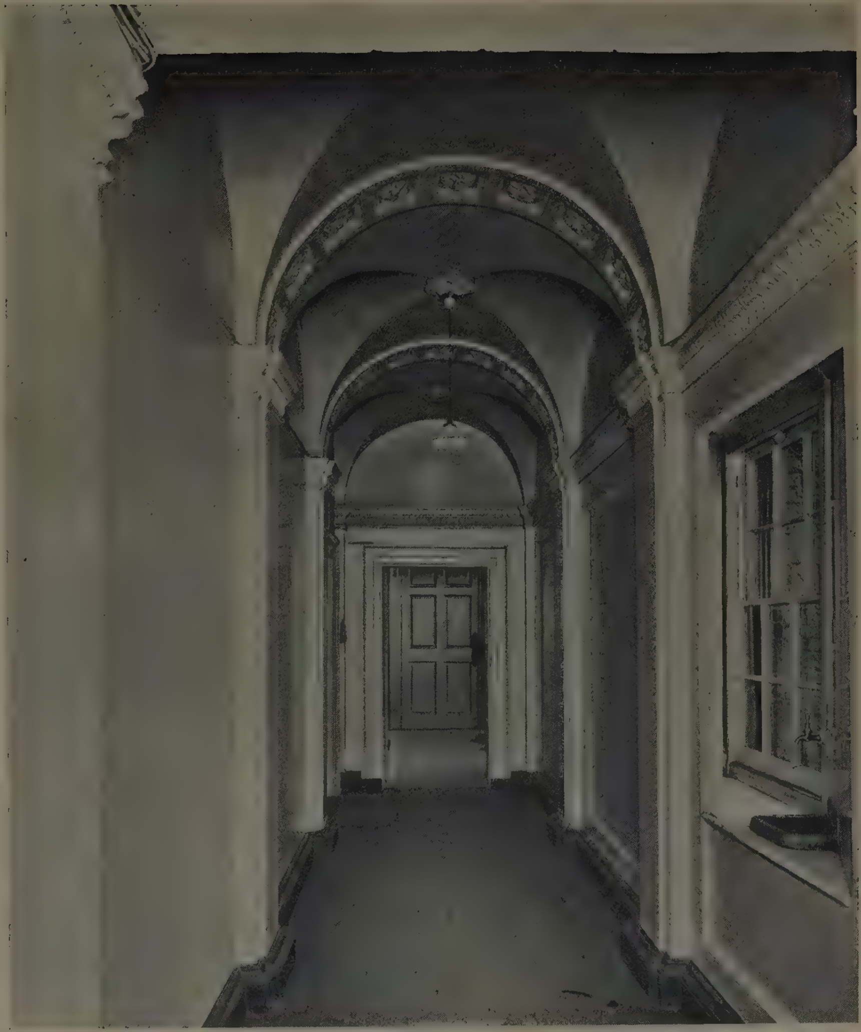
CROMWELL HOUSE. ENTRANCE DOORWAY (*p.* 147)



CADOGAN HOUSE. ENTRANCE IN HORSE GUARDS AVENUE (*p.* 147)

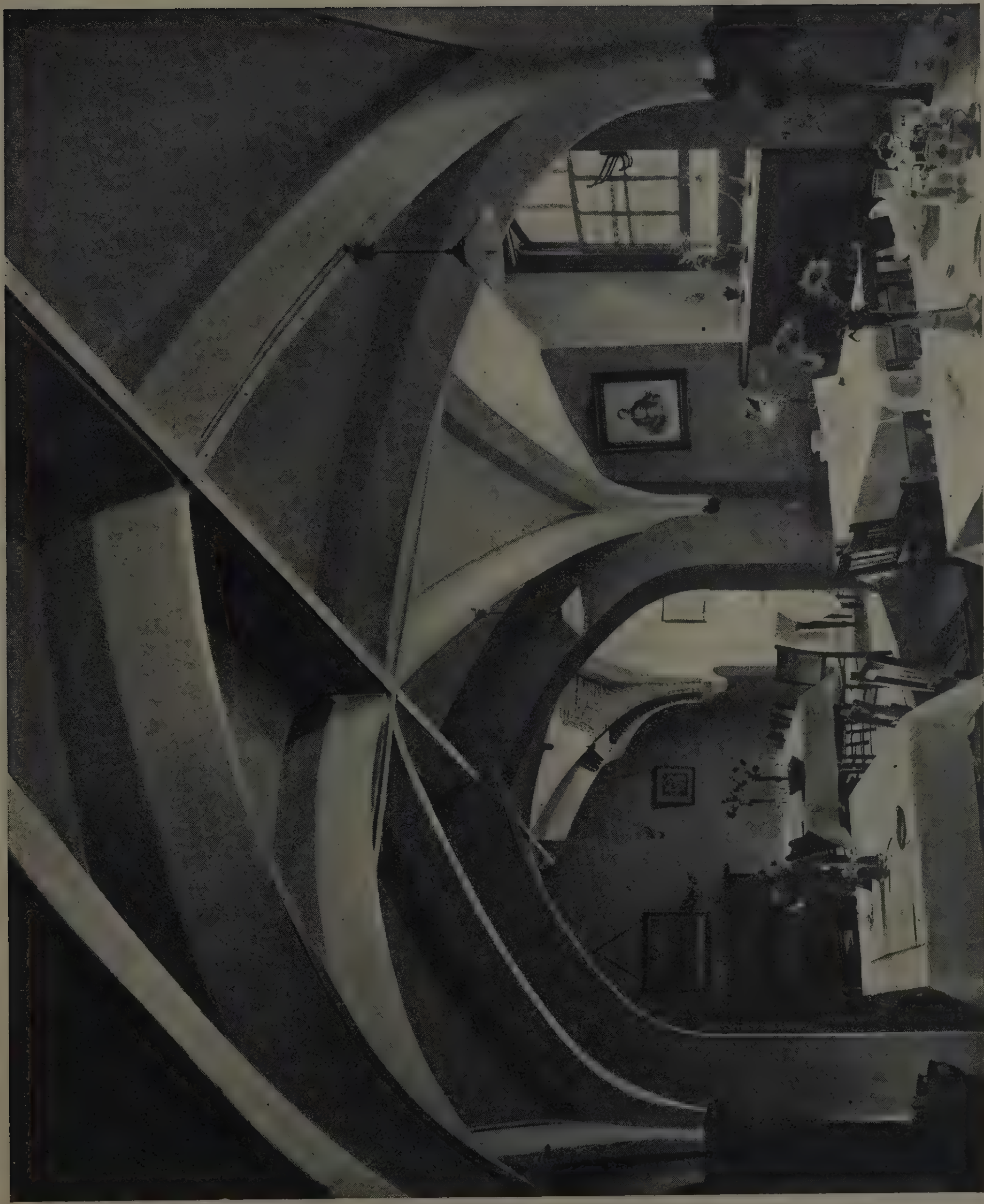


CADOGAN HOUSE. MANTELPIECE IN ROOM NO. 82 (*p.* 148)

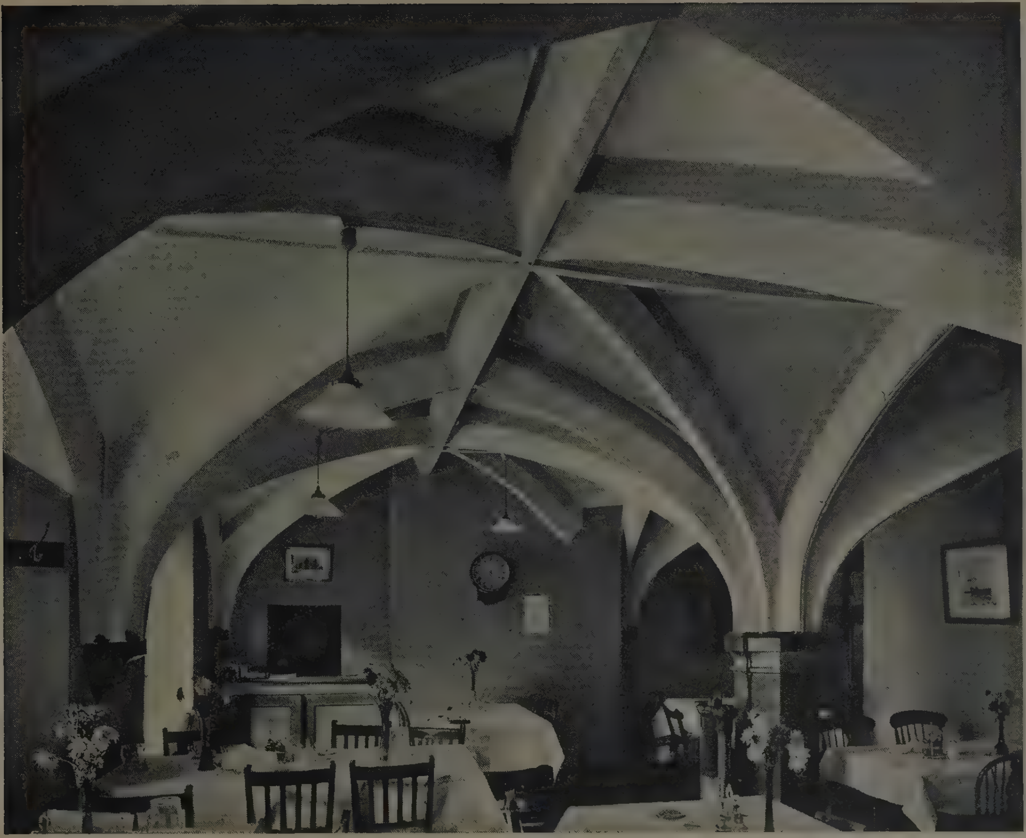


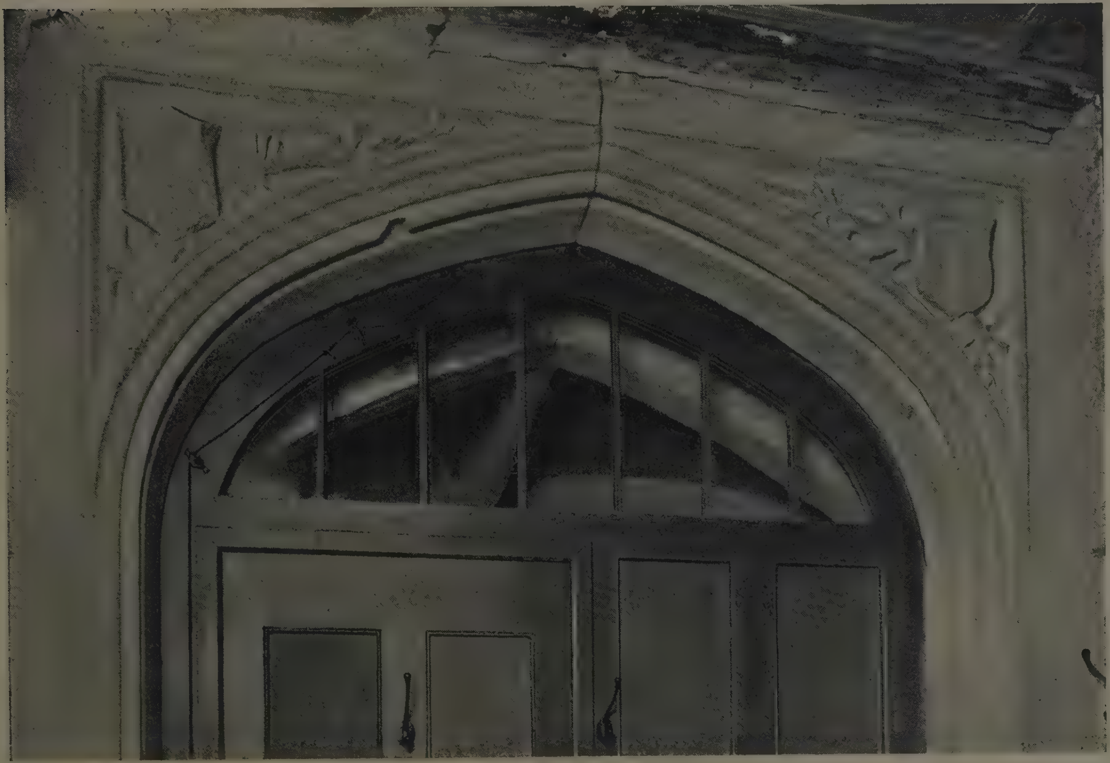
CROMWELL HOUSE. ARCADING OF CORRIDOR OUTSIDE ROOM NO. 79 (*p.* 148)

PLATE 54



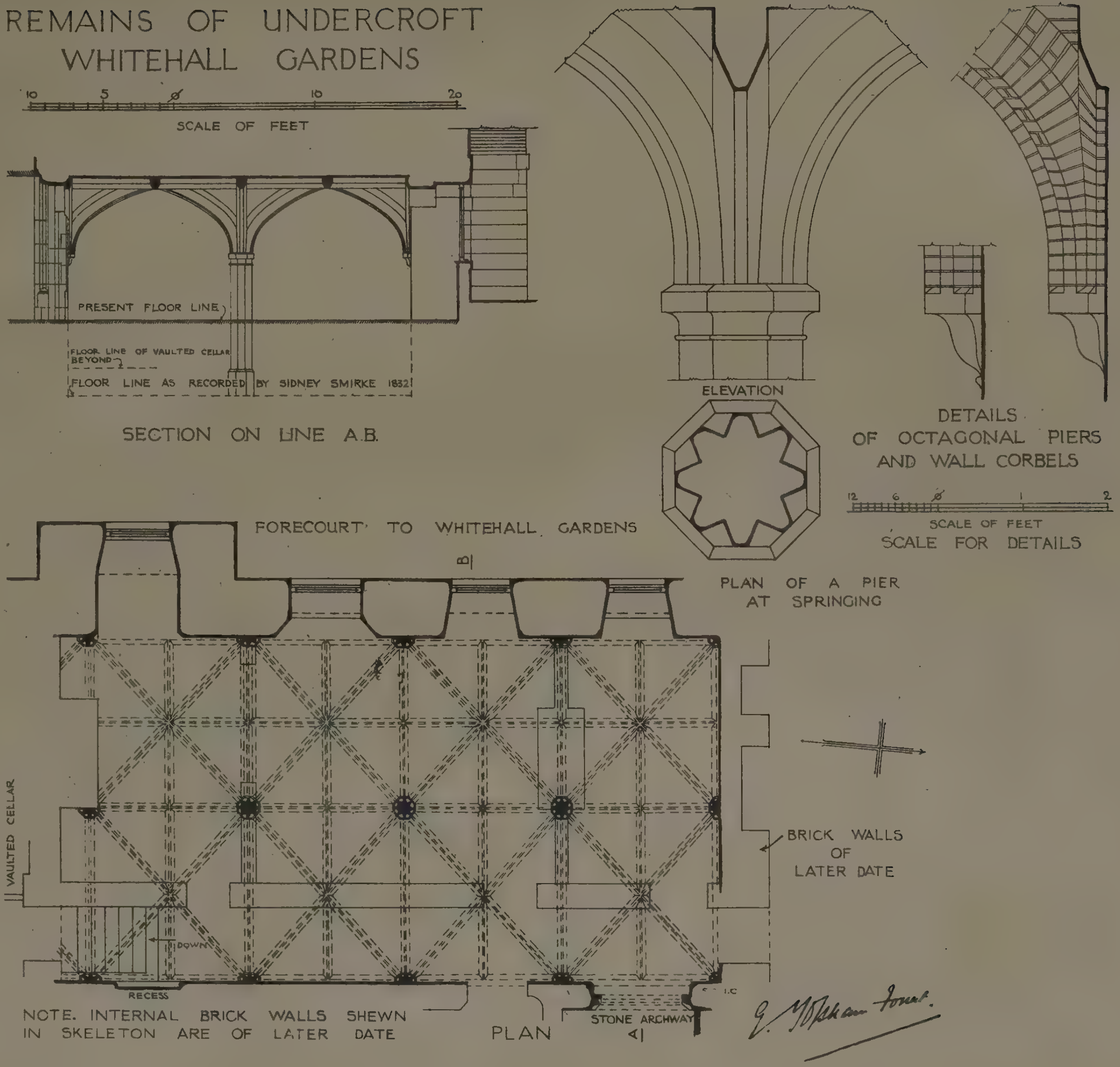
CROMWELL HOUSE. UNDERCROFT, LOOKING SOUTH (*p.* 146)





CROMWELL HOUSE. UNDERCROFT (*p.* 146). (*a*) LOOKING NORTH
(*b*) HEAD OF ENTRANCE DOORWAY ON EAST SIDE

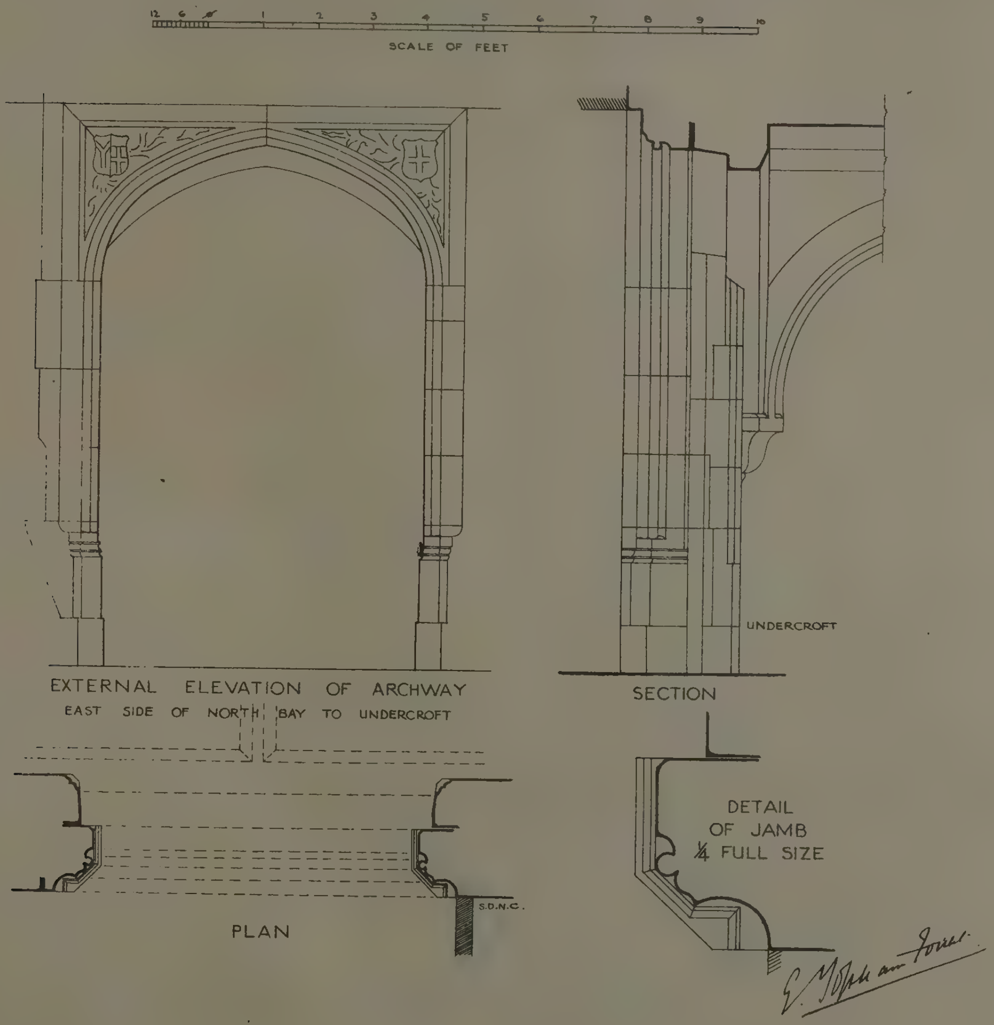
REMAINS OF UNDERCROFT WHITEHALL GARDENS

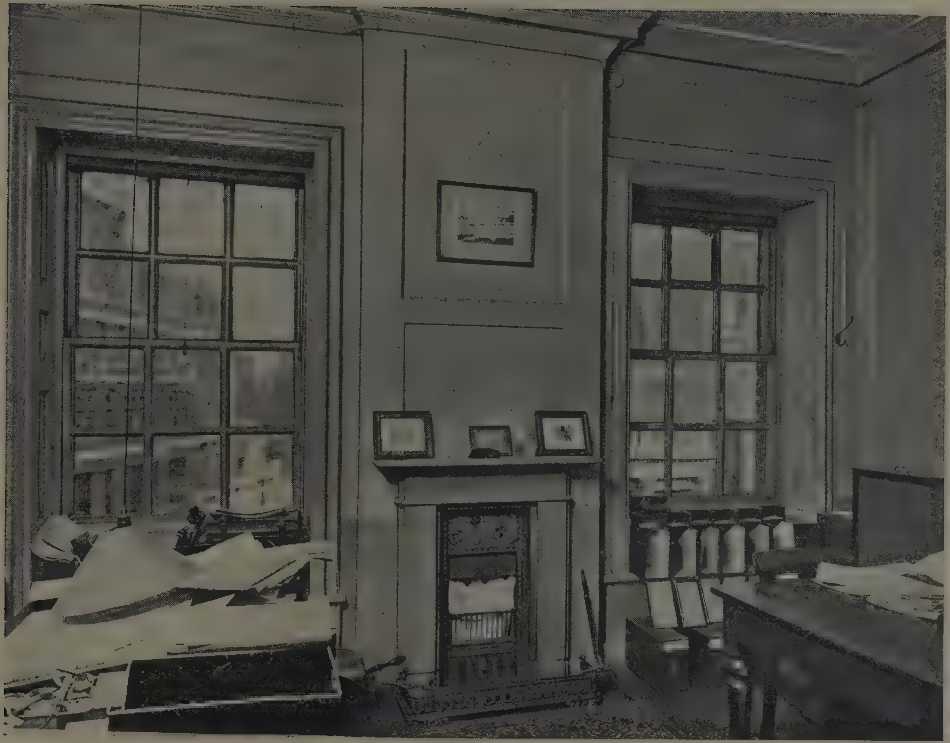

10 5 0 10 20
SCALE OF FEET
PRESENT FLOOR LINE
FLOOR LINE OF VAULTED CELLAR BEYOND
FLOOR LINE AS RECORDED BY SIDNEY SMIRKE 1832
SECTION ON LINE A.B.
ELEVATION
PLAN OF A PIER AT SPRINGING
DETAILS OF OCTAGONAL PIERS AND WALL CORBELS
12 6 0 1 2
SCALE OF FEET
SCALE FOR DETAILS
FORECOURT TO WHITEHALL GARDENS
B
VAULTED CELLAR
DOWN
RECESS
BRICK WALLS OF LATER DATE
STONE ARCHWAY
A
PLAN
NOTE. INTERNAL BRICK WALLS SHEWN IN SKELETON ARE OF LATER DATE

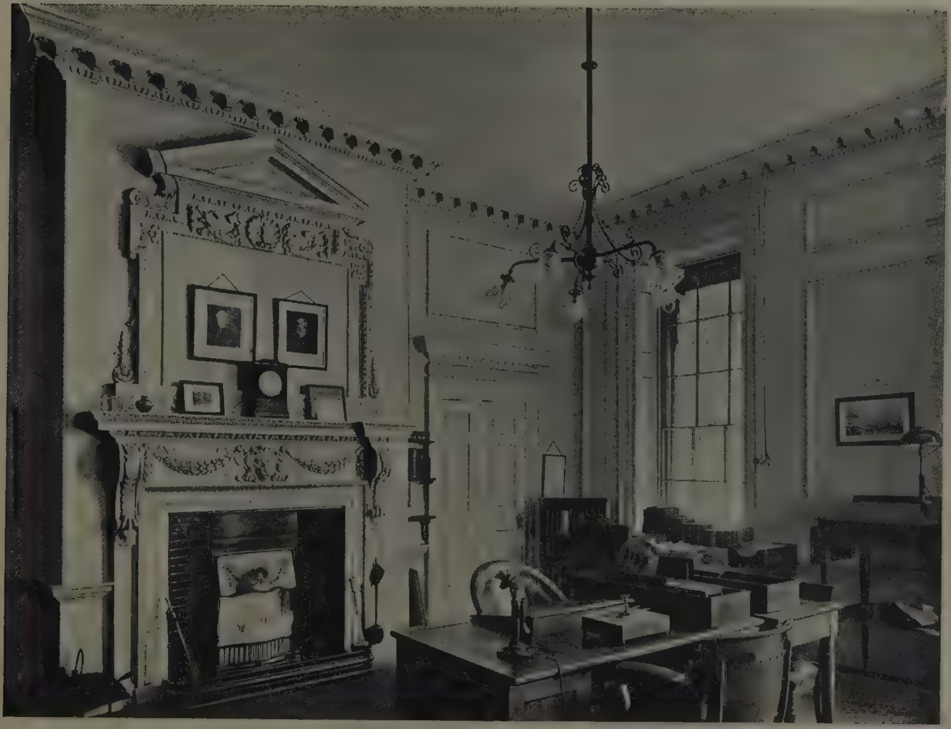
G. Topham Forrest.

PLATE 57

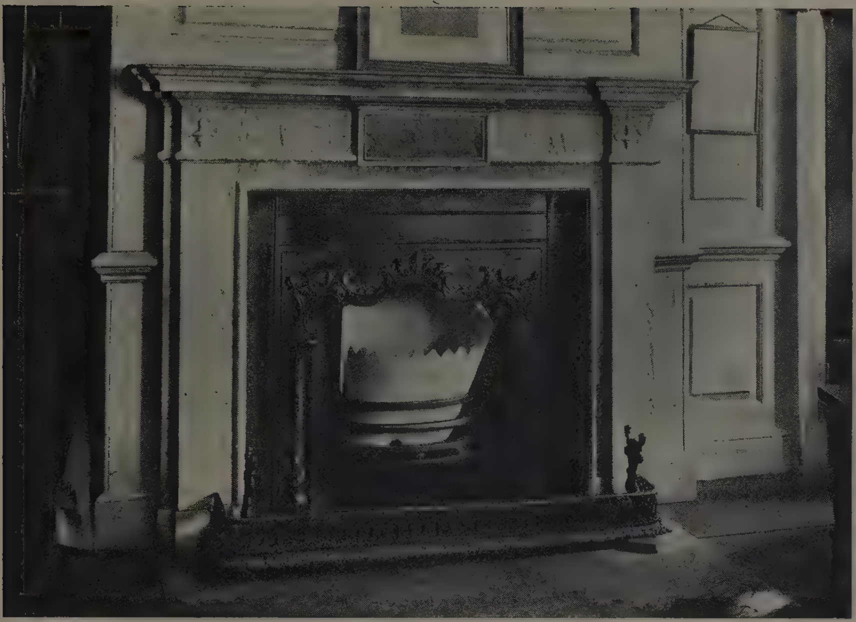
REMAINS OF UNDERCROFT WHITEHALL GARDENS

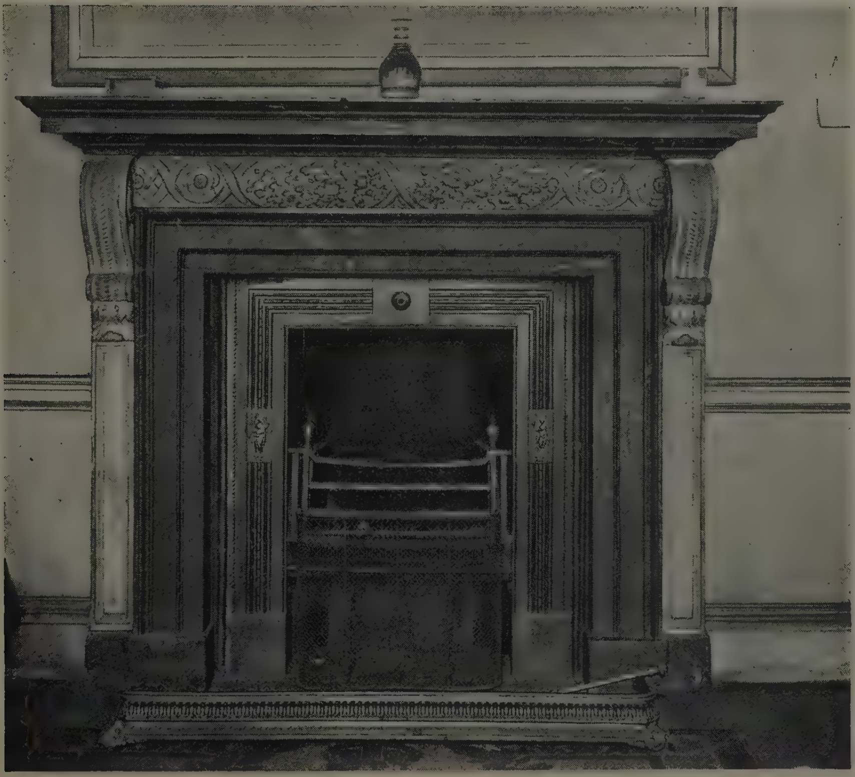

12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
SCALE OF FEET
EXTERNAL ELEVATION OF ARCHWAY
EAST SIDE OF NORTH BAY TO UNDERCROFT
SECTION
UNDERCROFT
PLAN
S.D.N.C.
DETAIL
OF JAMB
¼ FULL SIZE





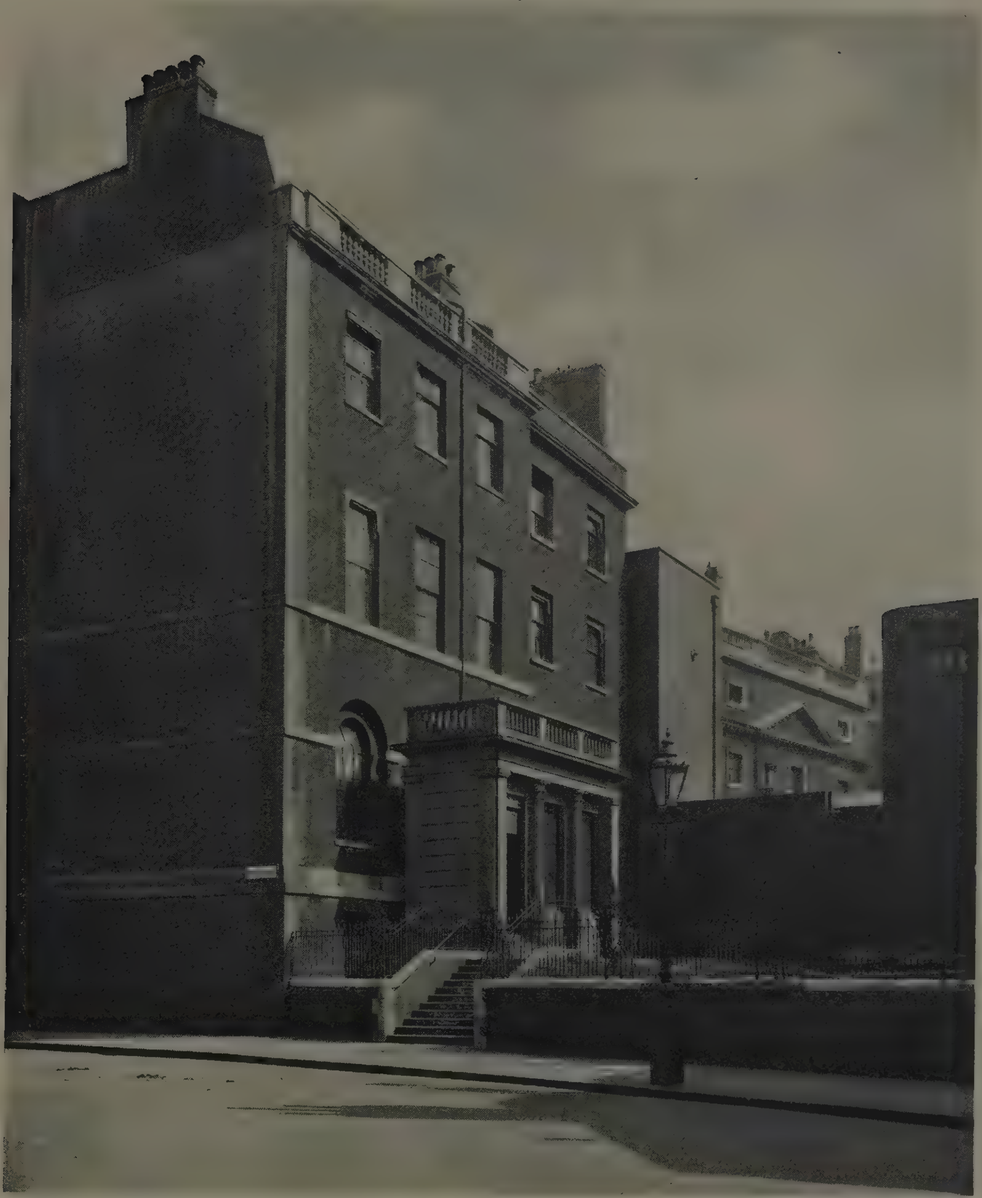
CROMWELL HOUSE (*pp.* 147–8). (*a*) ROOM NO. 97, GENERAL INTERIOR. (*b*) ROOM NO. 79



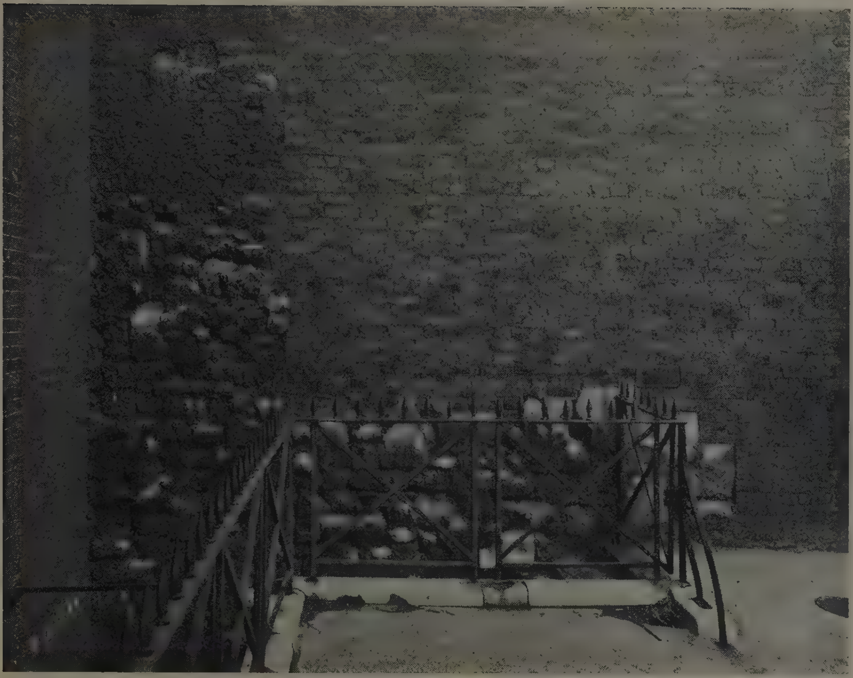


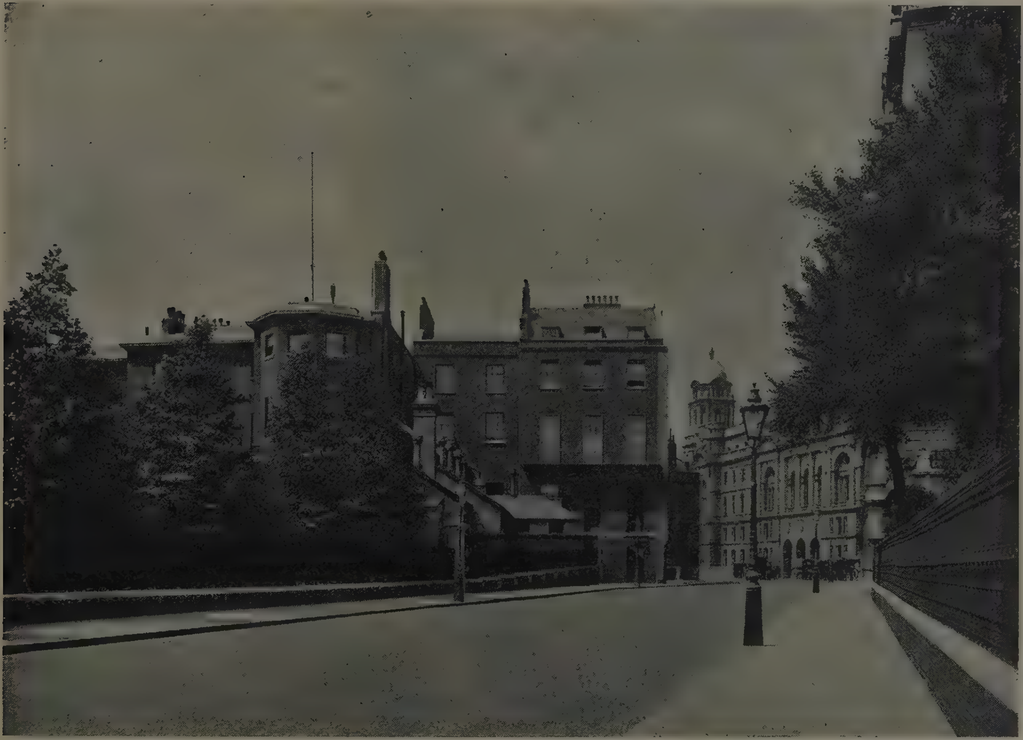
(*a*) CROMWELL HOUSE, ROOM NO. 80 (*p.* 148)
(*b*) MALMESBURY HOUSE, ROOM NO. 74 (*p.* 164)

MANTELPIECES

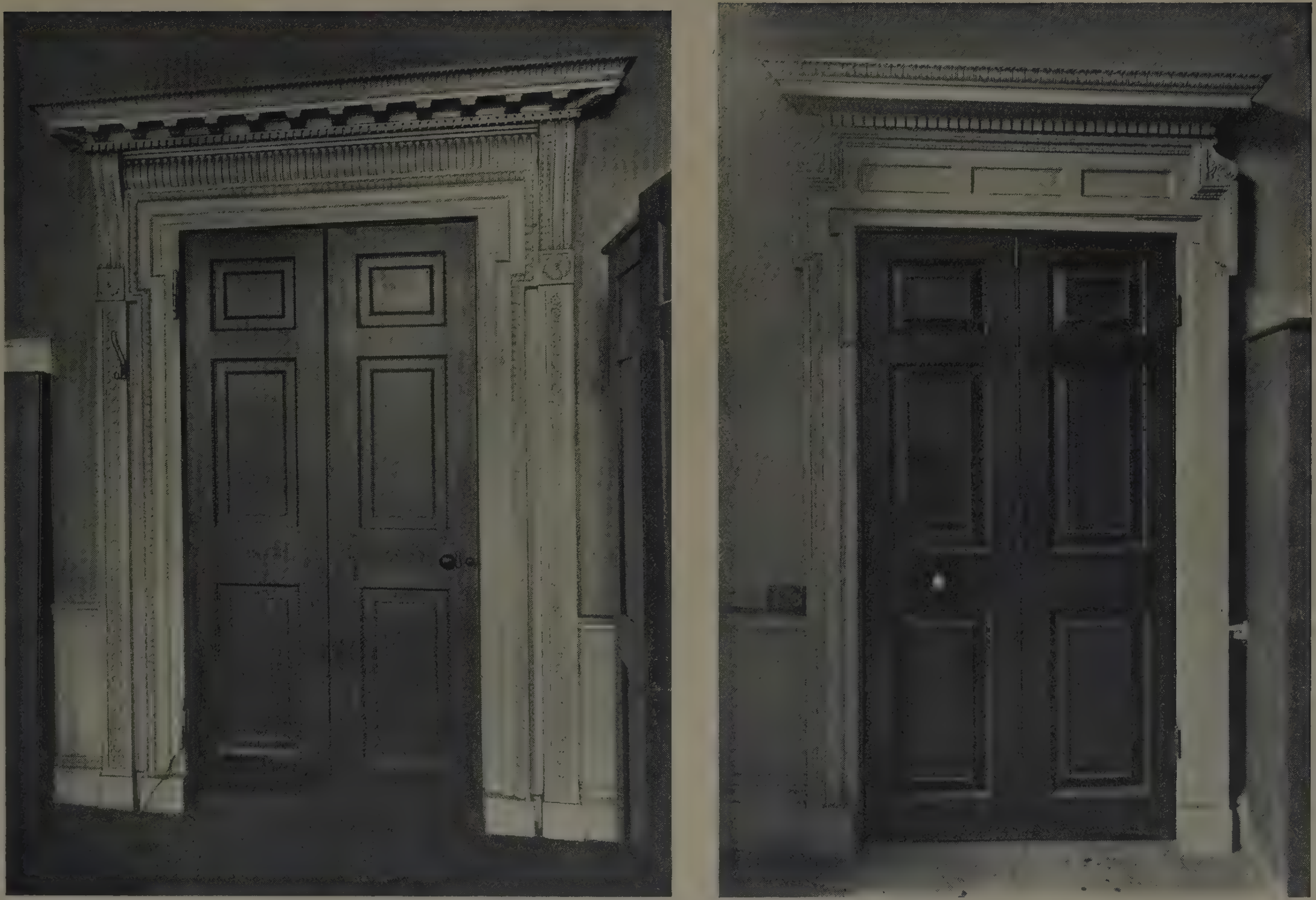


NO. 1 HORSE GUARDS AVENUE
WEST FRONT (*p.* 154)



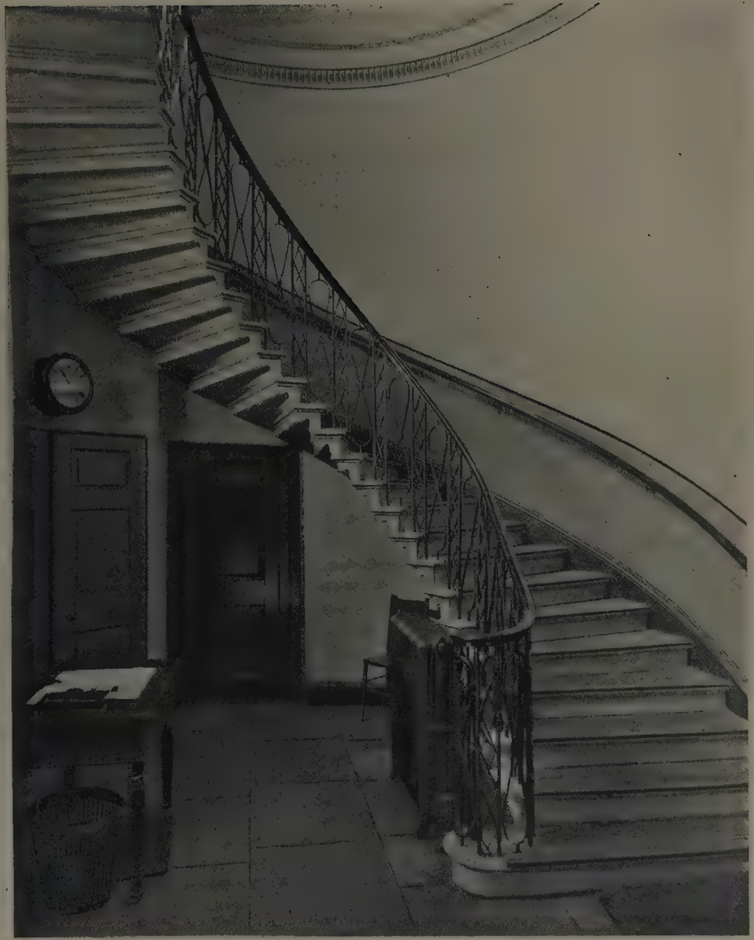


NO. 1 HORSE GUARDS AVENUE (*pp.* 154–5). (*a*) OLD RUBBLE WALLING AT SOUTH-EAST CORNER TO FORECOURT
(*b*) EAST ELEVATION

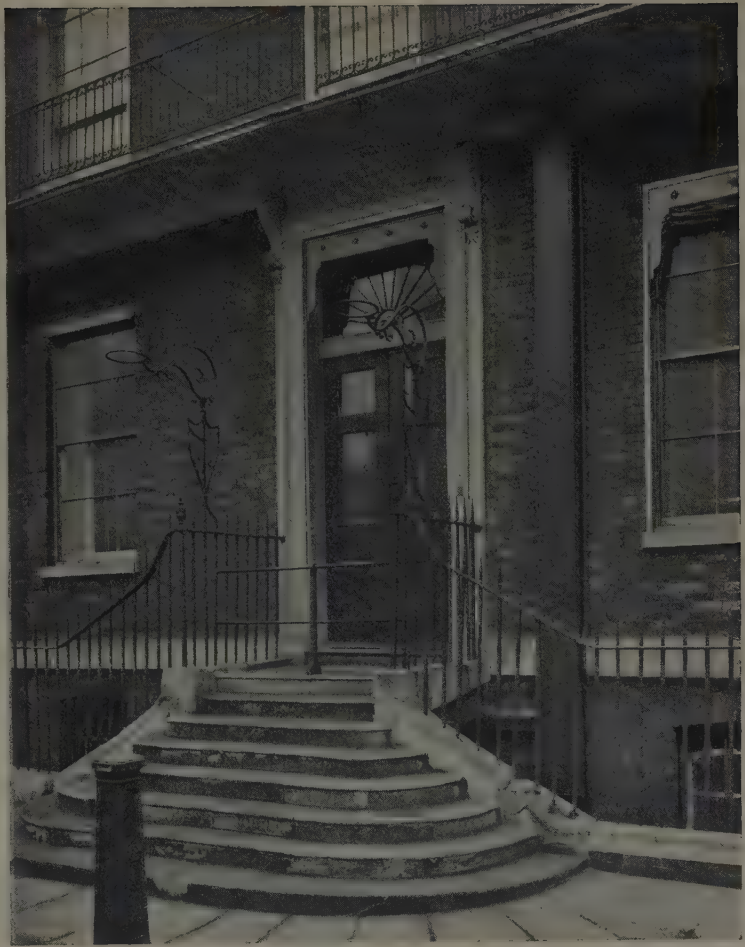


NO. 1 HORSE GUARDS AVENUE (*p.* 155)

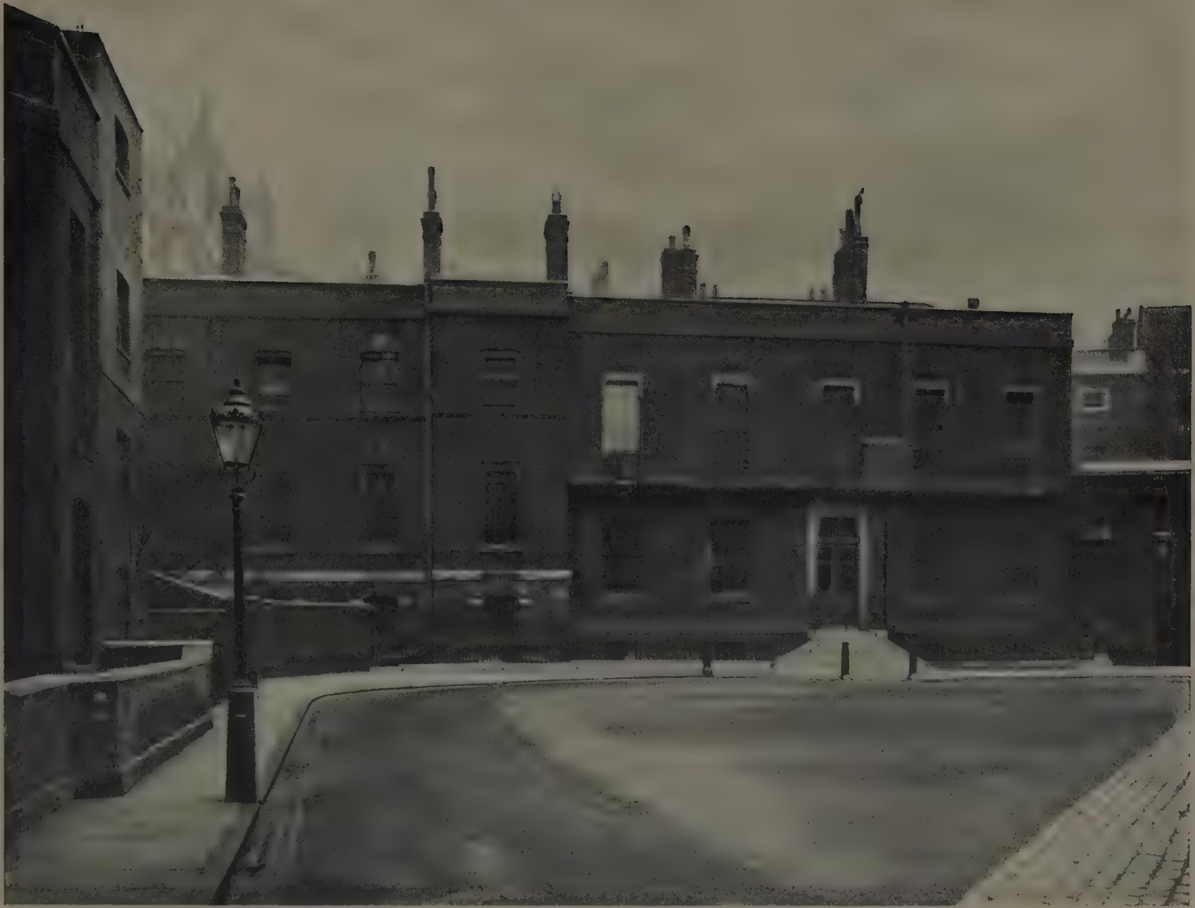
DOORWAY BETWEEN ROOMS NOS. 18 AND 19.   DOORWAY TO ROOM NO. 17



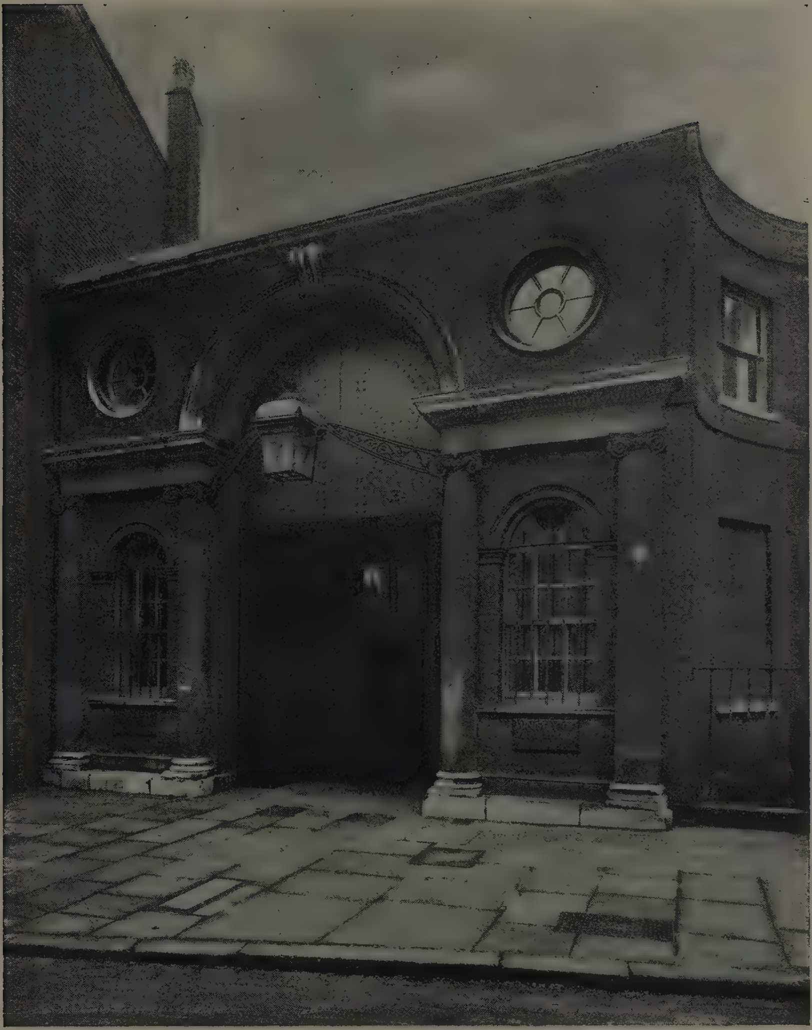
NO. 1 HORSE GUARDS AVENUE. ENTRANCE HALL AND STAIRCASE (*p.* 154)



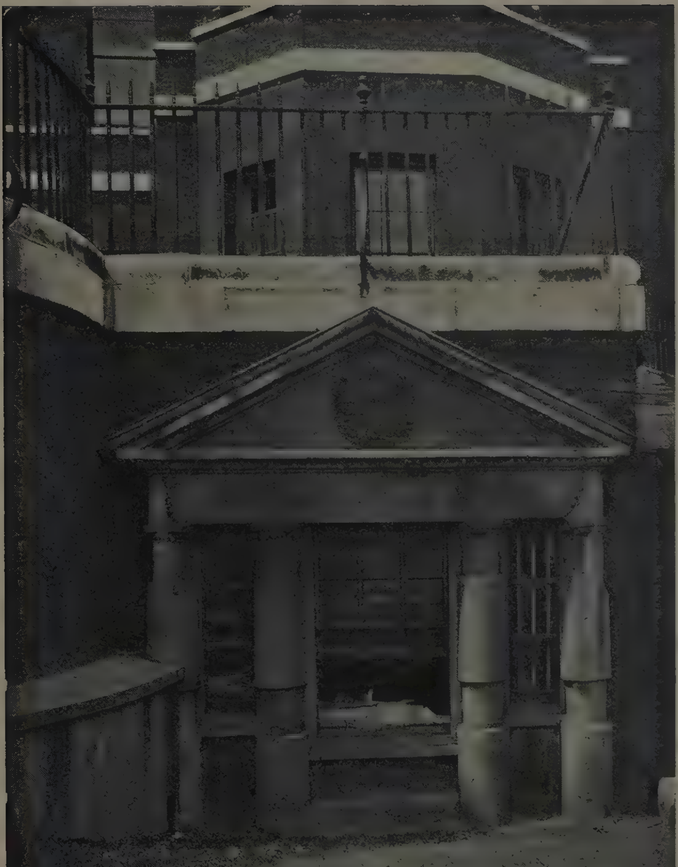
MALMESBURY HOUSE. ENTRANCE DOORWAY (*p.* 163)



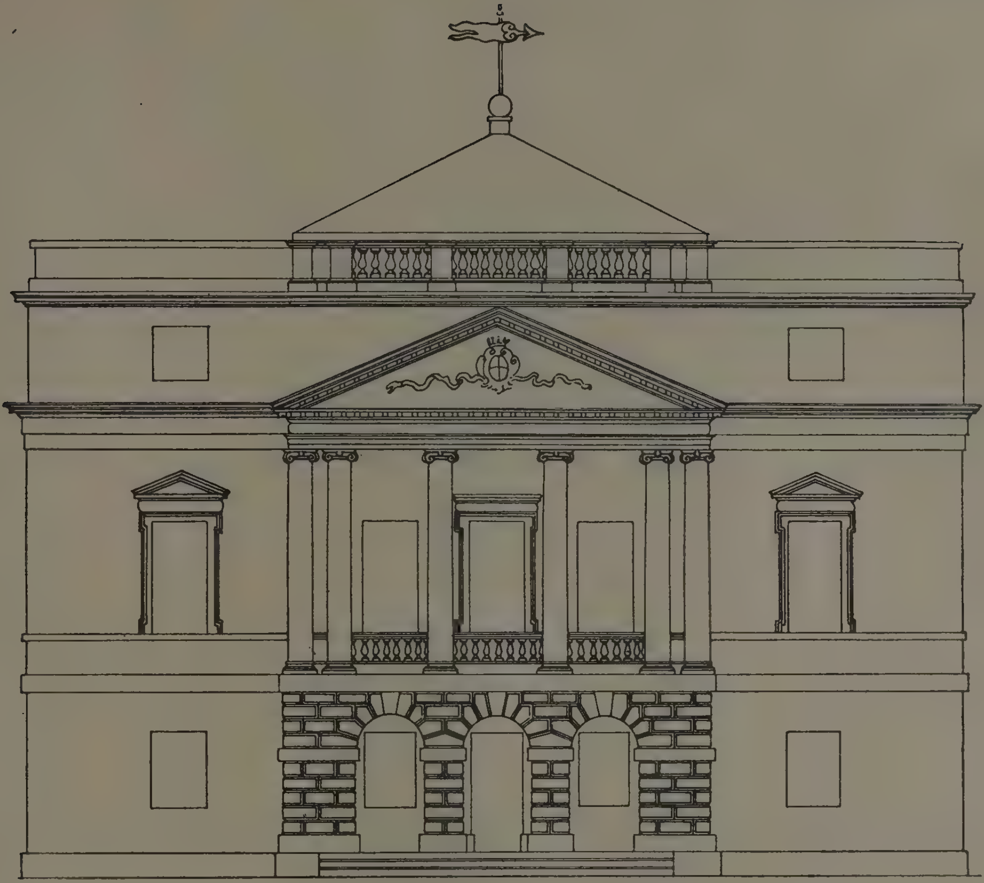
MALMESBURY HOUSE. FRONT TO WHITEHALL GARDENS (*p.* 163)



PEMBROKE HOUSE. ENTRANCE GATEWAY
(*p.* 170)

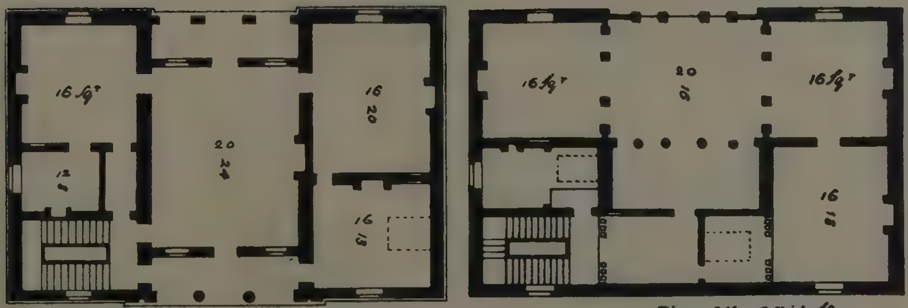


PEMBROKE HOUSE. WATER-GATE
(*p.* 171)



Elevation of the Right Honourable the Lord Herbert his Houſe in Whitehall.

a Scale of 40 feet
10
20
30
40



16 Sq^r
20
24
16
20
12
8
16
13
16 Sq^r
20
16
16 Sq^r
16
18
10
20
30
40 feet

Plan of the Principal Story

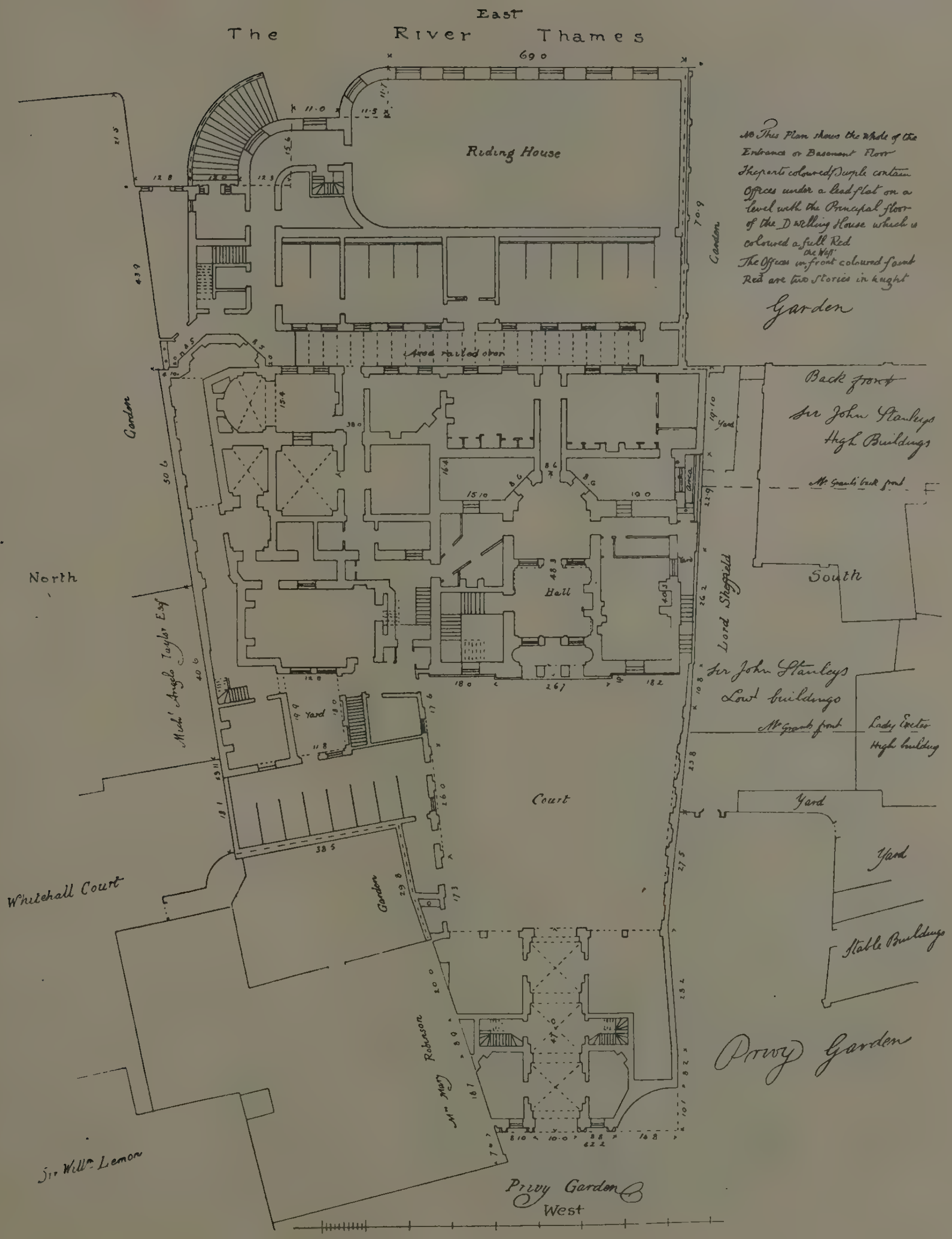
Plan of the Attick Story

Campbell Architectus

H Hulsbergh Sculp.

THE FIRST PEMBROKE HOUSE. ELEVATION AND PLAN
(*p.* 167)

PLATE 68

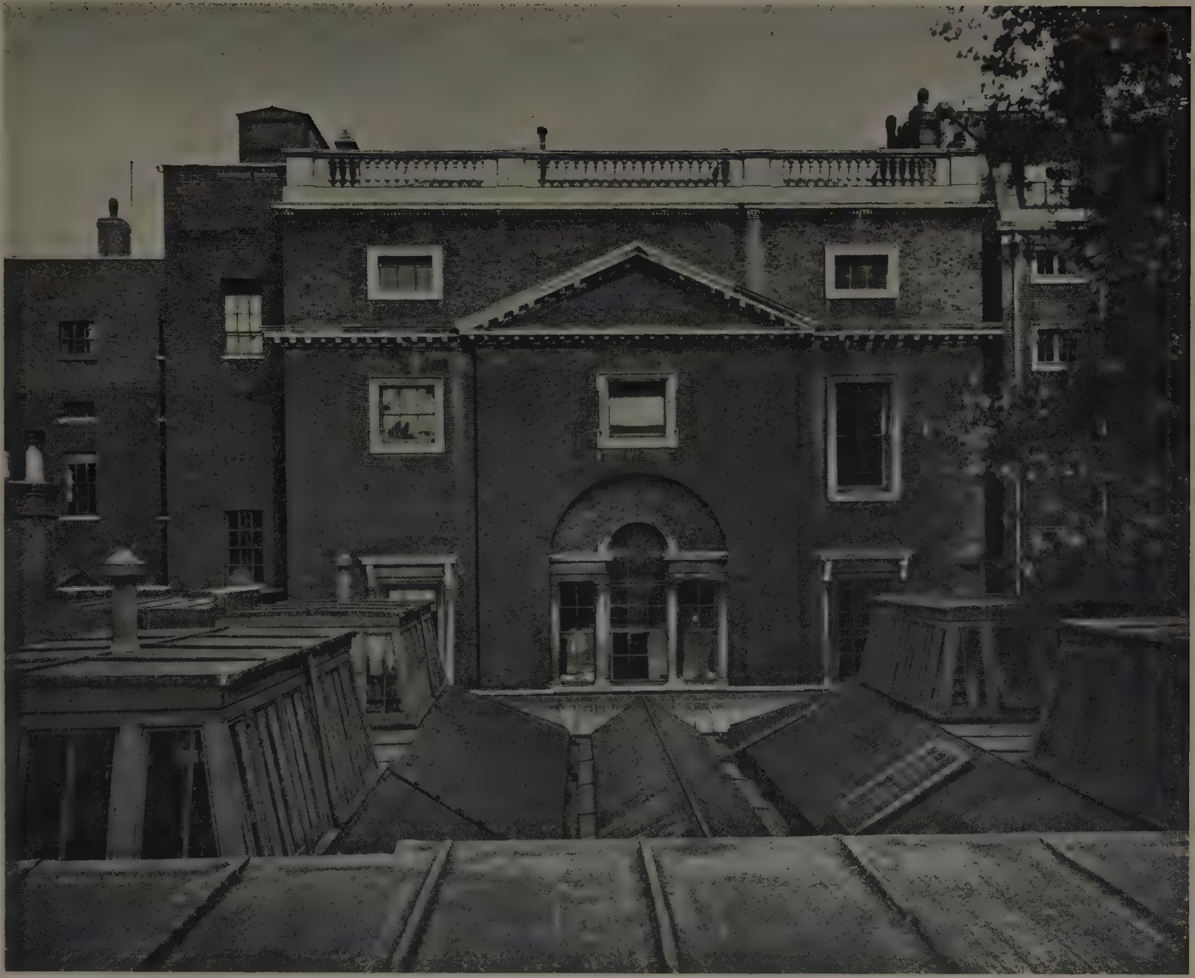


NB This Plan shows the whole of the Entrance or Basement Floor
The parts coloured Purple contain Offices under a lead flat on a level with the Principal floor of the Dwelling House which is coloured a full Red
The Offices in front ^the West^ coloured faint Red are two Stories in height

East
The River Thames
Riding House
Garden
Garden
Area railed over
Back front
Sir John Stanleys High Buildings
Mr Granli's back front
Yard
Area
North
Garden
Hall
Lord Sheffield
South
Sir John Stanleys Lowr buildings
Mr Granli front
Lady Exeter High building
Mich' Angelo Taylor Esq
Yard
Court
Yard
Stable Buildings
Whitehall Court
Garden
Mrs Mary Robinson
Privy Garden
Sir Willm Lemon
Privy Garden
West

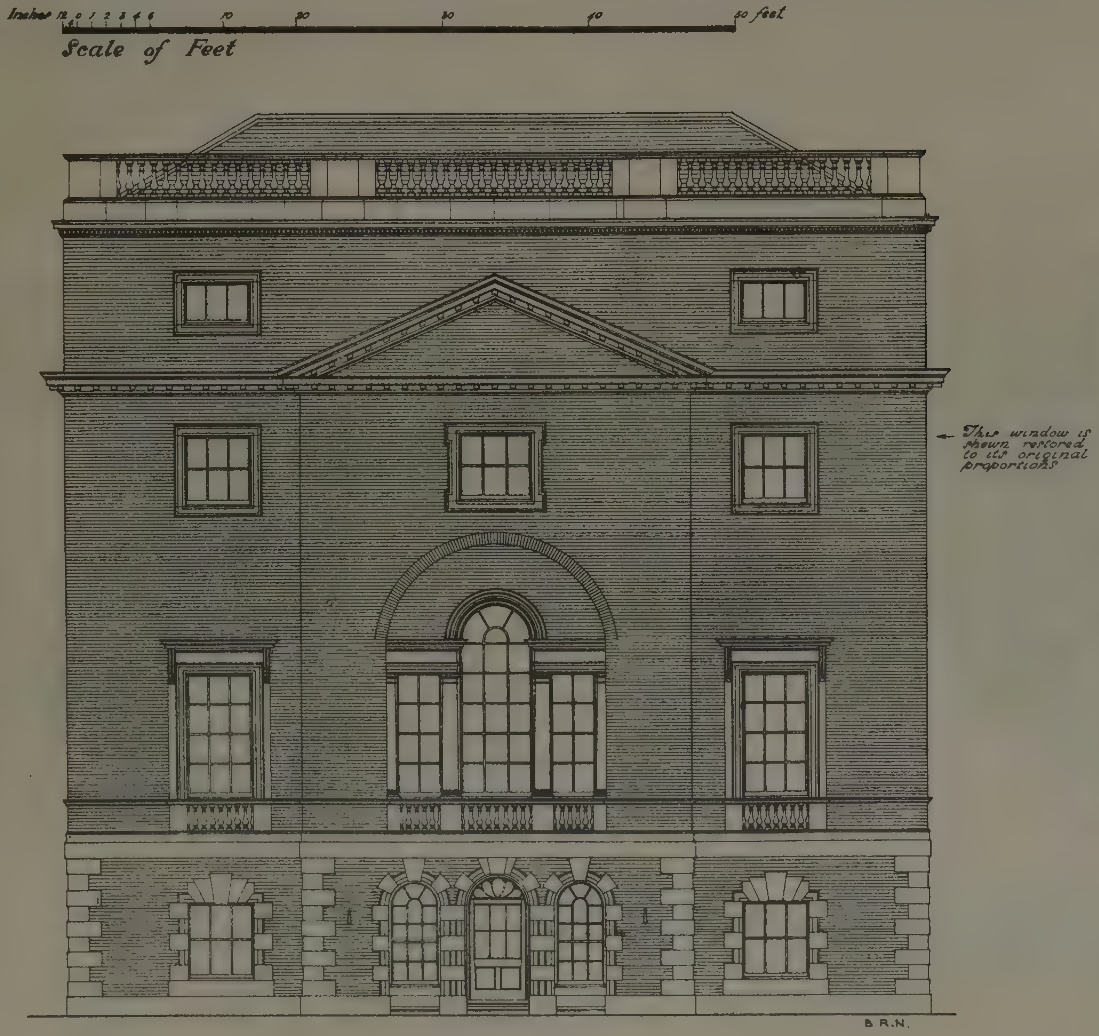
Copy of plan in the possession of the Office of Woods &c.

PLAN OF GROUND LEASED TO EARL OF PEMBROKE IN 1803 (*p.* 170)

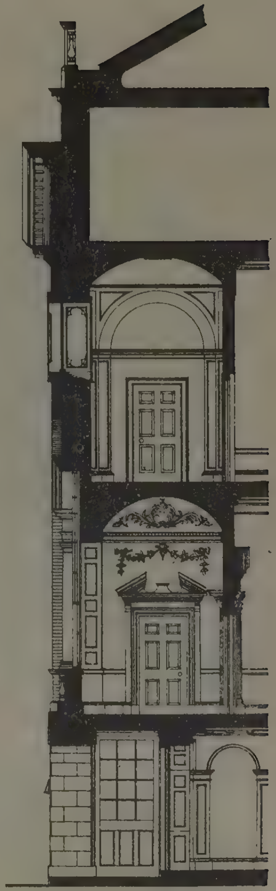


PEMBROKE HOUSE. WEST ELEVATION FROM ROOF OF ENTRANCE LODGE (*p.* 171)

PEMBROKE HOUSE – WHITEHALL GARDENS S.W.

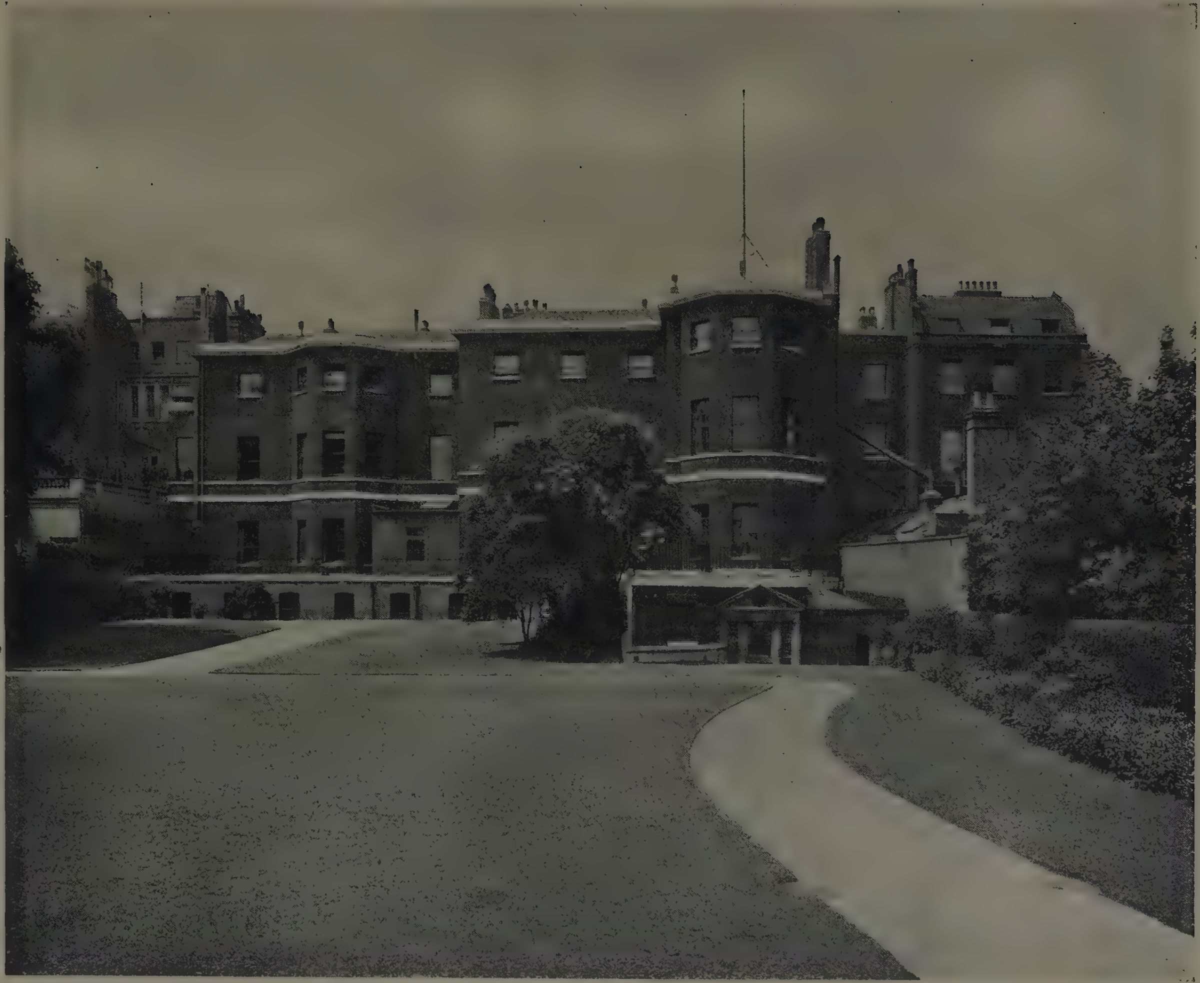

Inches 12 0 1 2 3 4 6
10
20
30
40
50 feet
Scale of Feet
This window is shewn restored to its original proportions
B.R.N.

MAIN ELEVATION

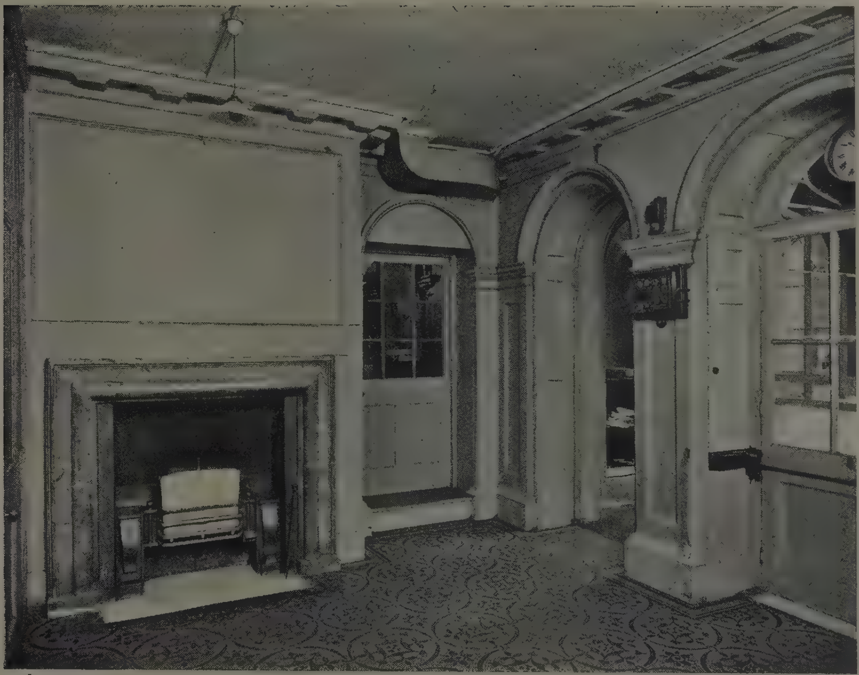


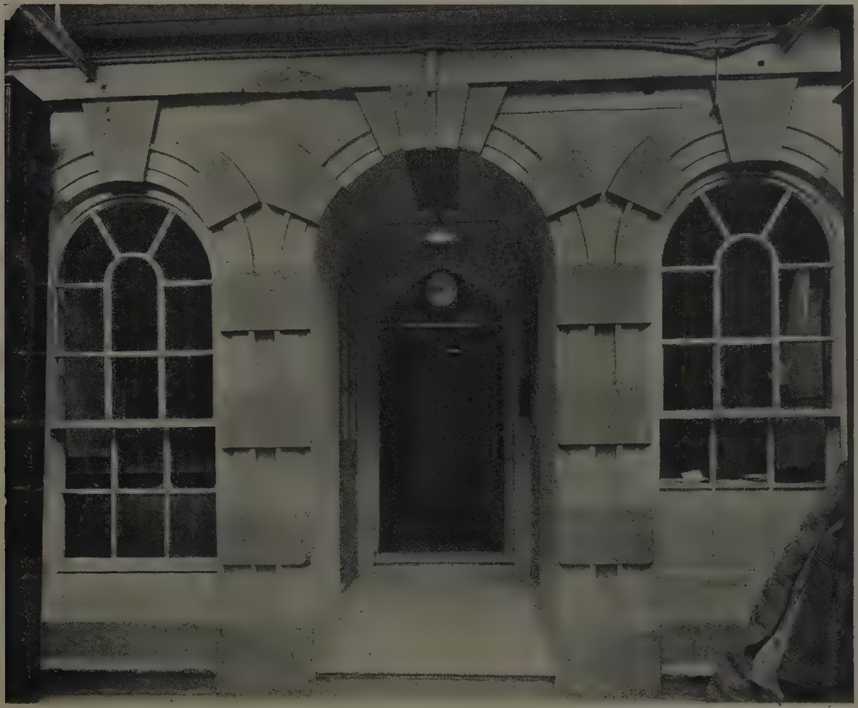
SECTION

PLATE 71

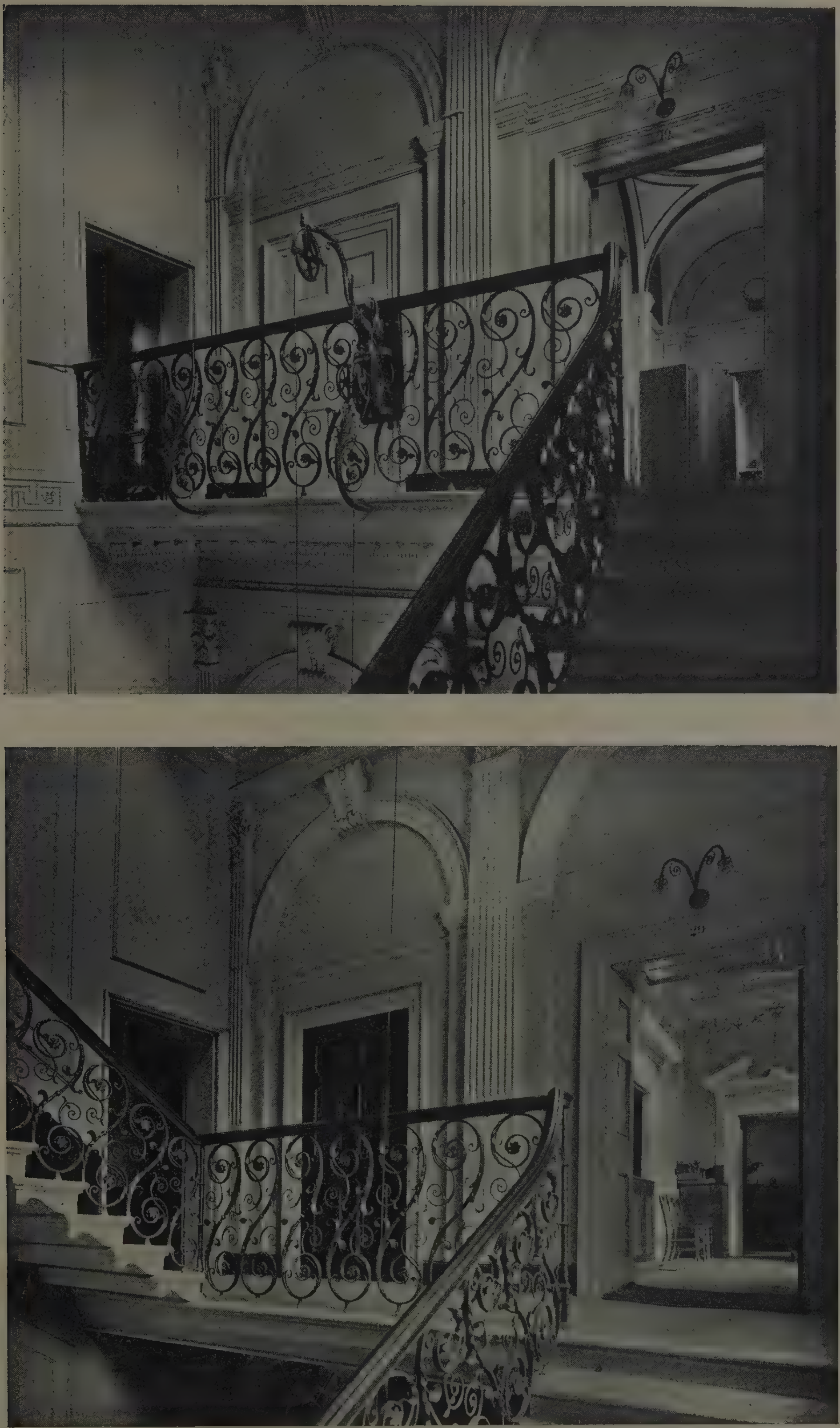


PEMBROKE HOUSE. GARDEN FRONT (1912) (*p.* 171)





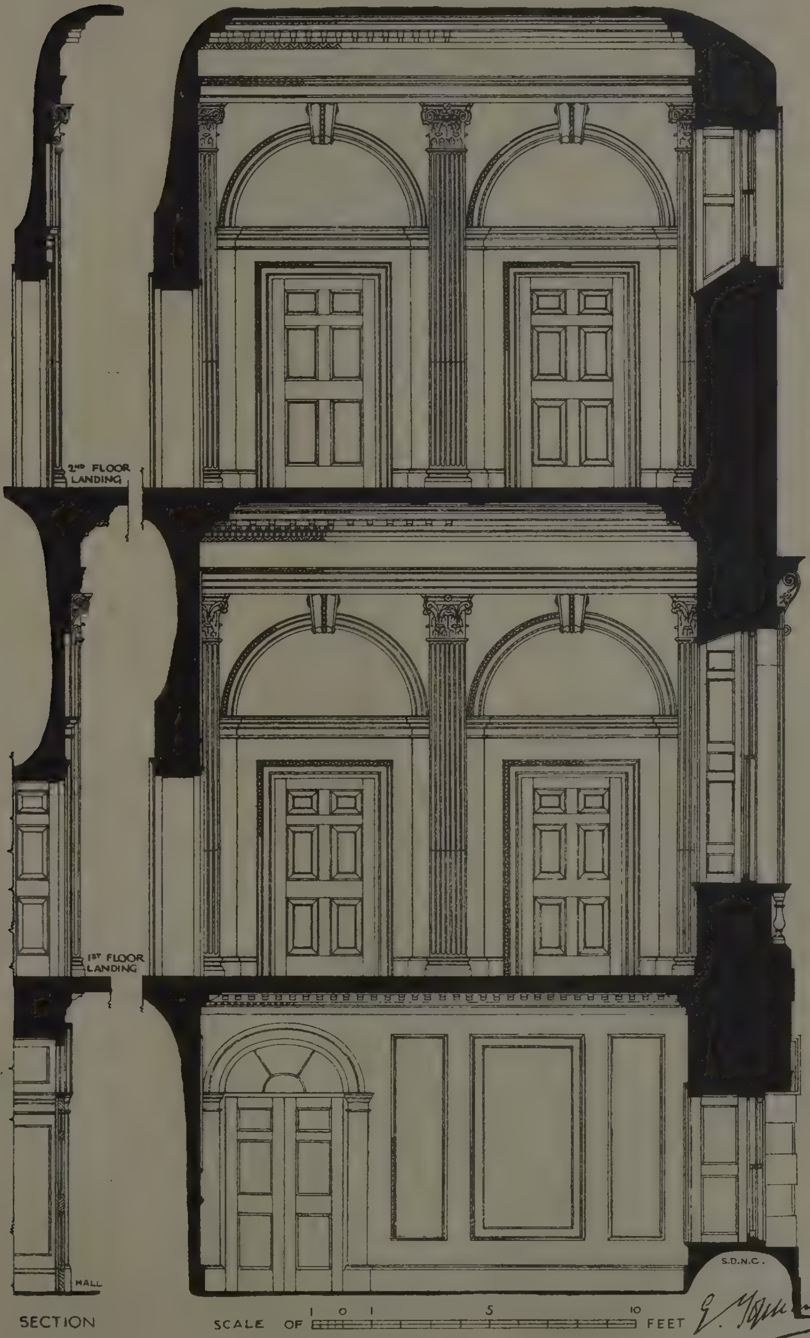
PEMBROKE HOUSE (*p.* 171). (*a*) ENTRANCE HALL
(*b*) LOWER PORTION OF MAIN FRONT



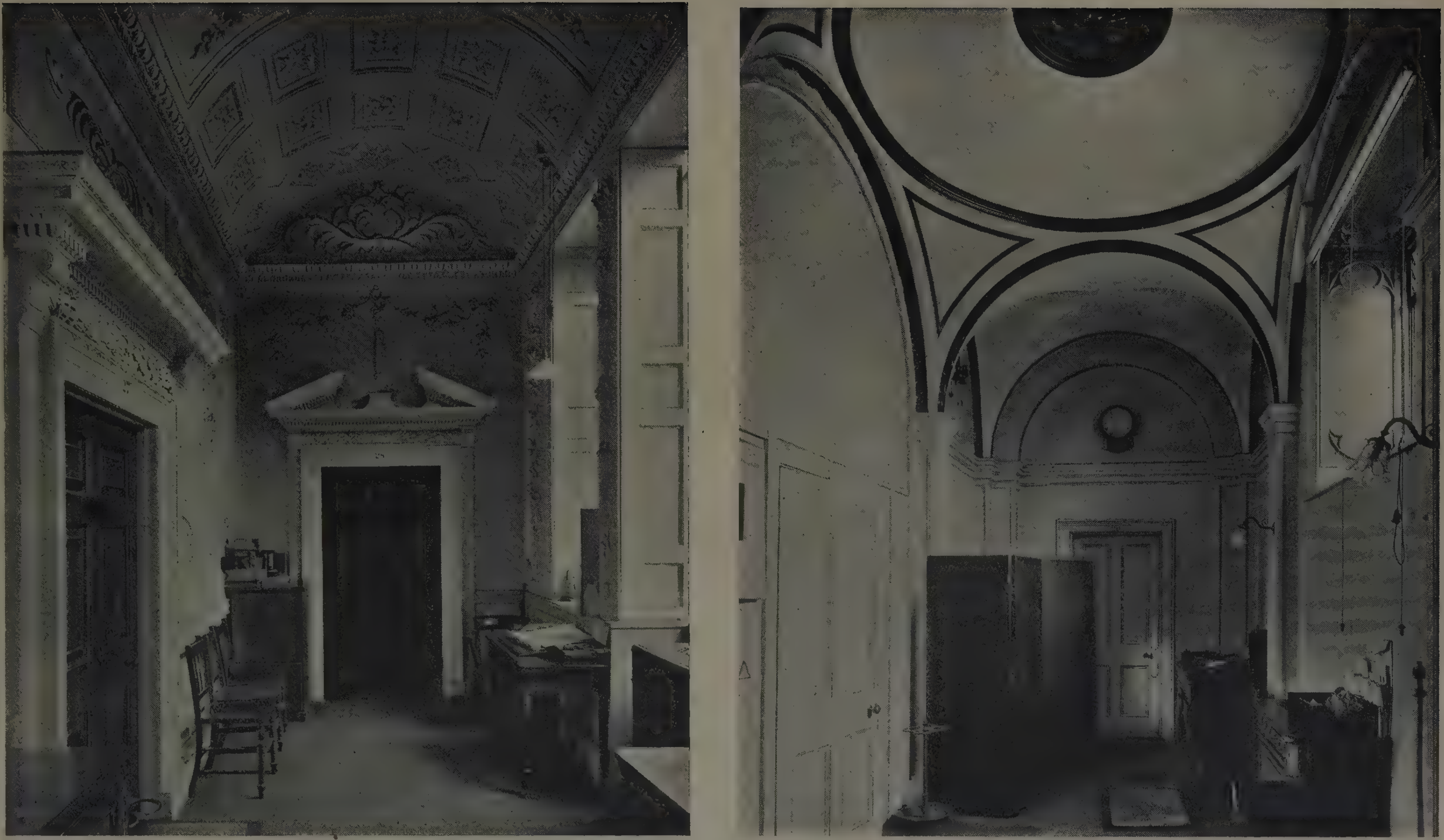
PEMBROKE HOUSE. MAIN STAIRCASE (*p.* 172)
(*a*) SECOND FLOOR. (*b*) FIRST FLOOR

PEMBROKE HOUSE, WHITEHALL GARDENS.

DETAILS OF MAIN STAIRCASE.


2ND FLOOR LANDING
1ST FLOOR LANDING
HALL
S.D.N.C.
SECTION
SCALE OF 1 0 1 5 10 FEET

G. Topham Forrest



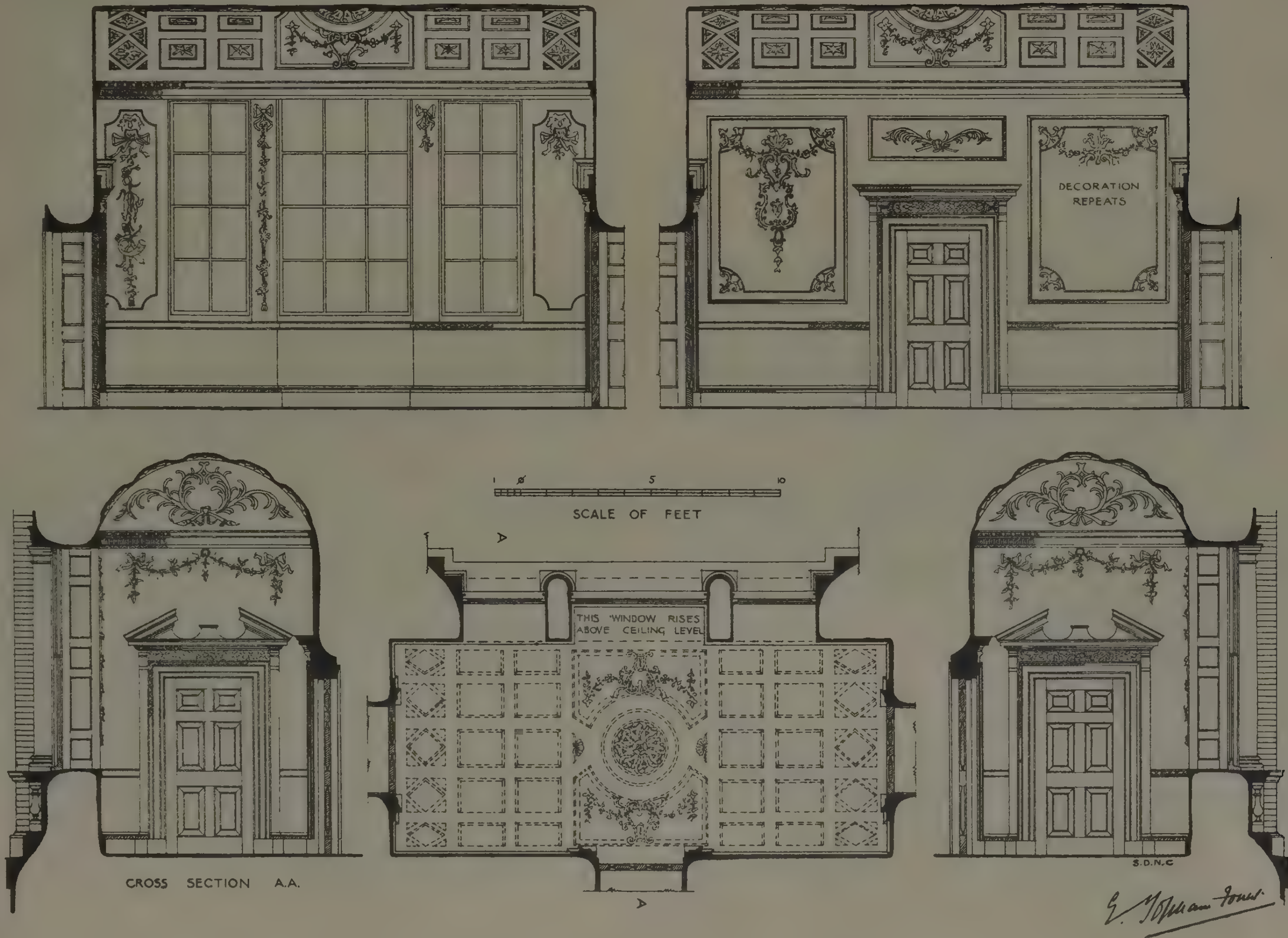
PEMBROKE HOUSE. LOBBIES (*p.* 172)

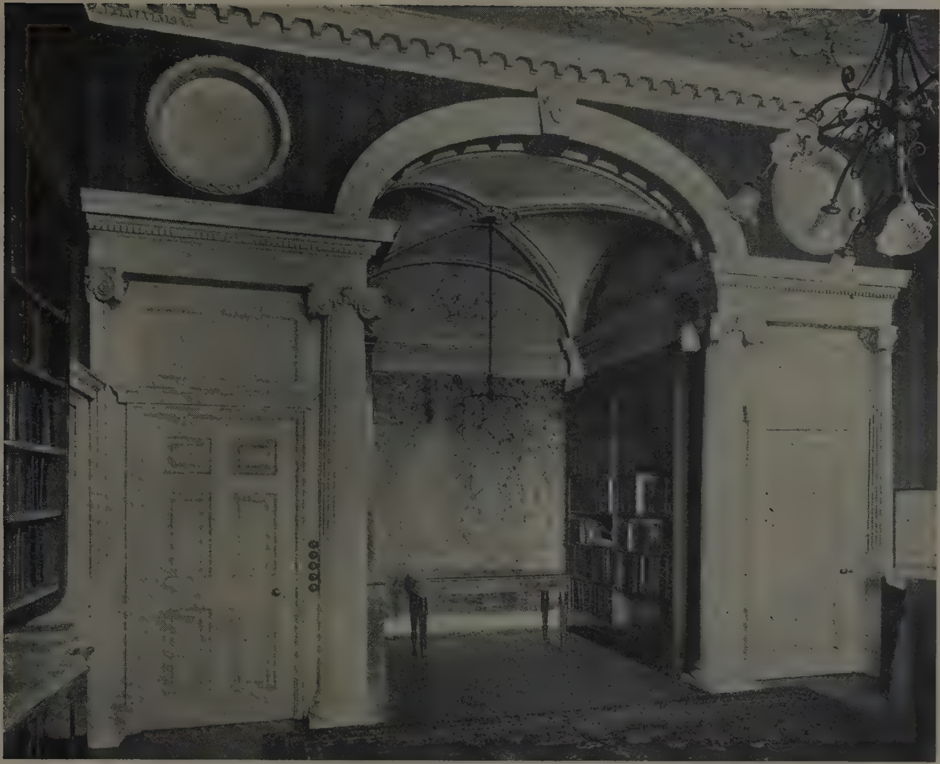
ON FIRST FLOOR

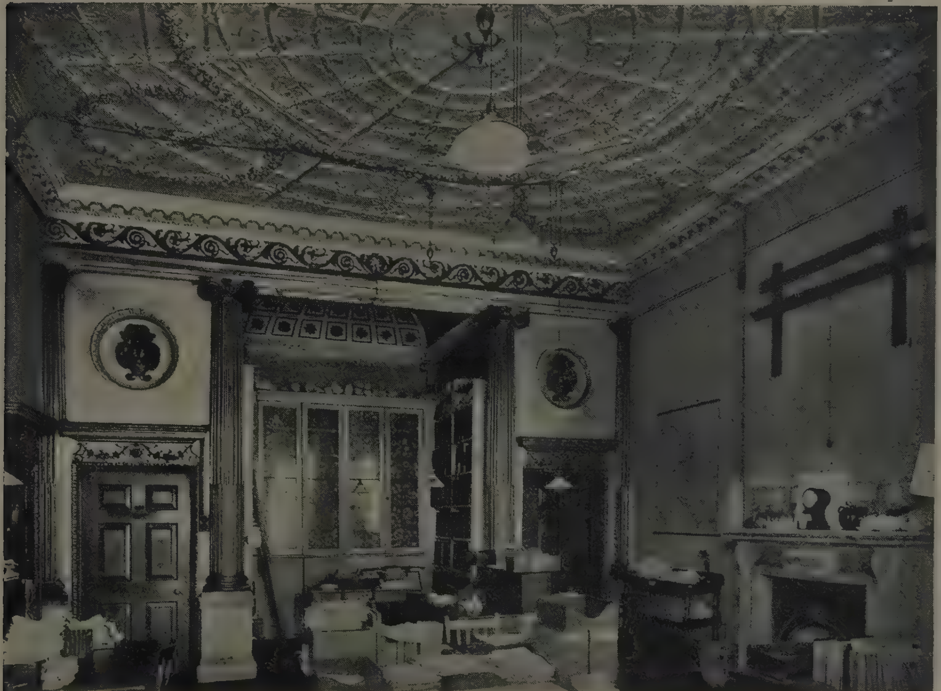
ON SECOND FLOOR

PEMBROKE HOUSE, WHITEHALL GARDENS.

DETAILS OF LOBBY ON FIRST FLOOR.


DECORATION REPEATS
1 0 5 10
SCALE OF FEET
A
THIS WINDOW RISES ABOVE CEILING LEVEL
A
CROSS SECTION A.A.
S.D.N.C

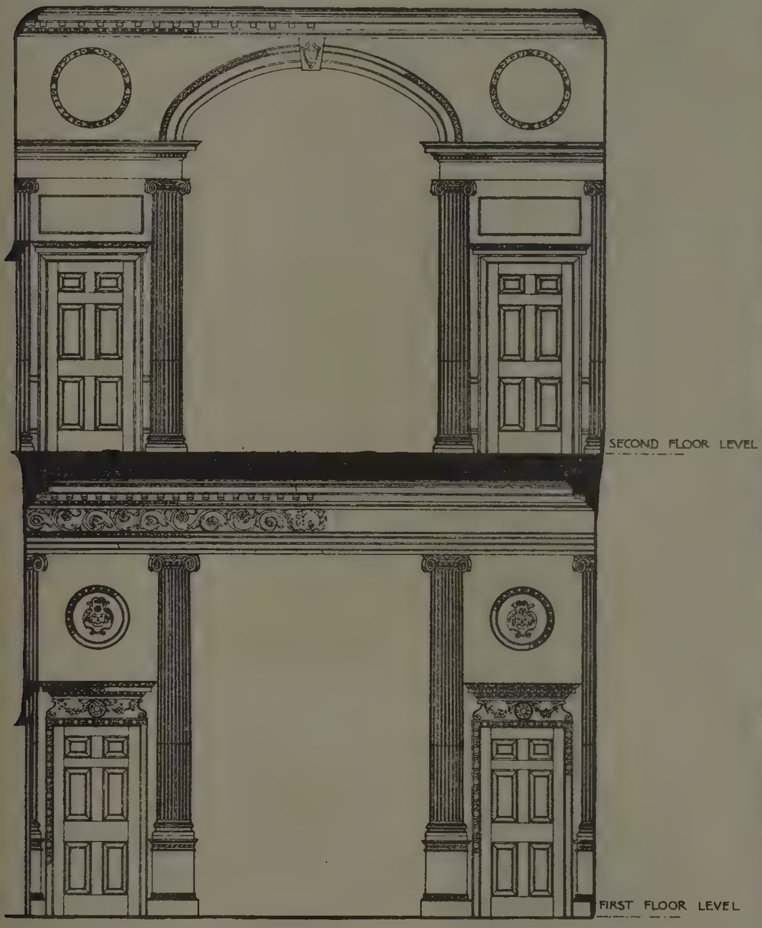




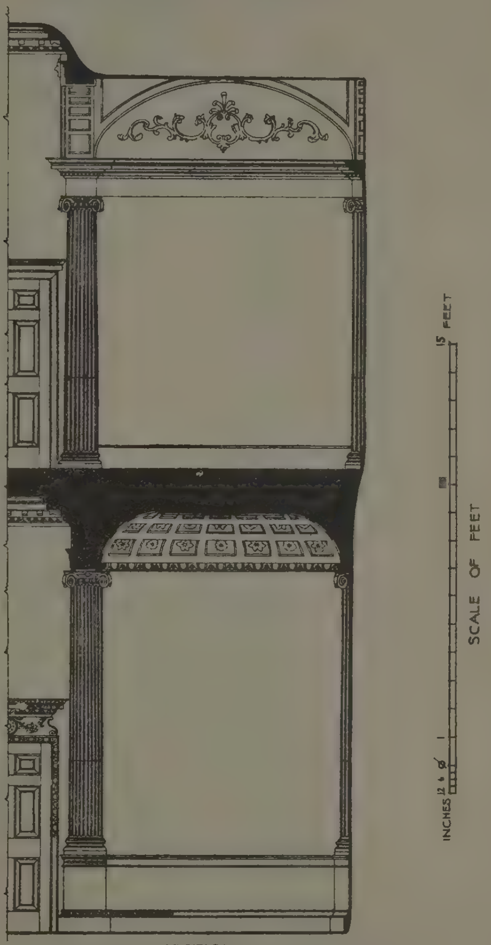
PEMBROKE HOUSE. ALCOVES (*pp.* 174–5) (*a*) ON SECOND FLOOR (*b*) ON FIRST FLOOR

PEMBROKE HOUSE, WHITEHALL GARDENS.

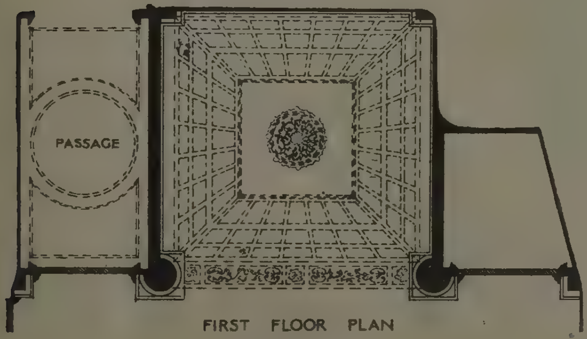
DETAILS OF ALCOVES ON FIRST AND SECOND FLOORS.


SECOND FLOOR LEVEL
FIRST FLOOR LEVEL

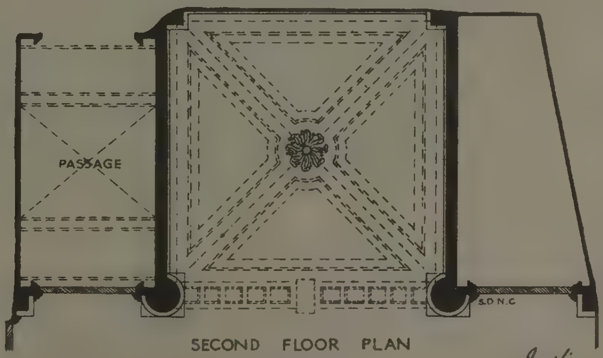
ELEVATION


15 FEET
SCALE OF FEET
INCHES 12 6 0

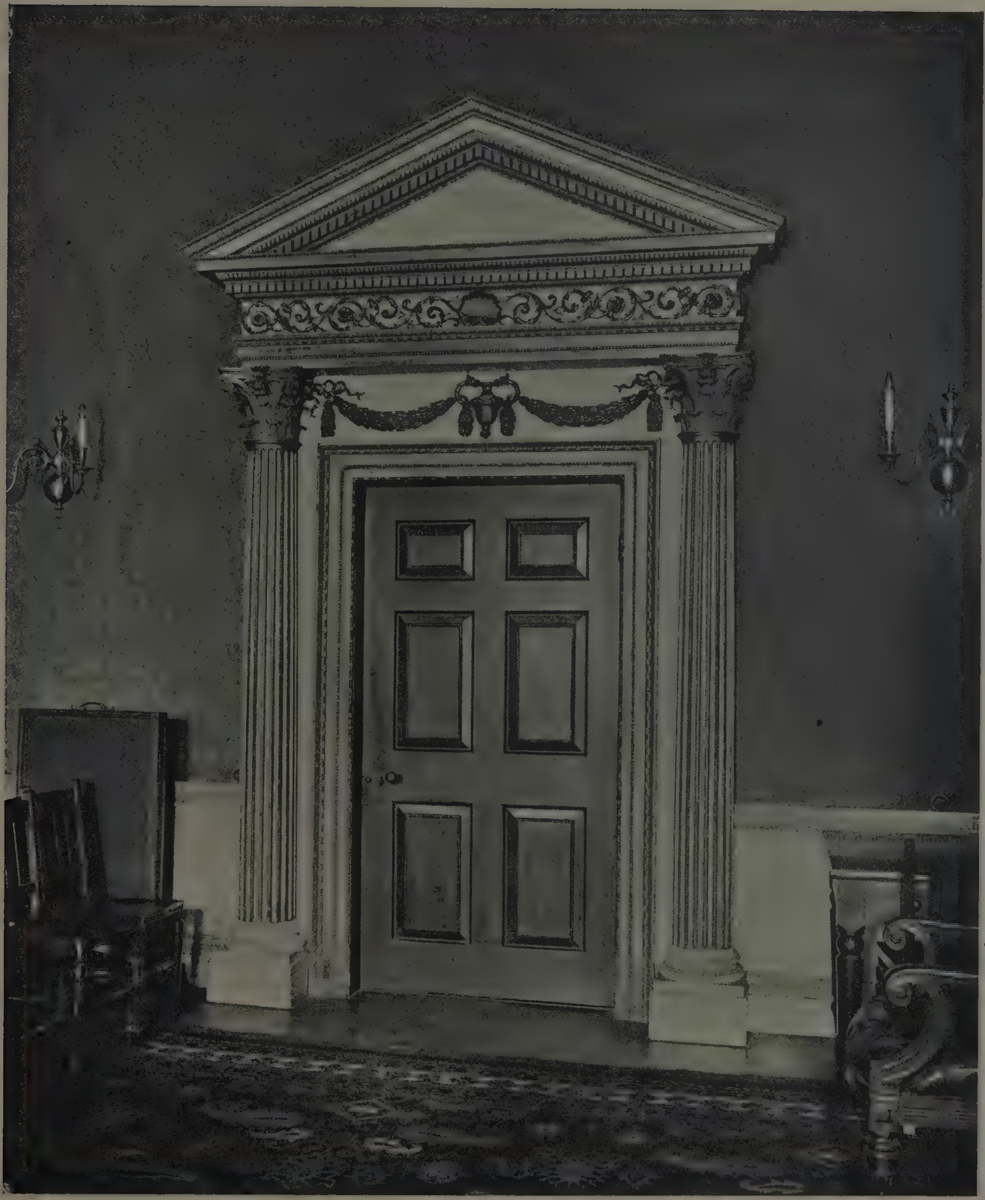
SECTION



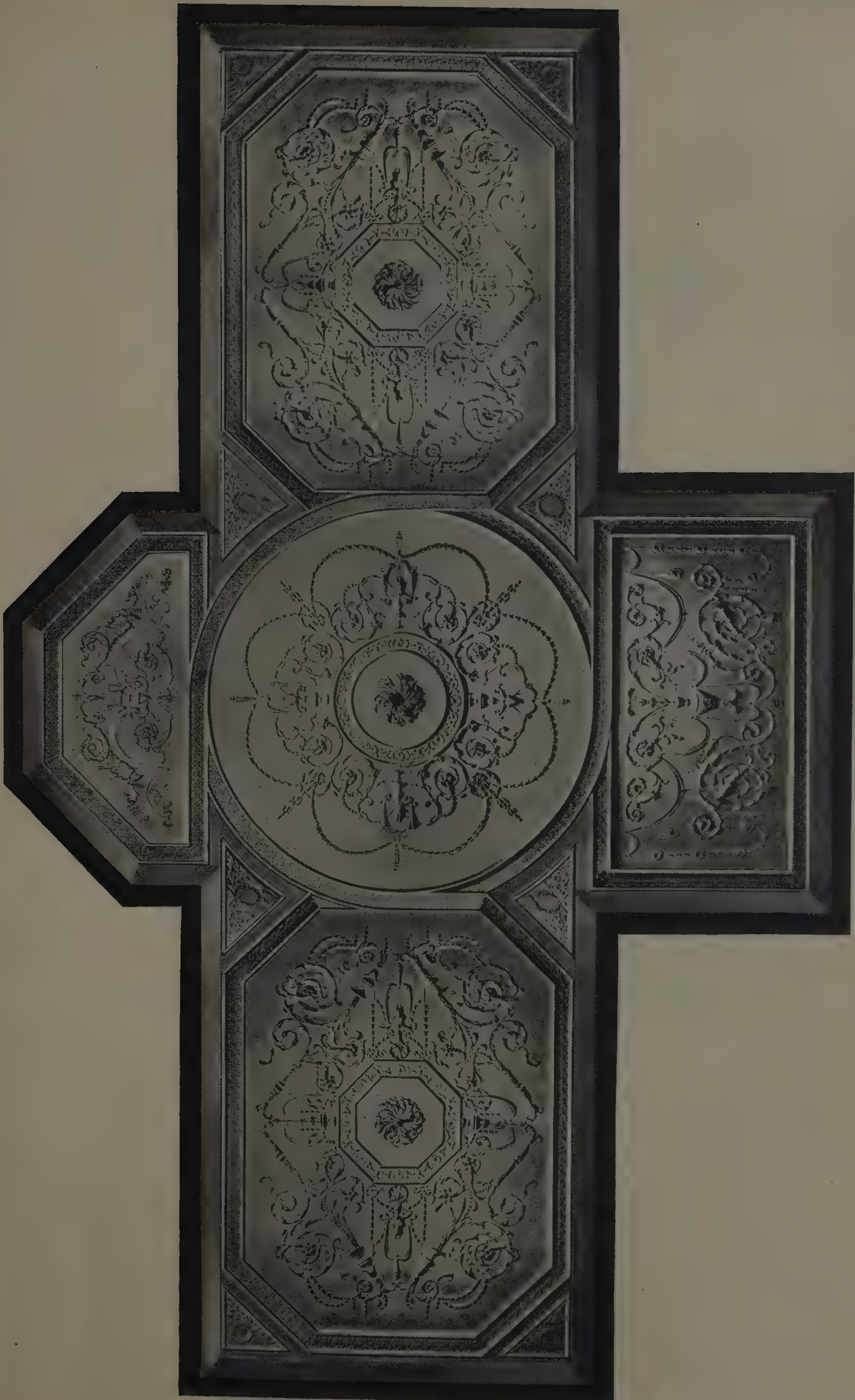
FIRST FLOOR PLAN
ROOM Nº 24


PASSAGE
S.D.N.C.

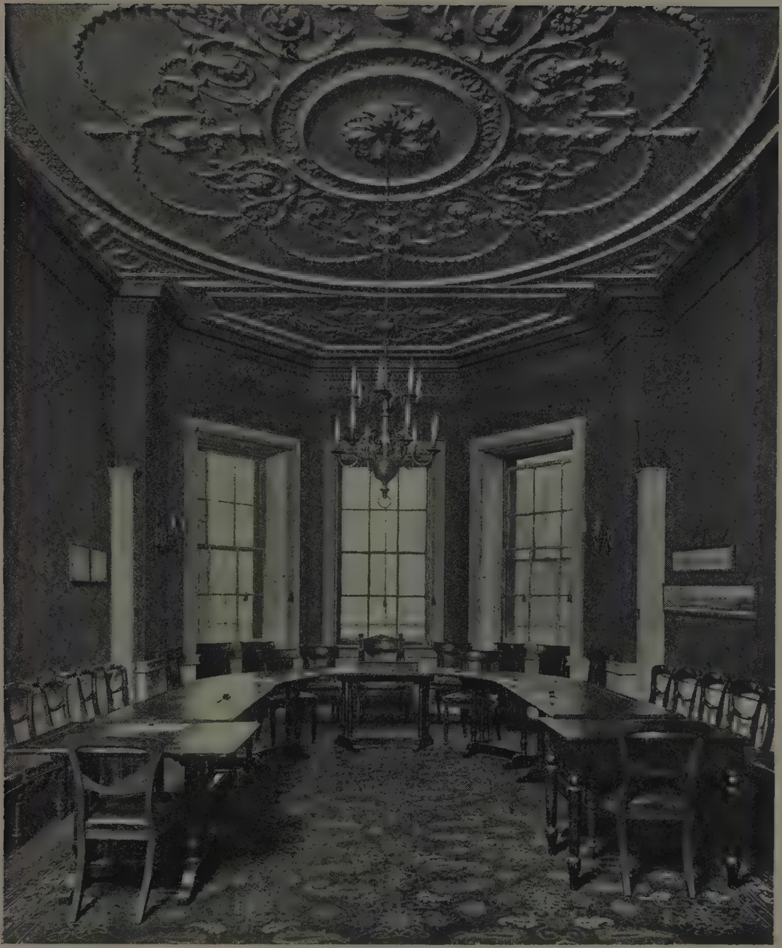
SECOND FLOOR PLAN
ROOM Nº 13



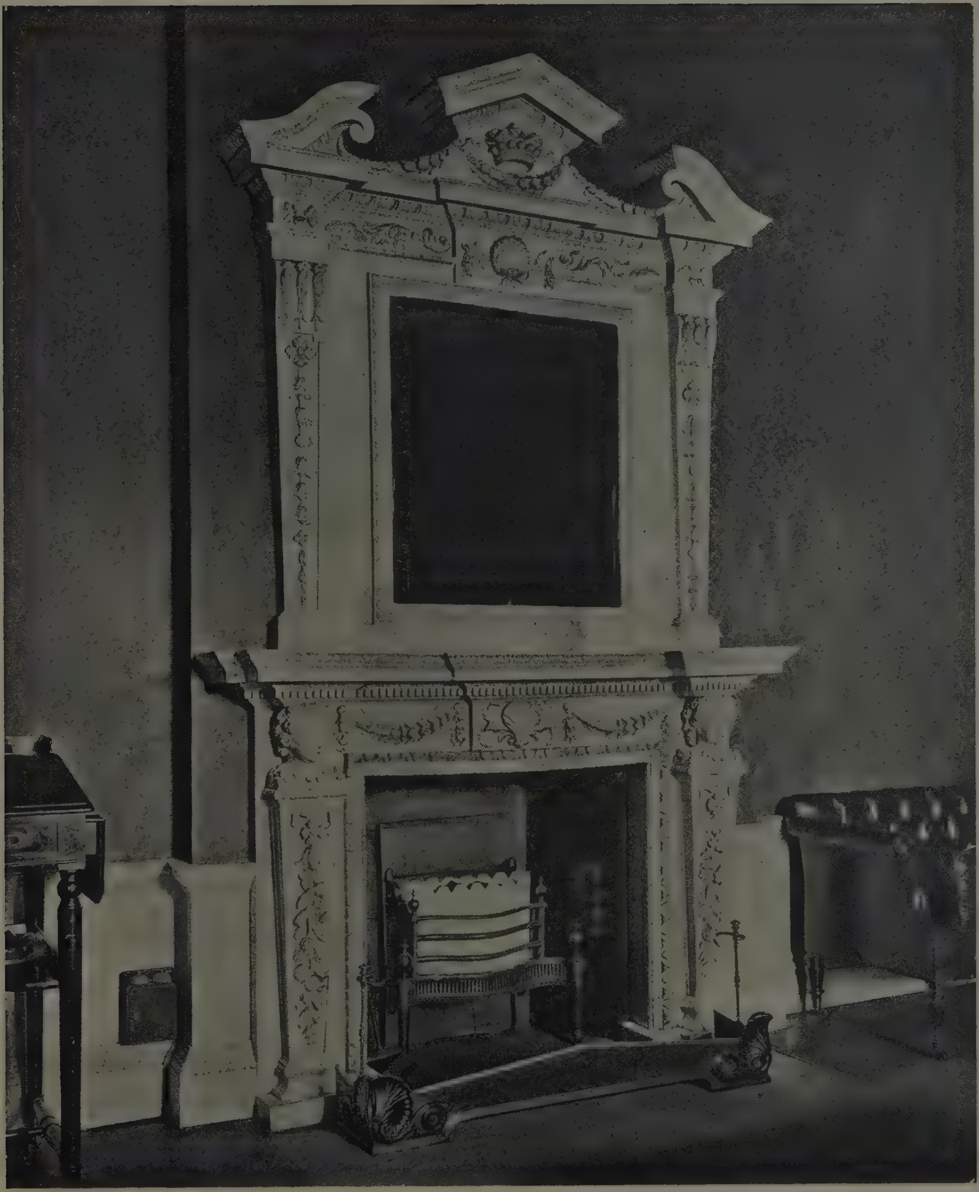
PEMBROKE HOUSE. DOORCASE IN THE SALON (ROOM NO. 27) (*p.* 172)



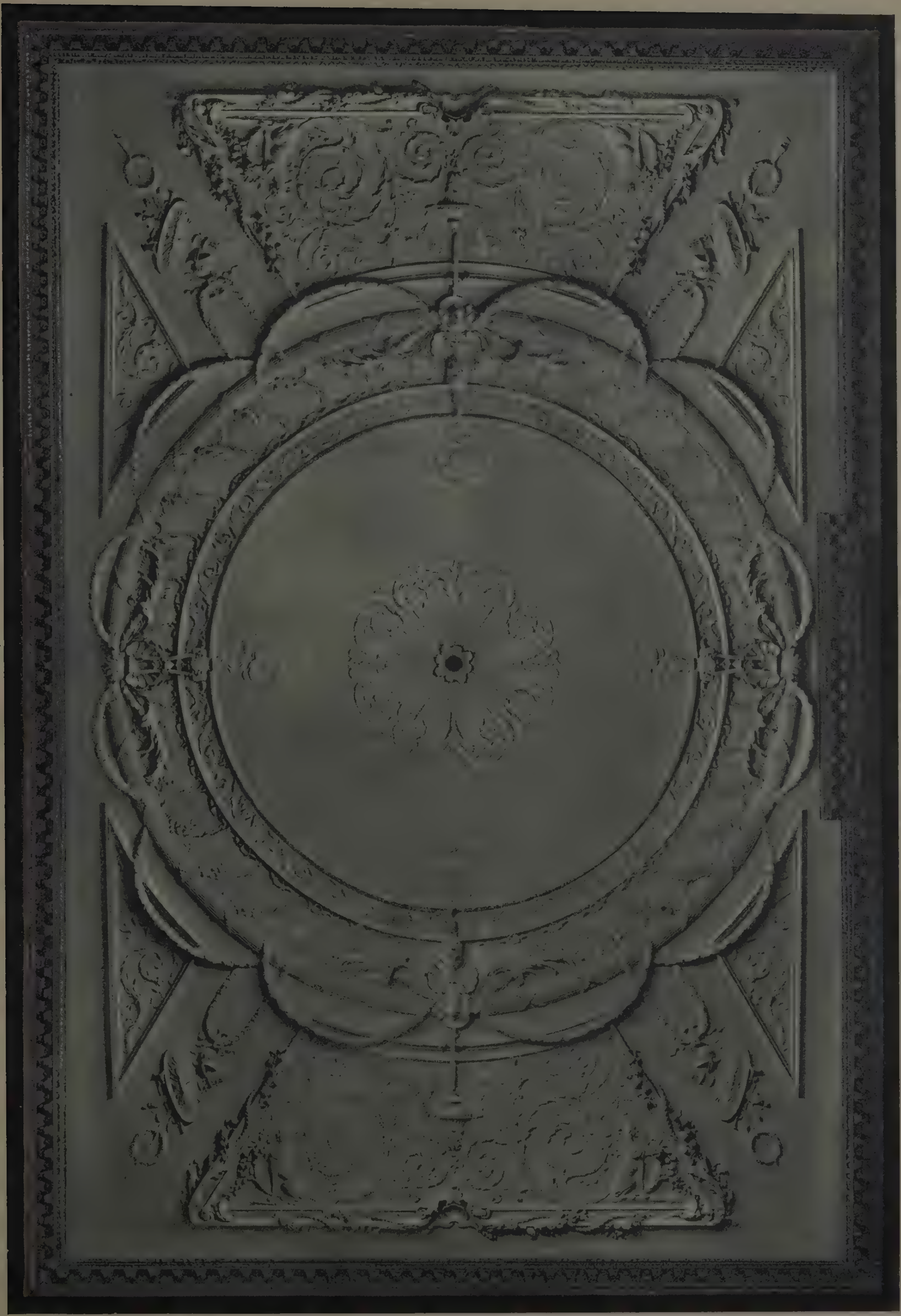
PEMBROKE HOUSE. CEILING IN THE SALON (ROOM No. 27) IN 1912 (*p.* 172)



PEMBROKE HOUSE. BAY WINDOW AND CEILING IN THE SALON (ROOM No. 27) (*p.* 172)

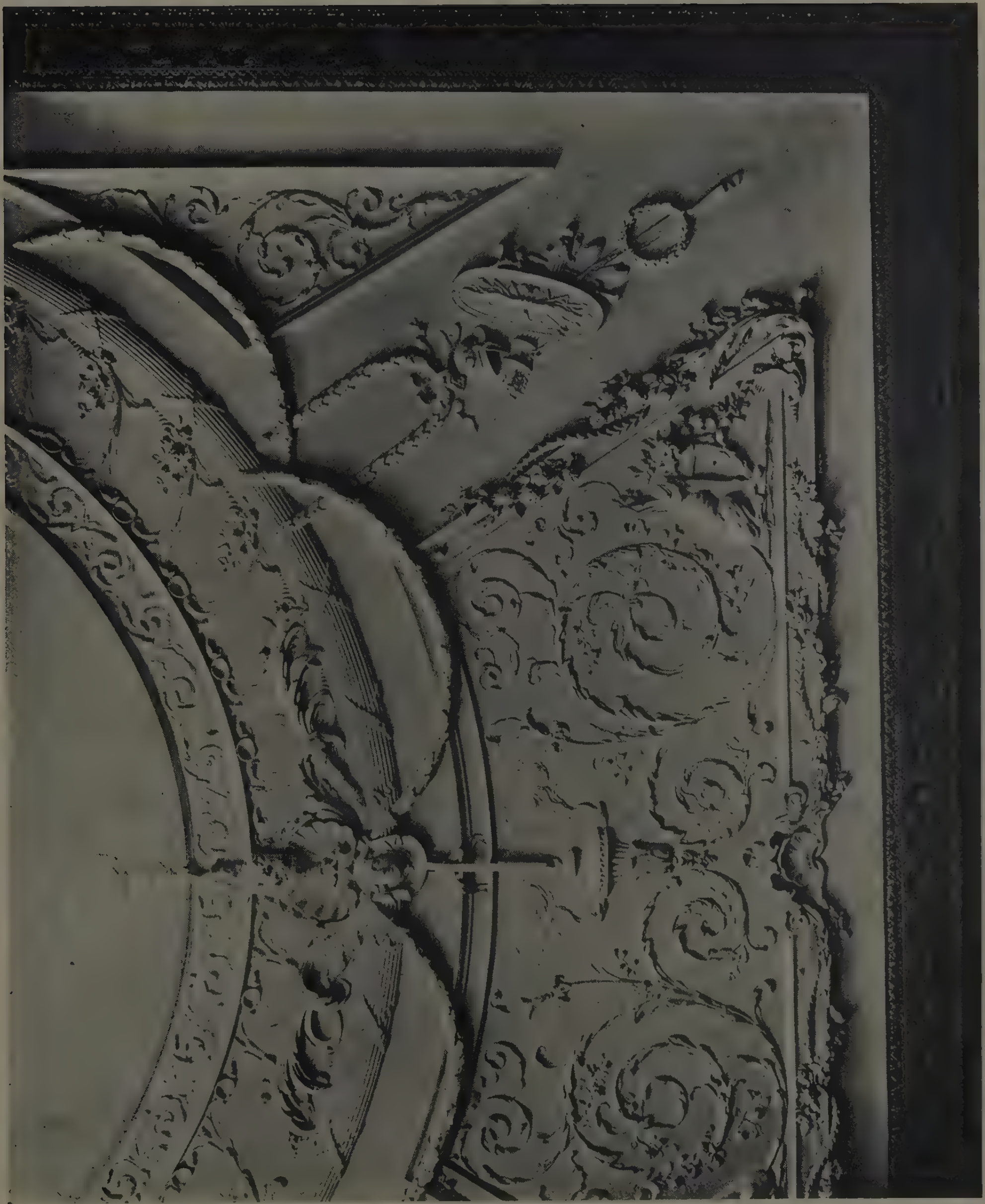


PEMBROKE HOUSE. CHIMNEYPIECE IN ROOM NO. 25
(*p.* 173)

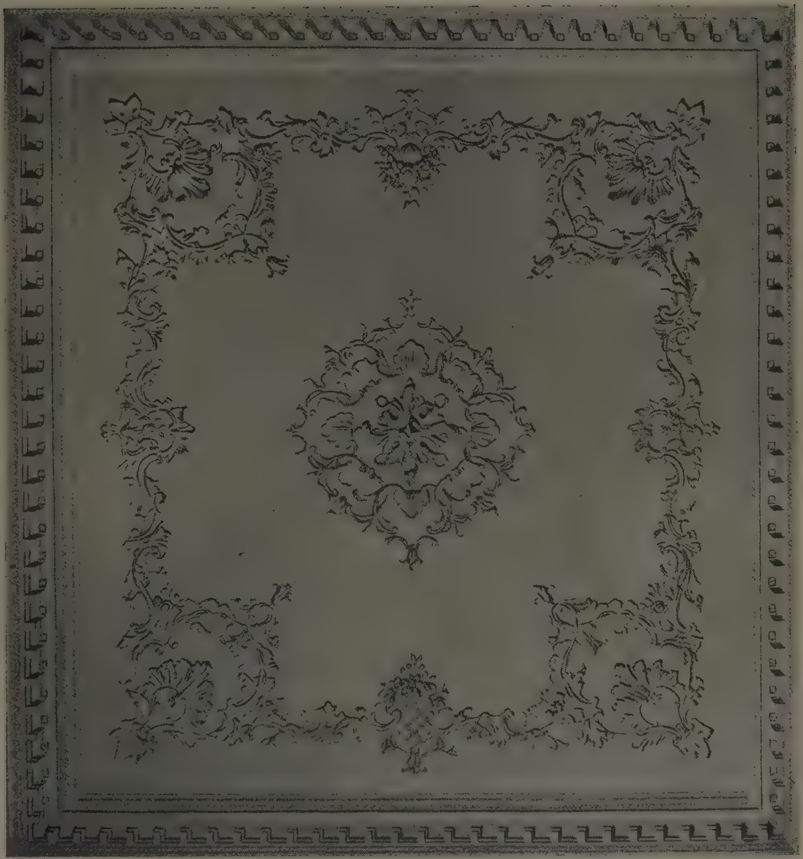


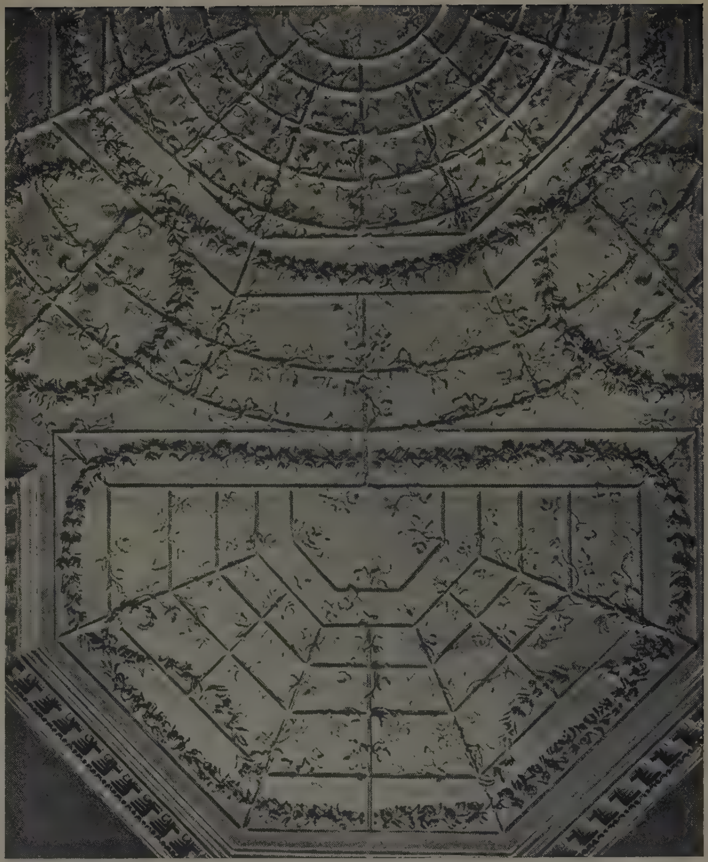
PEMBROKE HOUSE. CEILING IN ROOM NO. 25 (*p.* 173)

PLATE 84



PEMBROKE HOUSE. DETAIL OF CEILING IN ROOM NO. 25 (*p.* 173)

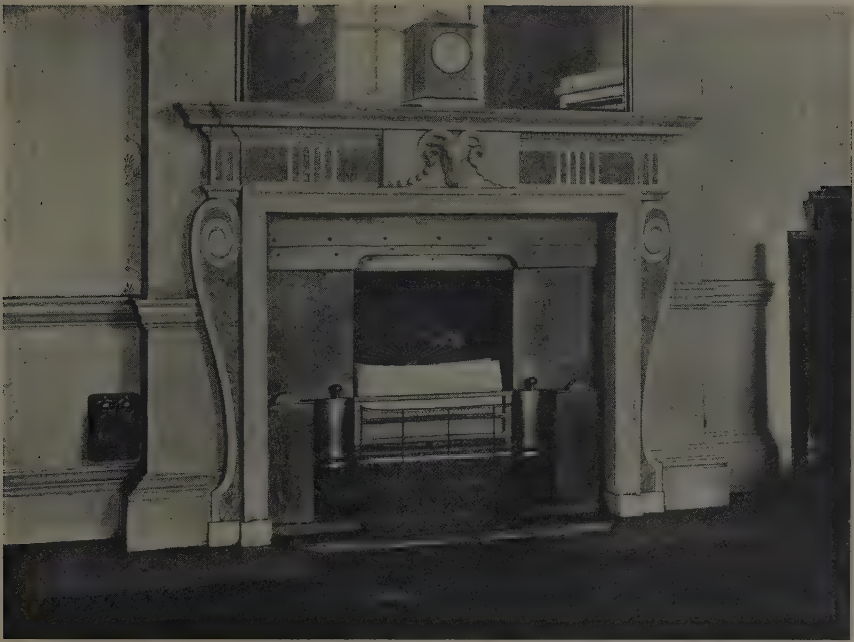


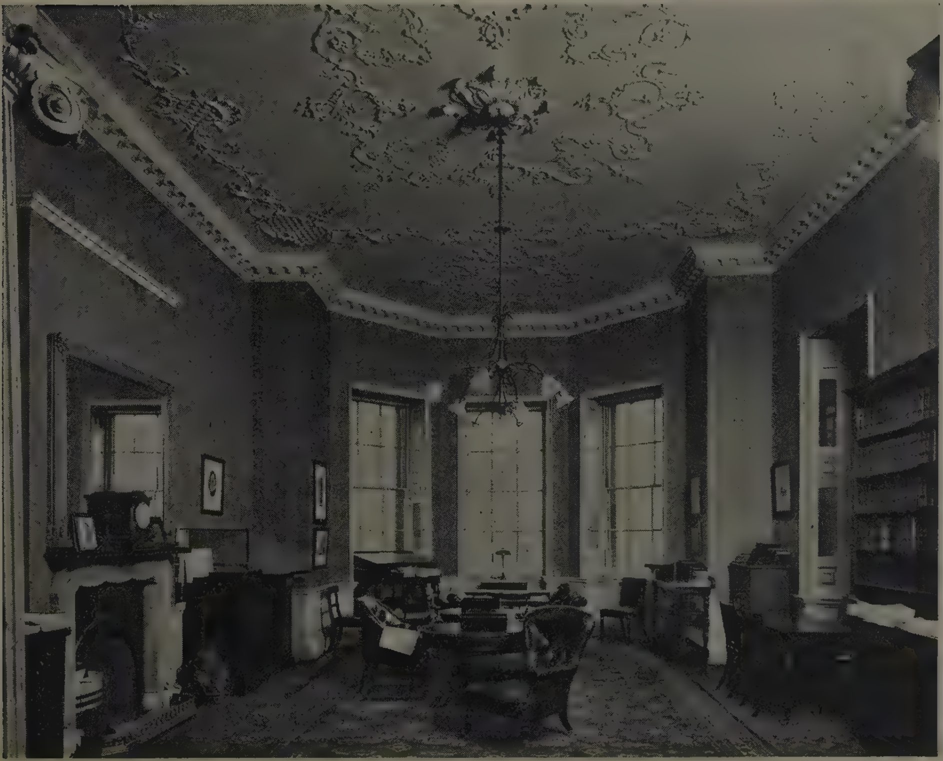


PEMBROKE HOUSE

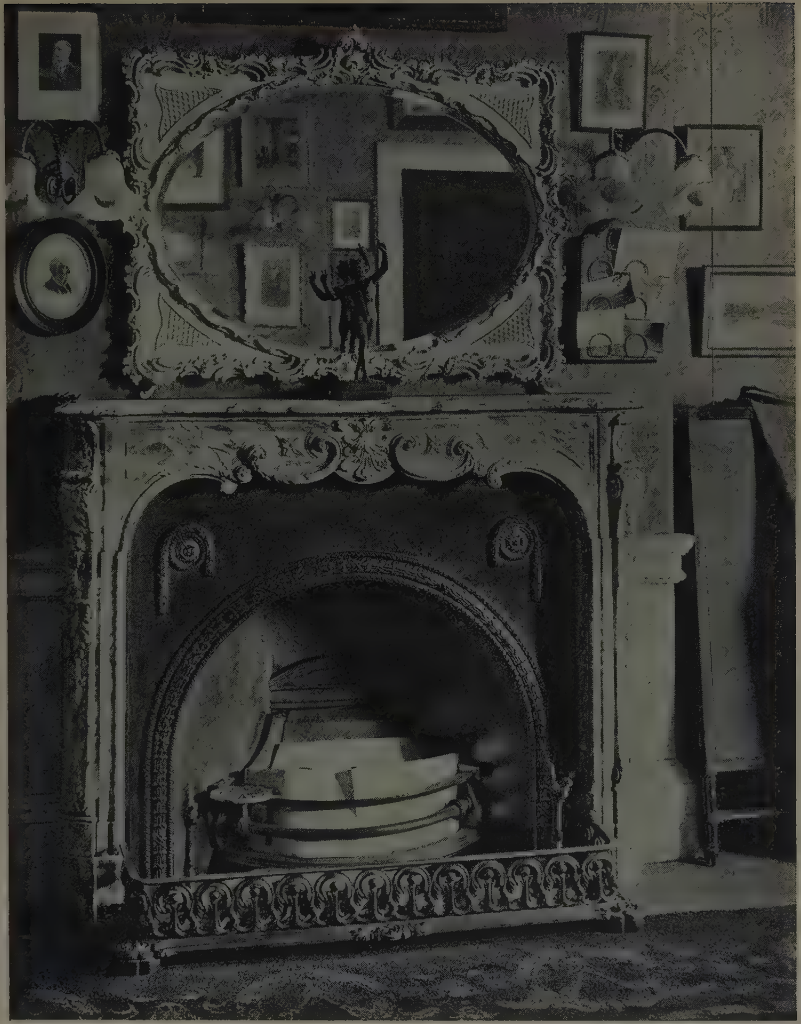
CEILING TO MAIN STAIRCASE (*p.* 171)

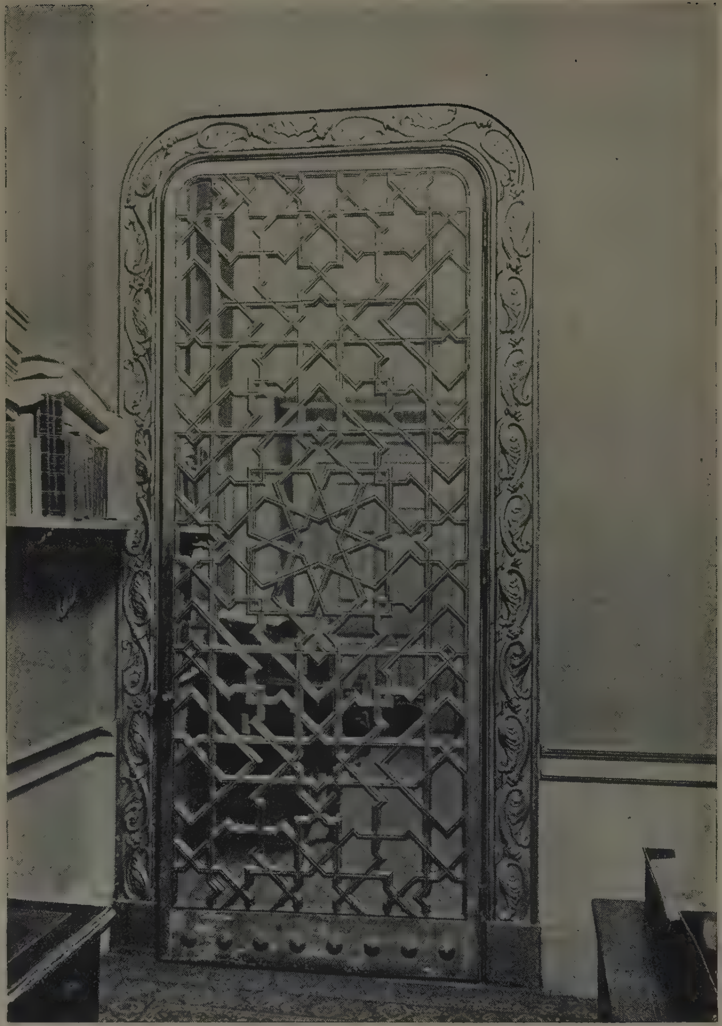
PORTION OF CEILING IN ROOM NO. 24 (*p.* 174)





PEMBROKE HOUSE (*pp.* 174–5). (*a*) MANTELPIECE IN ROOM NO. 15. (*b*) ROOM NO. 13 SHOWING BAY

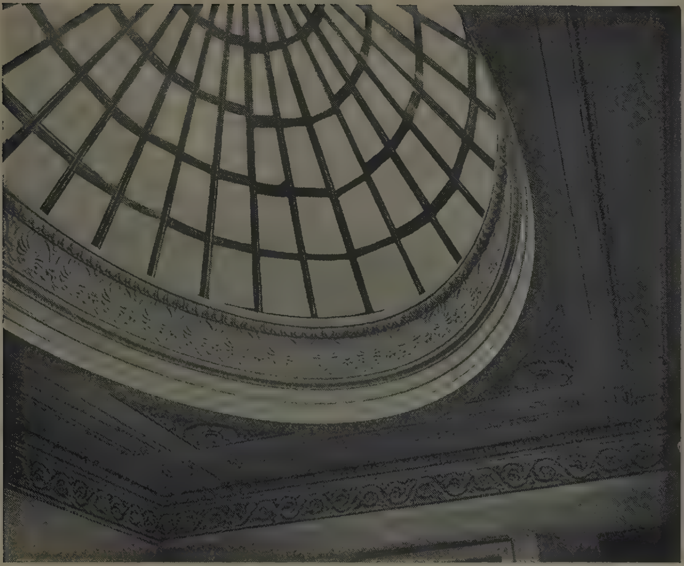


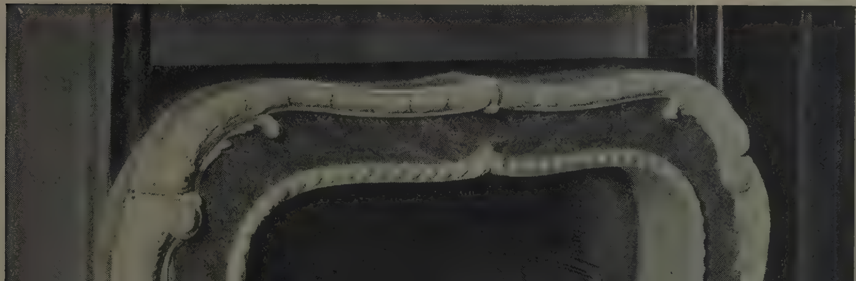


PEMBROKE HOUSE (*p.* 174)

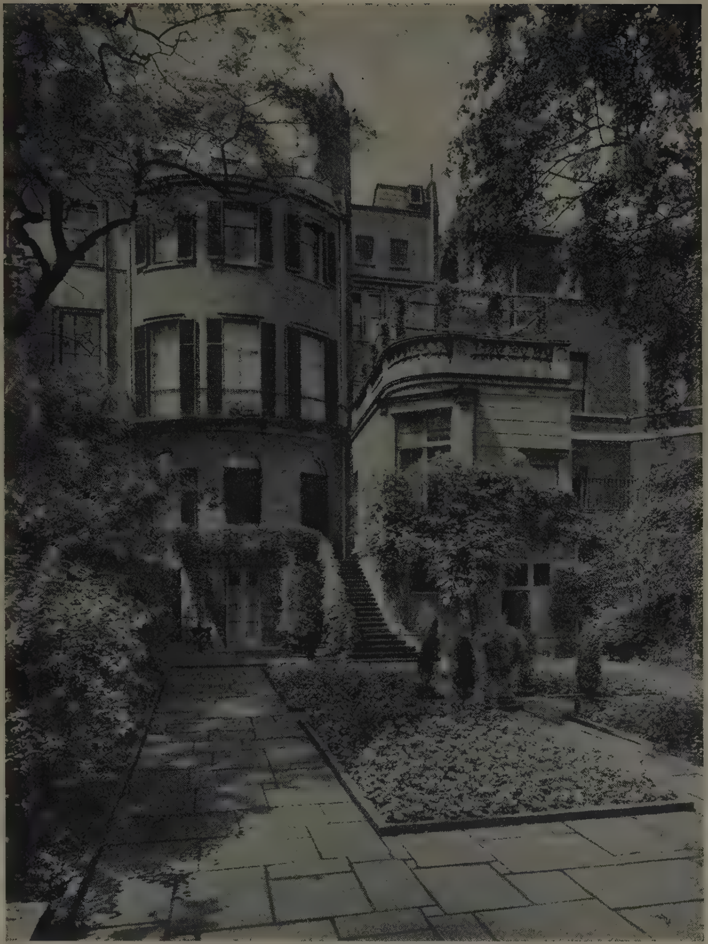
MANTELPIECE IN ROOM NO. 17

GLASS AND METAL DOOR BETWEEN
ROOMS NOS. 16 AND 17

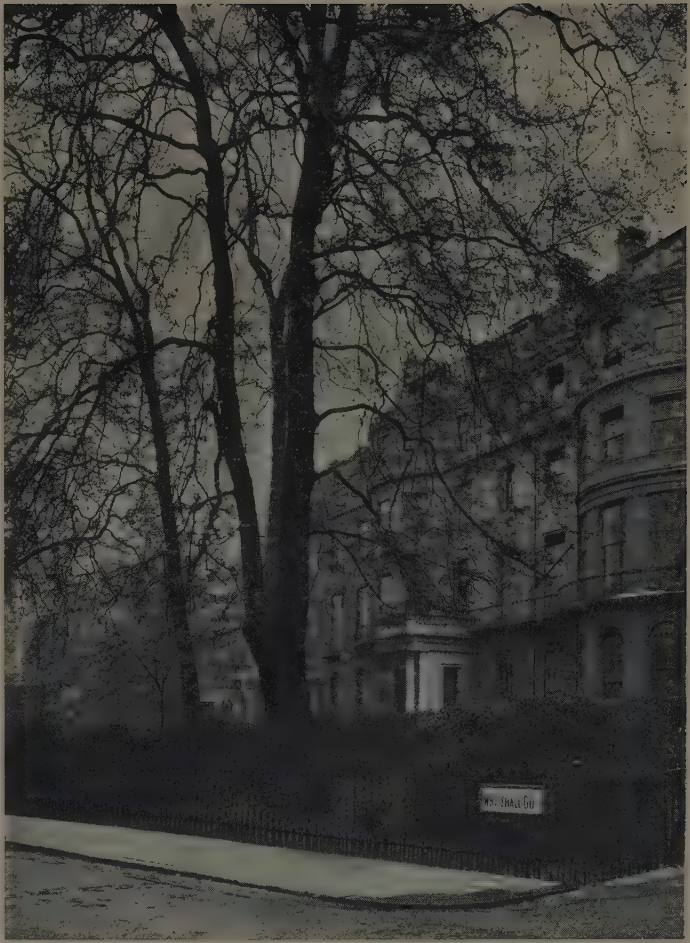




(*a*) NO. 6 WHITEHALL GARDENS. LANTERN LIGHT TO STAIRS. (*b*) PEMBROKE HOUSE. MANTELPIECE IN ROOM NO. 18

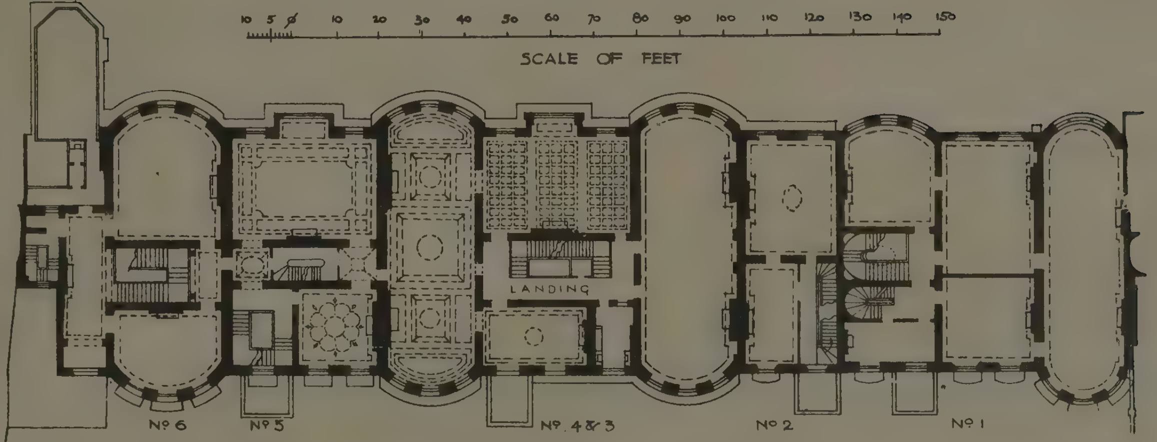


NO. 6 WHITEHALL GARDENS. VIEW OF GARDEN (1912) (*p.* 194)

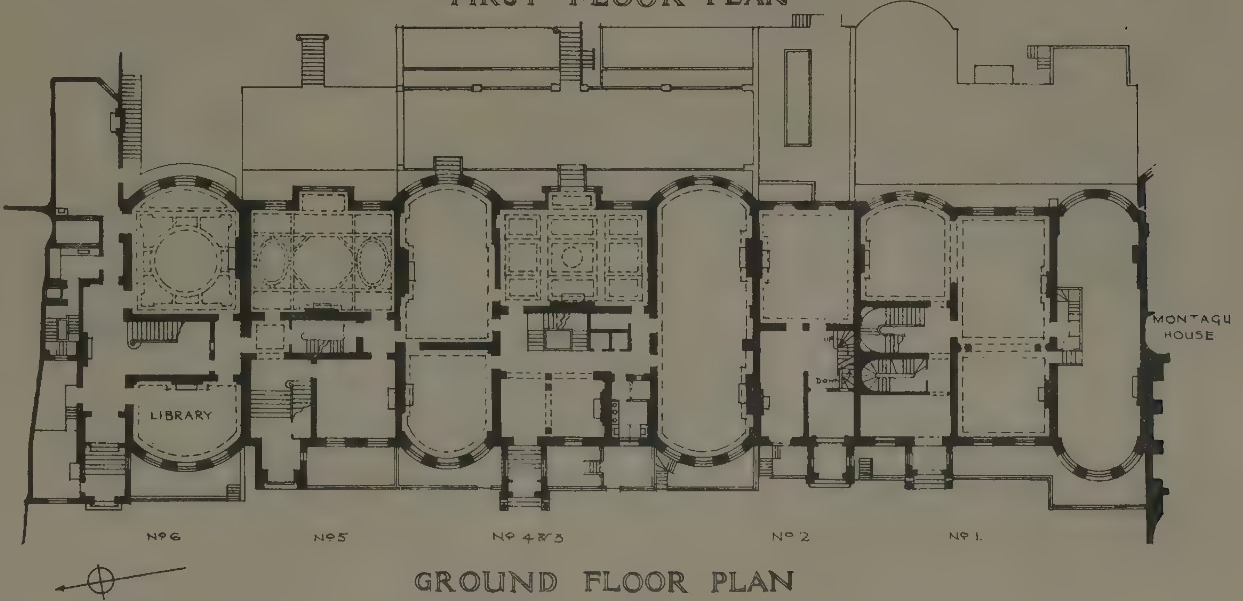


WHITEHALL GARDENS. GENERAL VIEW LOOKING NORTH-EAST

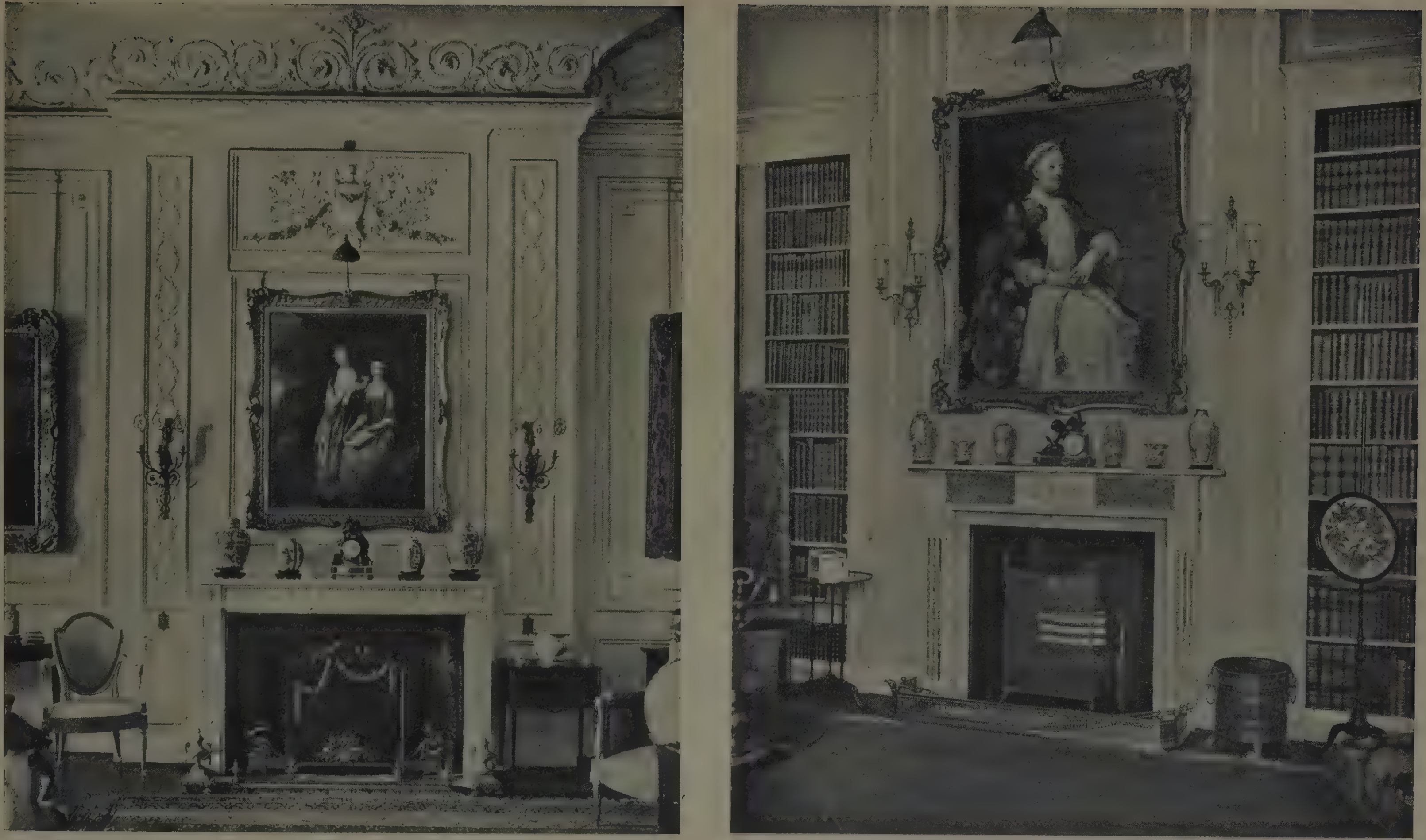
WHITEHALL GARDENS


10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150
SCALE OF FEET
LANDING
Nº 6
Nº 5
Nº 4 & 3
Nº 2
Nº 1

FIRST FLOOR PLAN


MONTAGU HOUSE
UP
DOWN
LIBRARY
Nº 6
Nº 5
Nº 4 & 3
Nº 2
Nº 1.

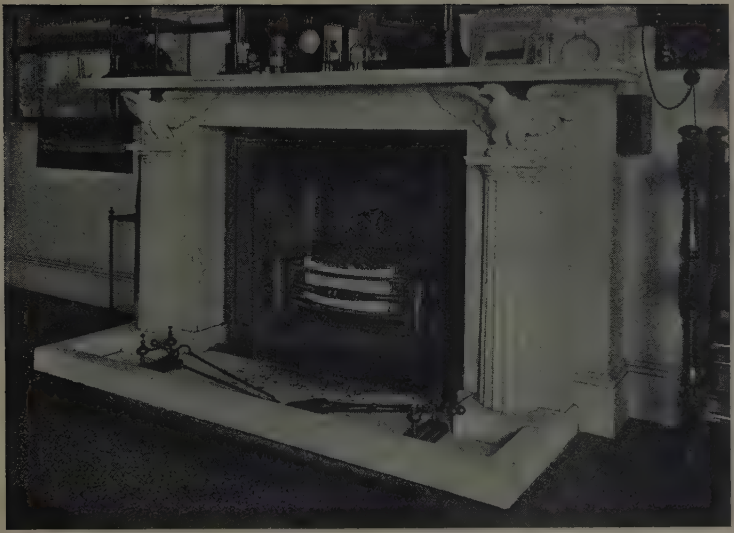
GROUND FLOOR PLAN

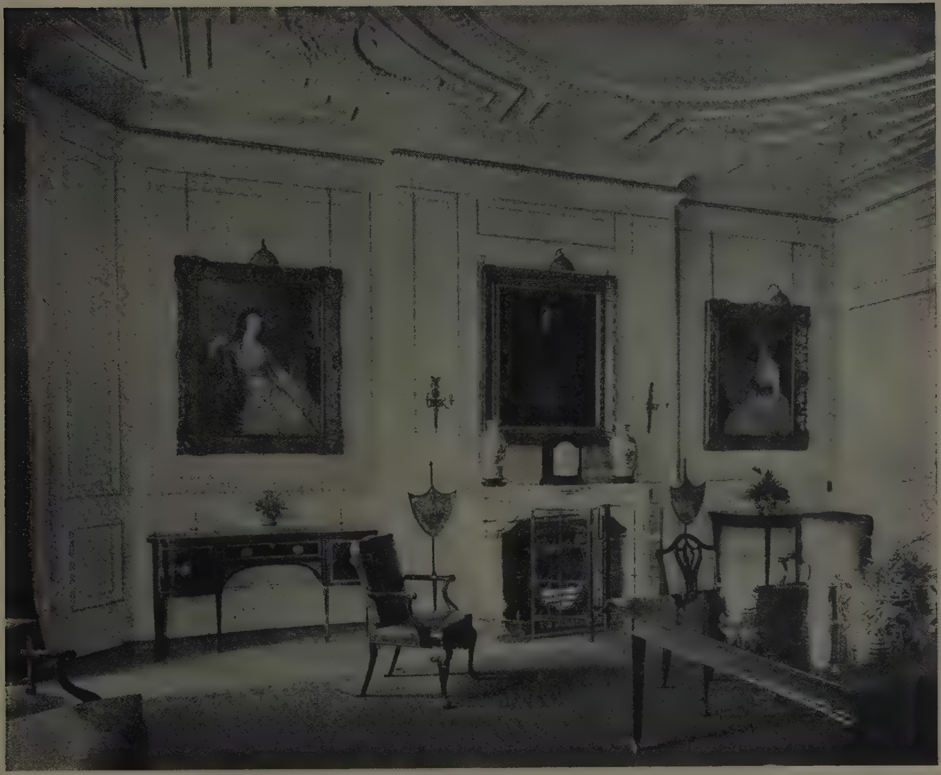


NO. 6 WHITEHALL GARDENS (*p.* 194). MANTELPIECES IN

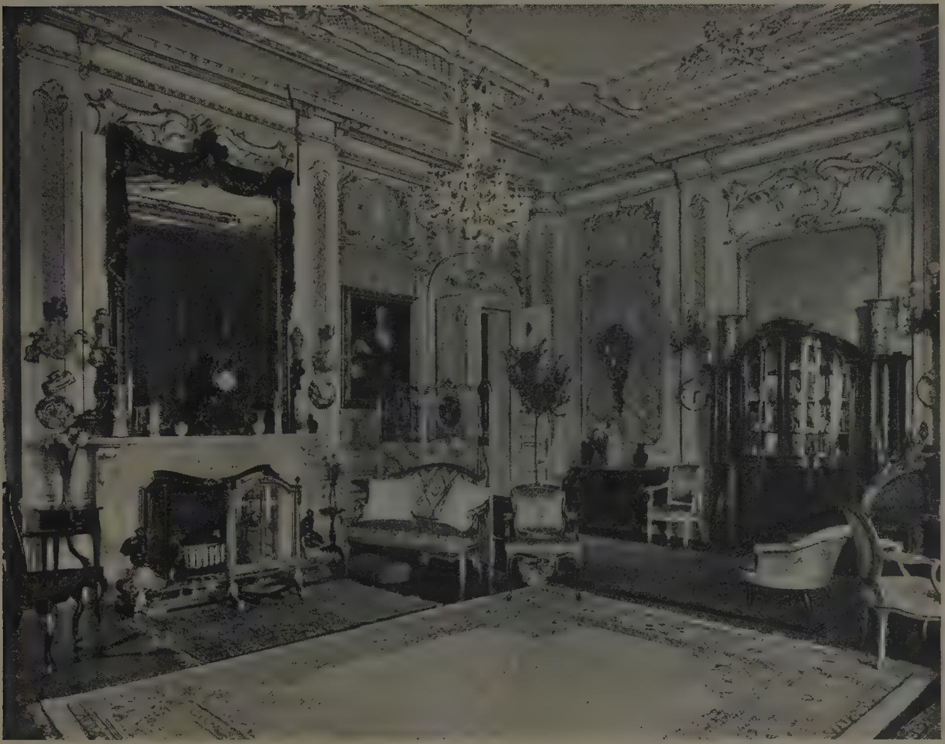
DRAWING-ROOM (1912)

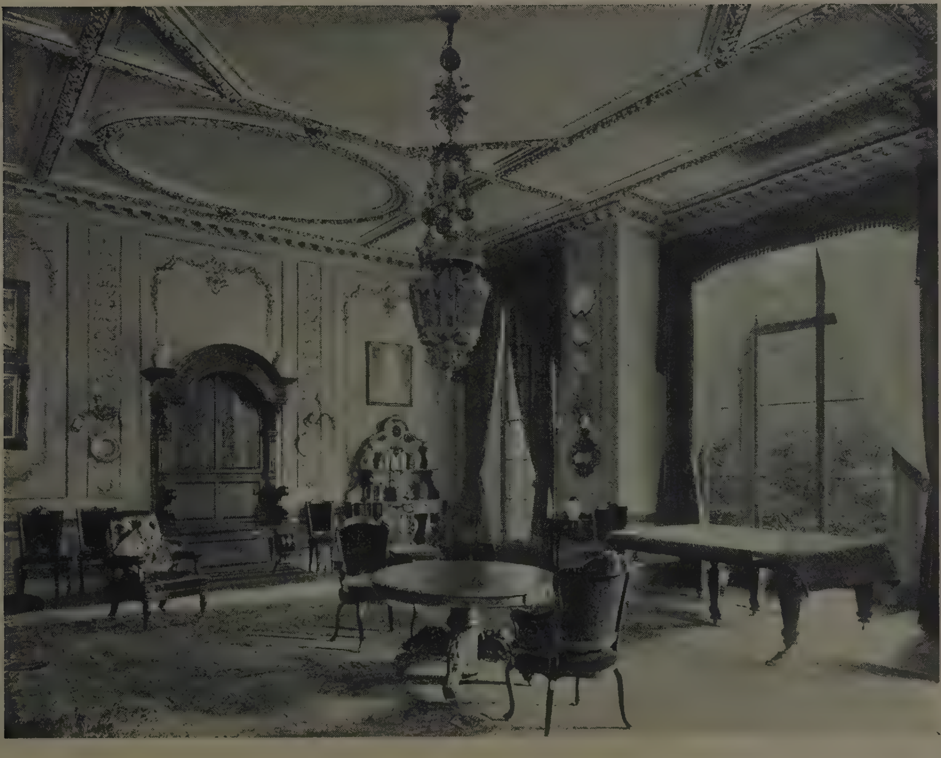
LIBRARY (1912)



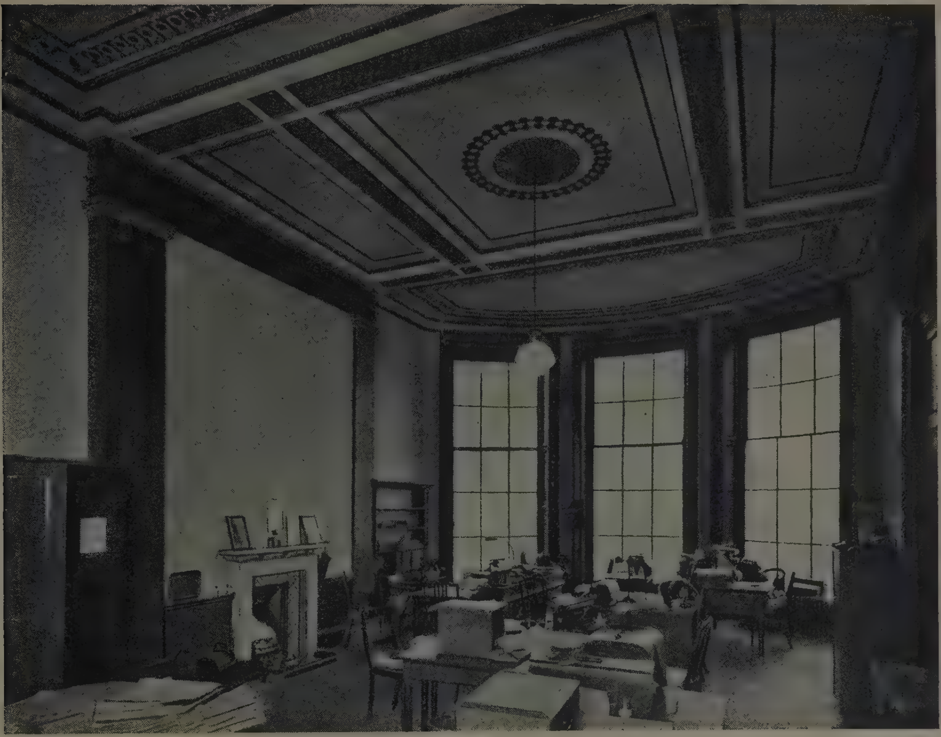


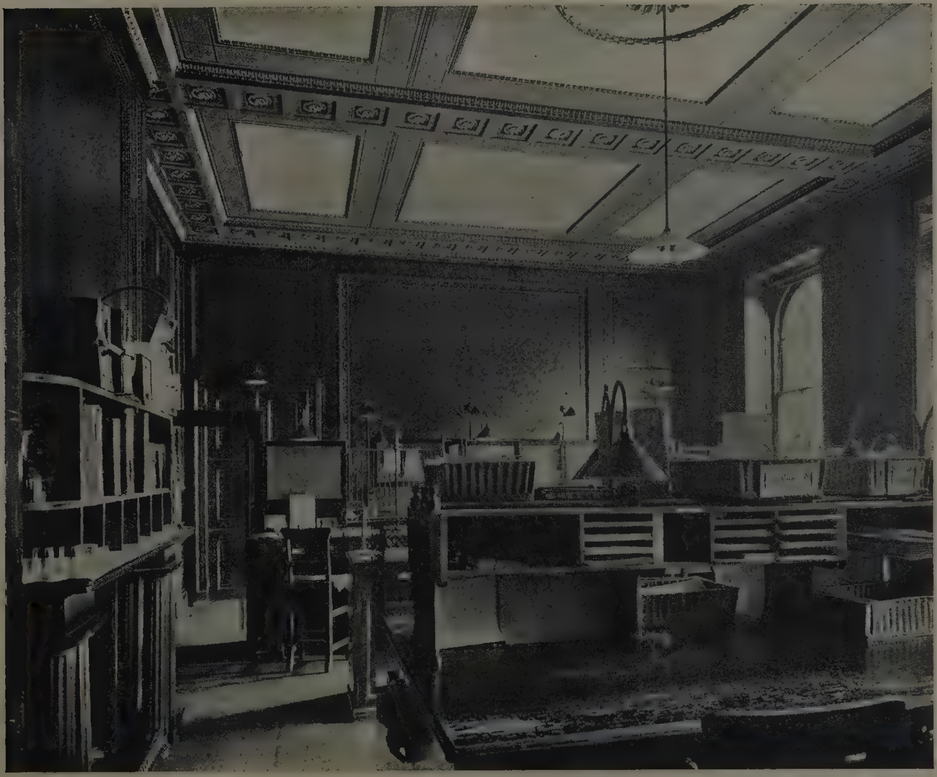
(*a*) NO. 4 WHITEHALL GARDENS. MANTELPIECE IN NORTH-EAST ROOM, SECOND FLOOR (*p.* 200)
(*b*) NO. 6 WHITEHALL GARDENS. DINING ROOM (1912) (*p.* 194)



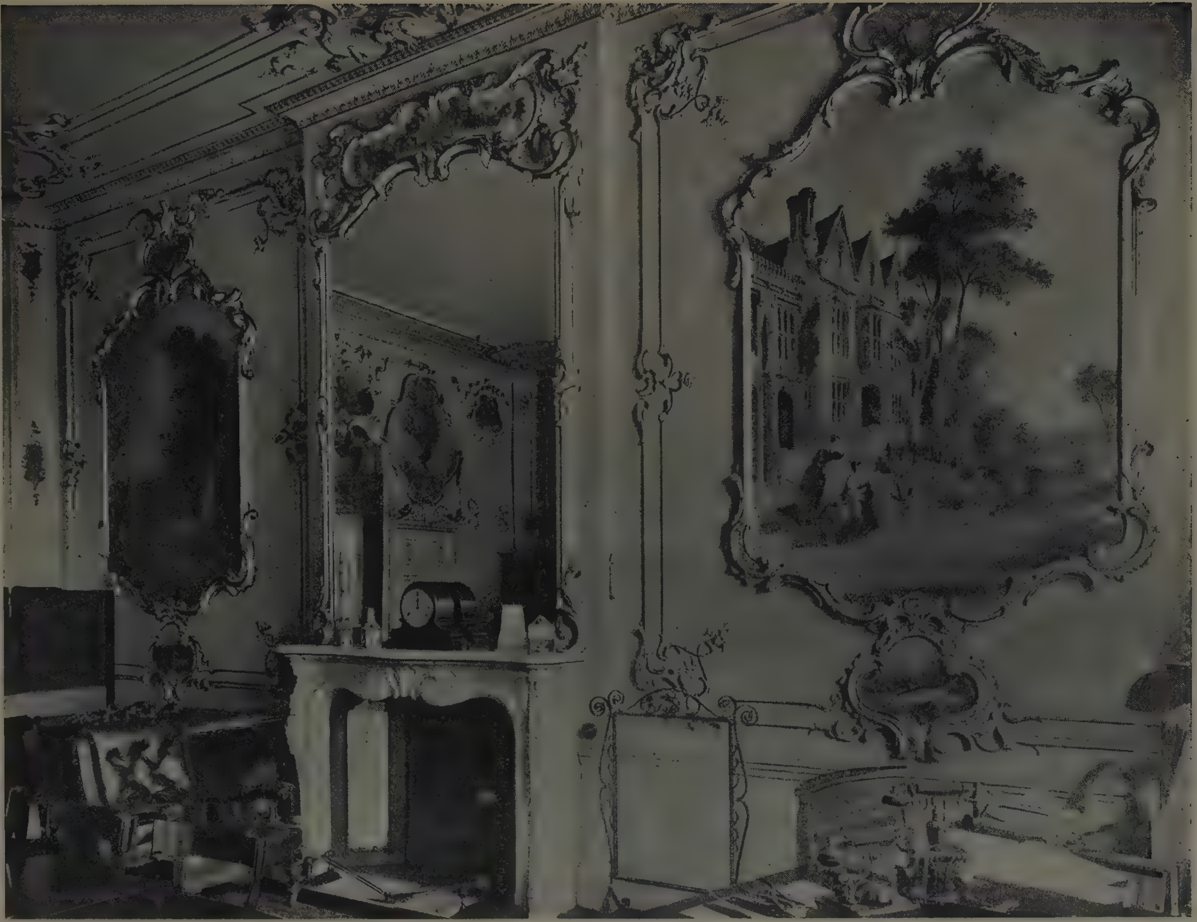


NO. 5 WHITEHALL GARDENS (*p.* 196)
(*a*) DRAWING-ROOM (1912). (*b*) DINING-ROOM (1912)

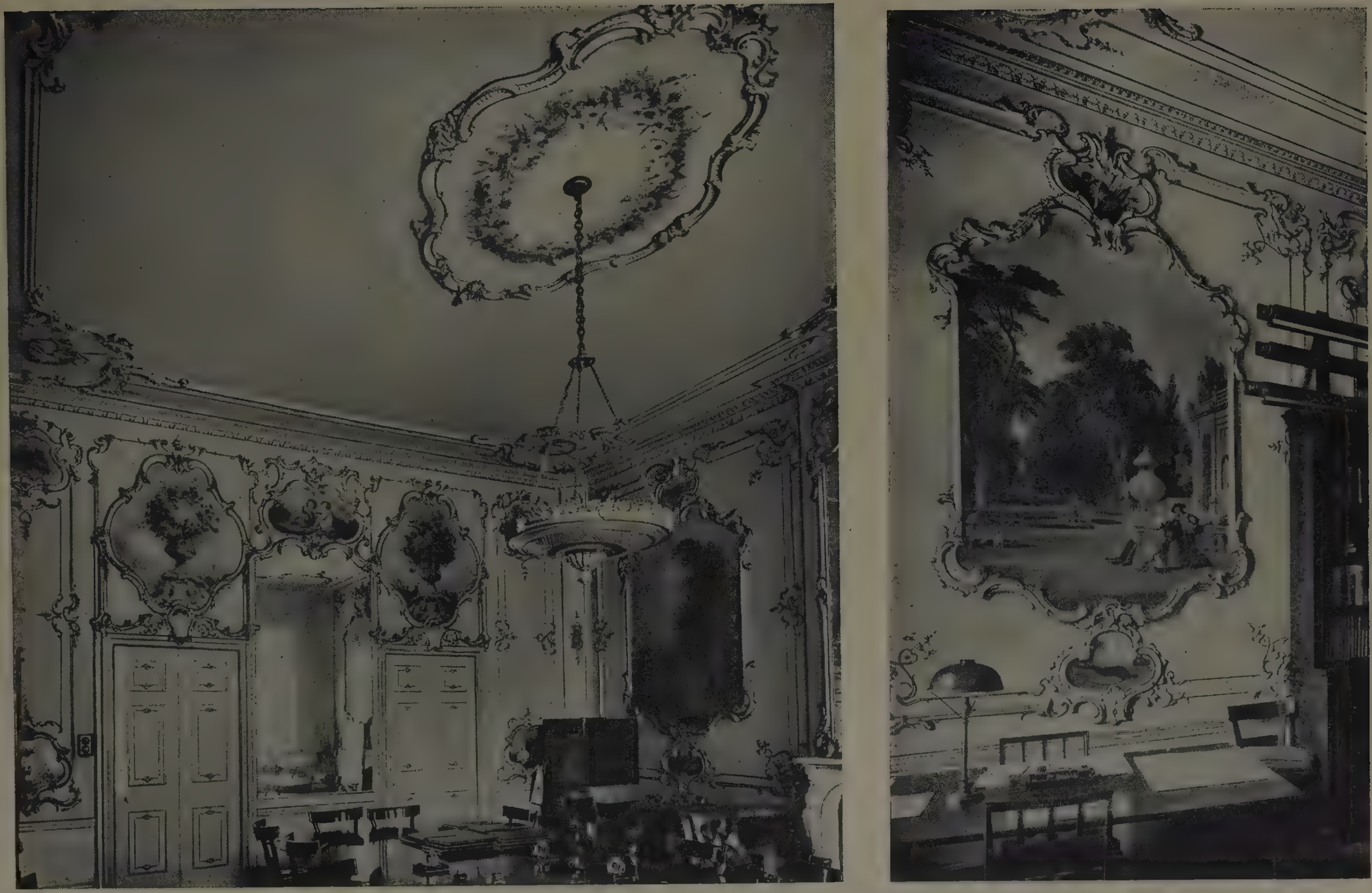




NO. 4 WHITEHALL GARDENS (*p.* 200)
(*a*) NORTH-ROOM ON FIRST FLOOR. (*b*) ROOM ON GROUND FLOOR (FORMERLY DINING-ROOM) IN 1912



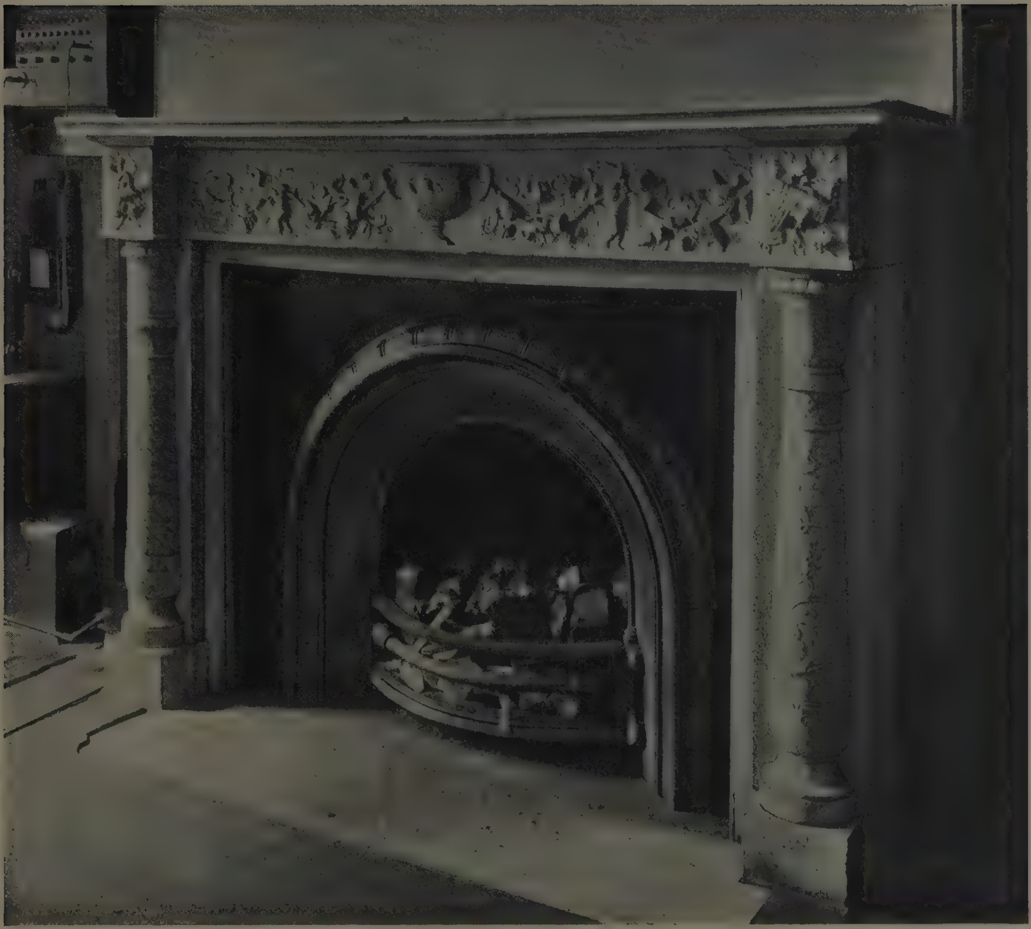
NO. 2 WHITEHALL GARDENS. FIRST FLOOR BACK ROOM
NORTH SIDE (*p.* 208)



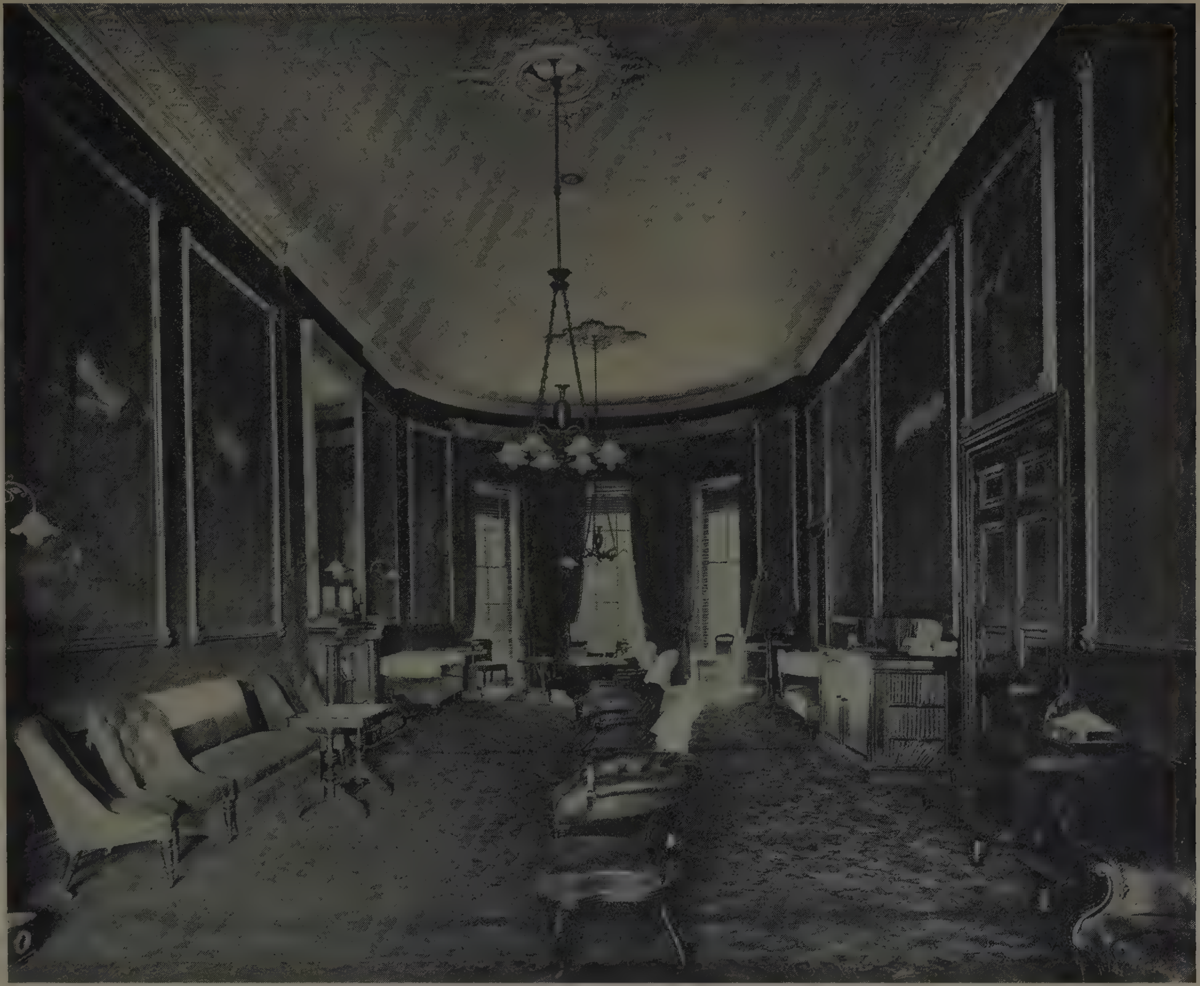
NO. 2 WHITEHALL GARDENS (*p.* 208). FIRST FLOOR BACK ROOM

WEST SIDE

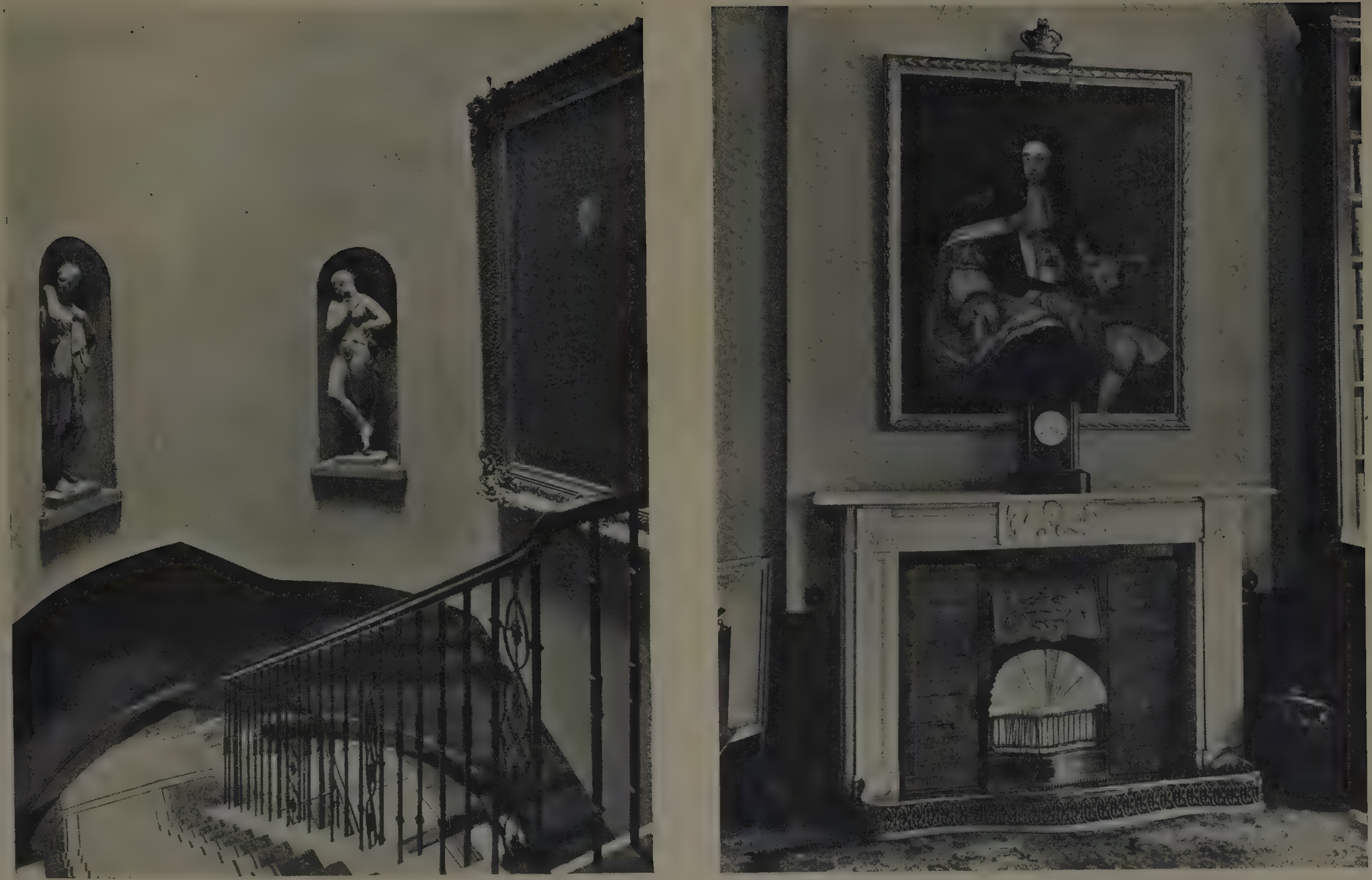
PANEL ON SOUTH SIDE



NO. 2 WHITEHALL GARDENS. MANTELPIECE IN BACK ROOM ON GROUND FLOOR (*p.* 208)

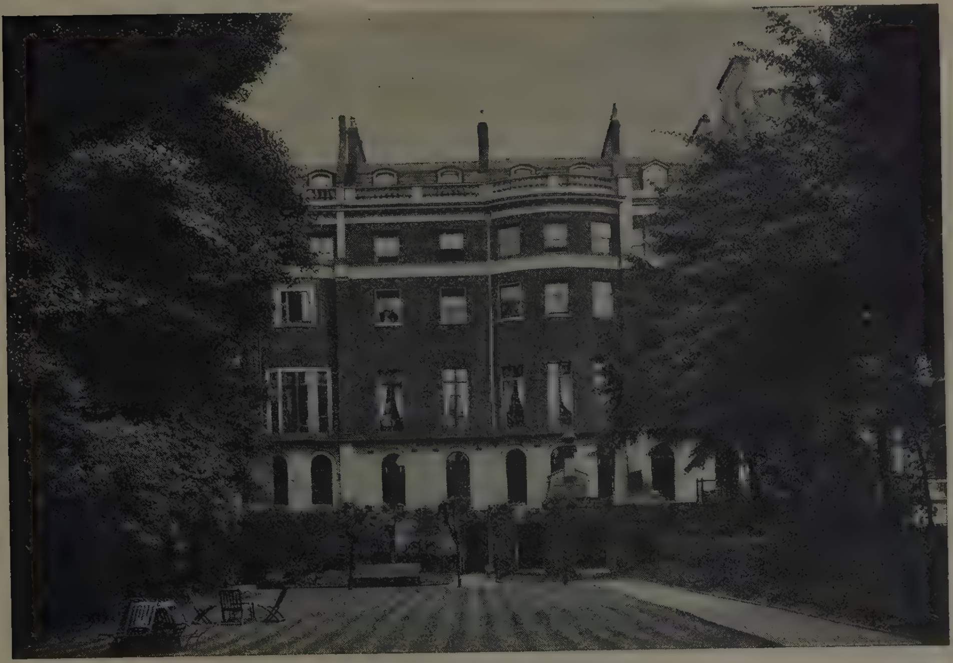


NO. 1 WHITEHALL GARDENS. SOUTH ROOM ON FIRST FLOOR (1912)
(*p.* 213)

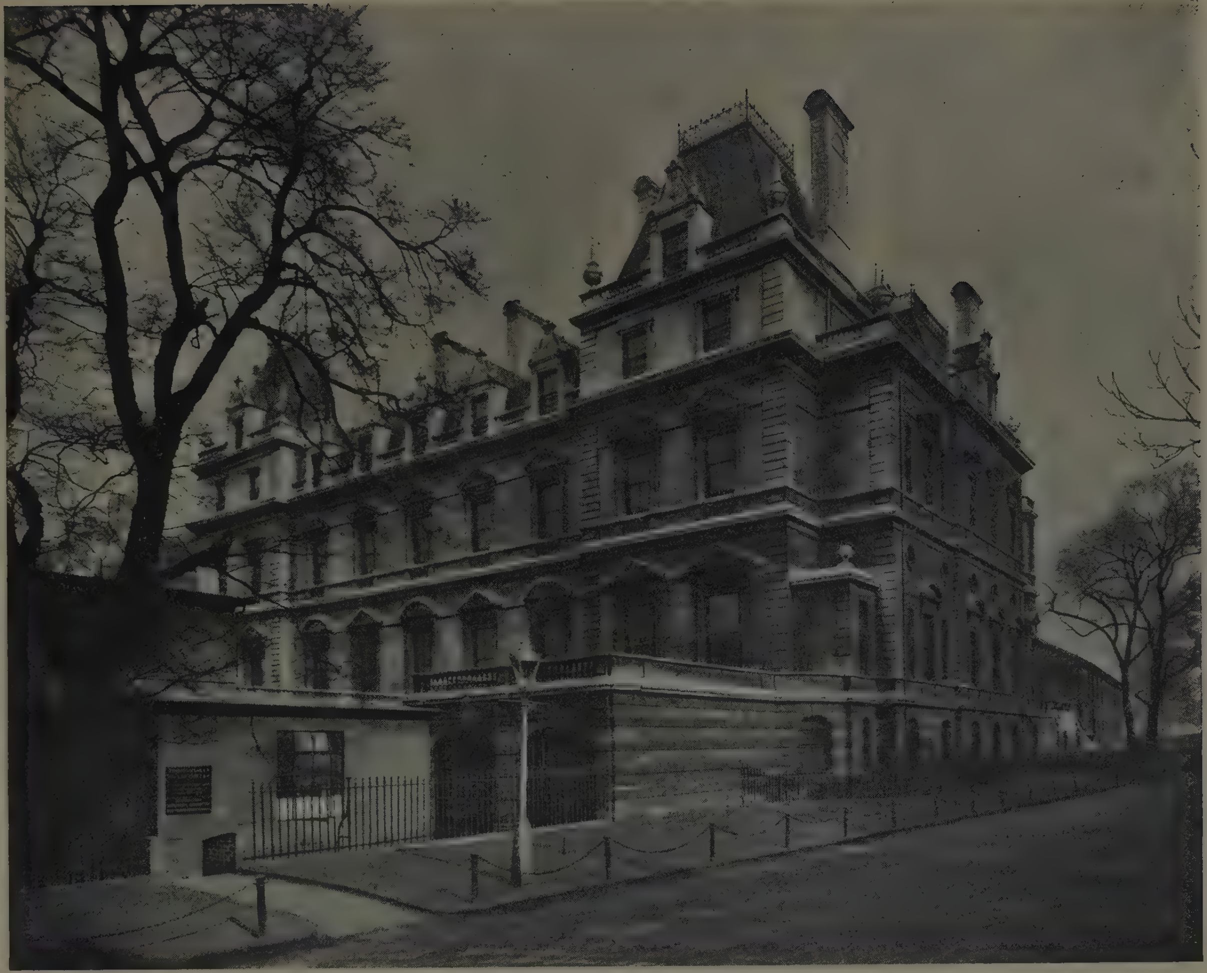


NO. 1 WHITEHALL GARDENS (*pp.* 212–3)

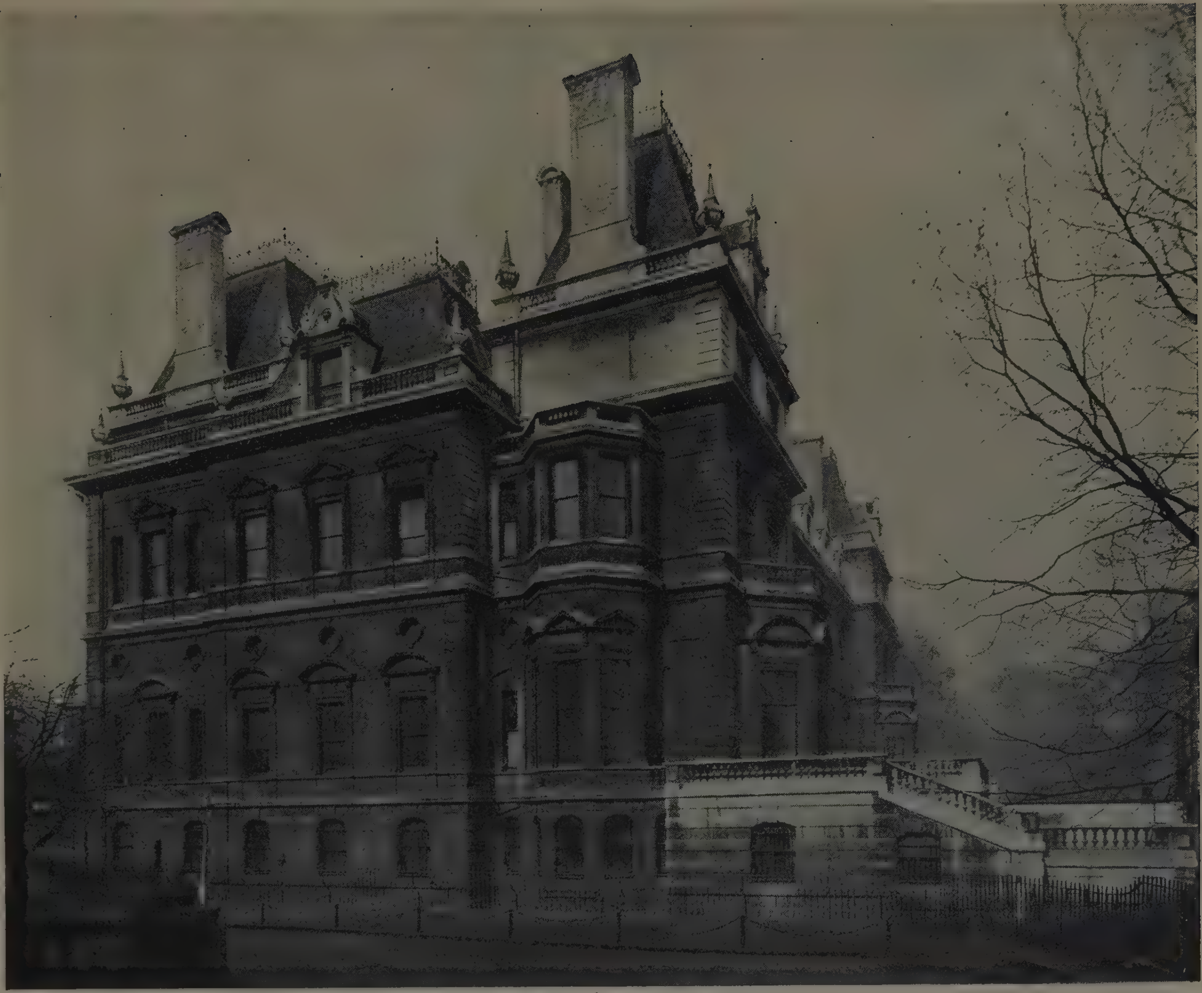
STAIRCASE FROM FIRST-FLOOR LANDING MANTELPIECE IN SILENT ROOM (1912)



(*a*) NOS. 1–3 WHITEHALL GARDENS. ELEVATION FROM LAWN (1912). (*b*) WHITEHALL GARDENS. GENERAL VIEW LOOKING SOUTH-EAST



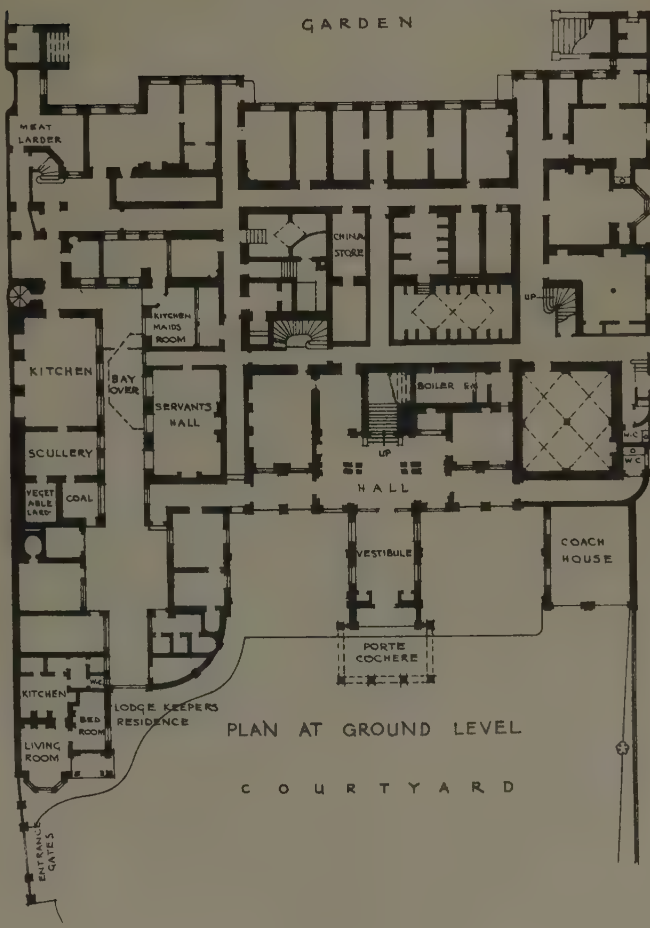
MONTAGU HOUSE. ELEVATION TO WHITEHALL, LOOKING NORTH-EAST (*p.* 218)



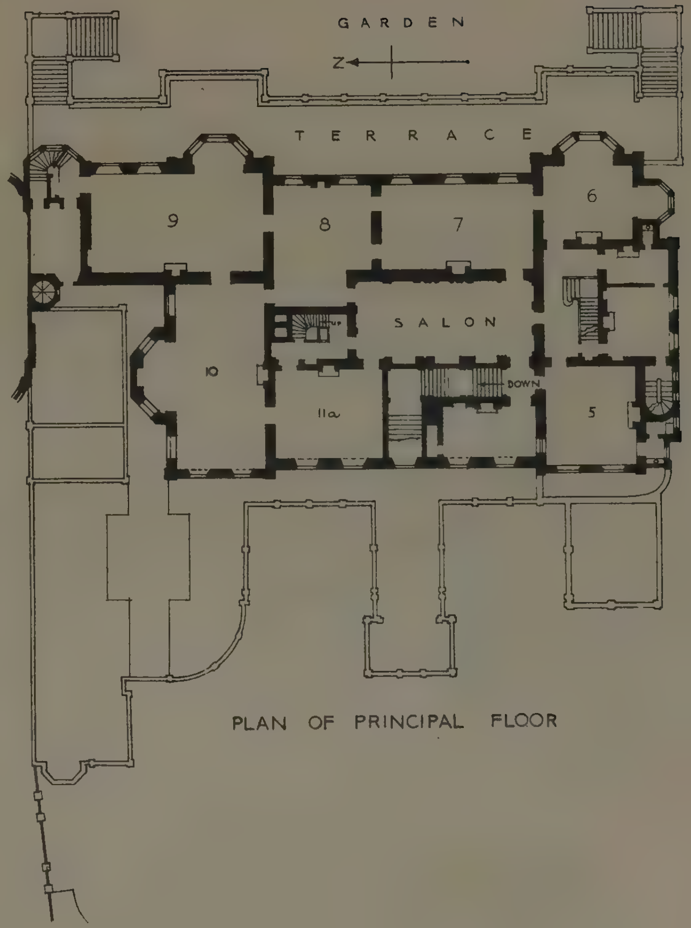
MONTAGU HOUSE, SOUTH ELEVATION AND GARDEN TERRACE
(*p.* 218)

MONTAGU HOUSE WHITEHALL

SCALE OF 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET

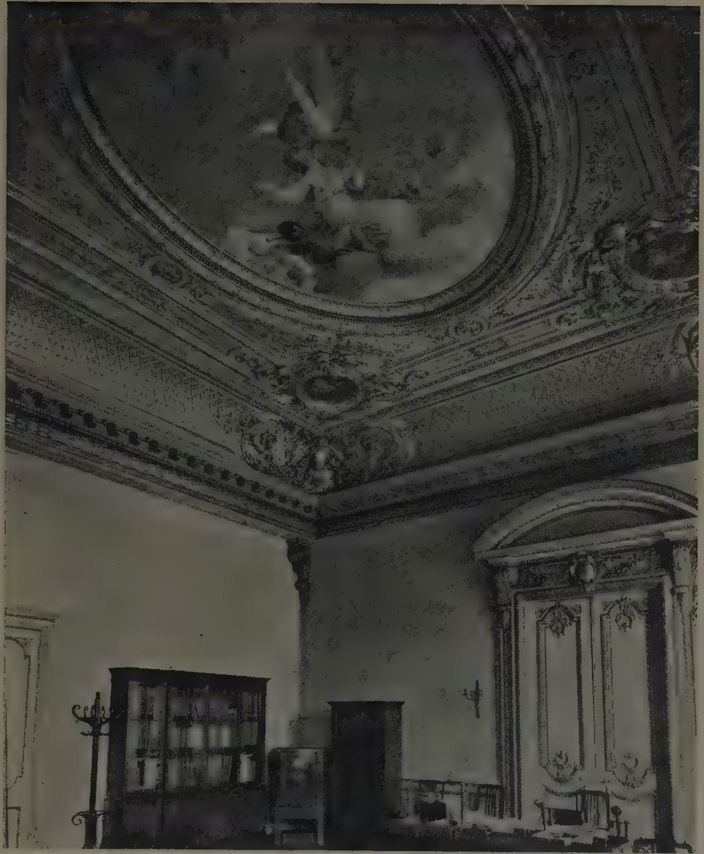

GARDEN
MEAT LARDER
CHINA STORE
KITCHEN MAIDS ROOM
KITCHEN
BAY OVER
SERVANTS HALL
BOILER RM
UP
HALL
W.C.
W.C.
SCULLERY
VEGETABLE LARD.
COAL
VESTIBULE
COACH HOUSE
PORTE COCHERE
KITCHEN
W.C.
BED ROOM
LODGE KEEPERS RESIDENCE
LIVING ROOM
COURTYARD
ENTRANCE GATES

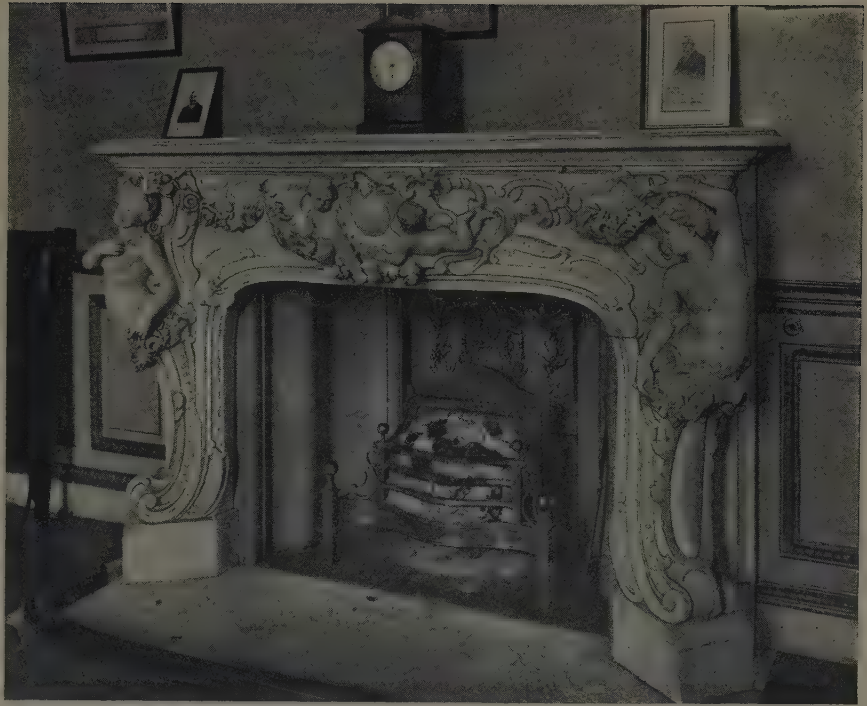
PLAN AT GROUND LEVEL


GARDEN
N
TERRACE
9
8
7
6
UP
SALON
10
11a
DOWN
5

PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR

PLATE 104

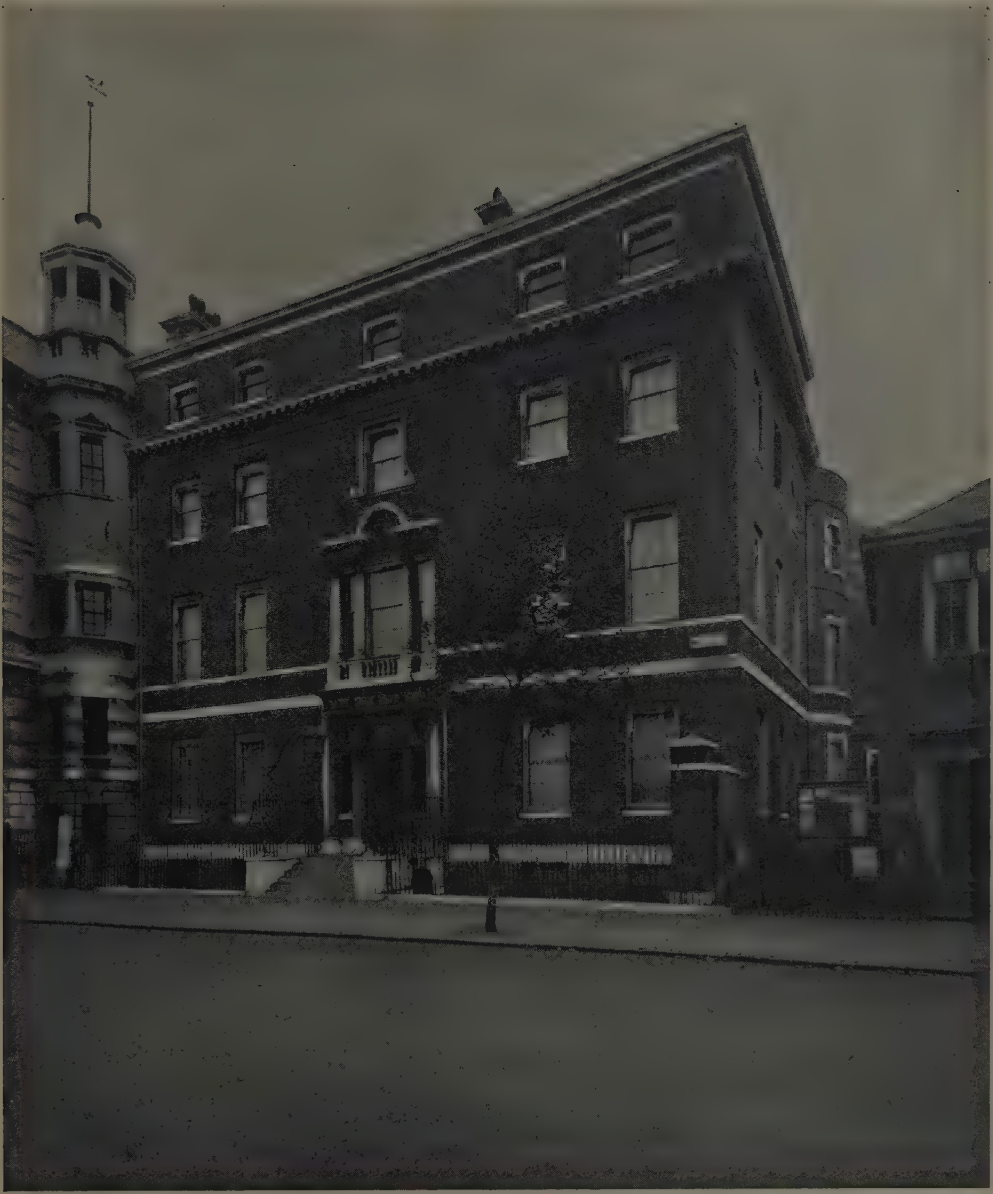




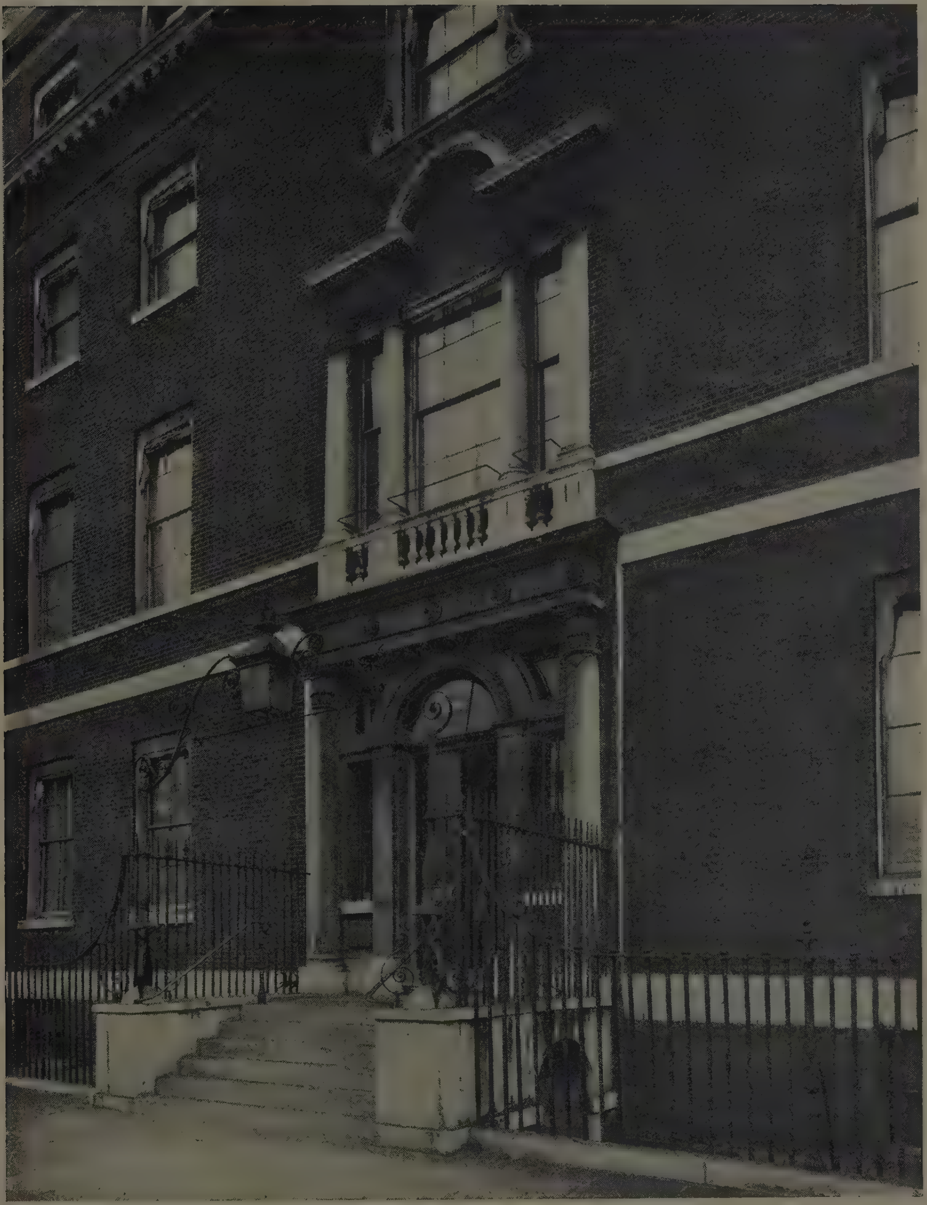
MONTAGU HOUSE (*p.* 219)

ROOM NO. 8, SHOWING CEILING

MARBLE MANTELPIECE IN ROOM NO. 7



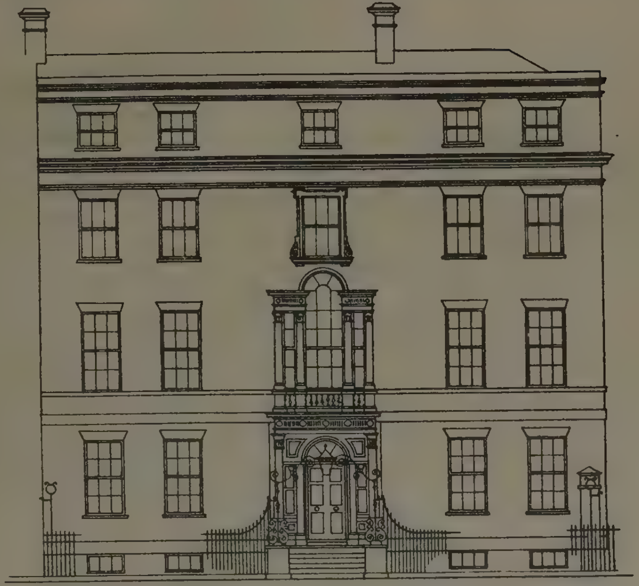
GWYDYR HOUSE. FRONT TO WHITEHALL (*p.* 224)



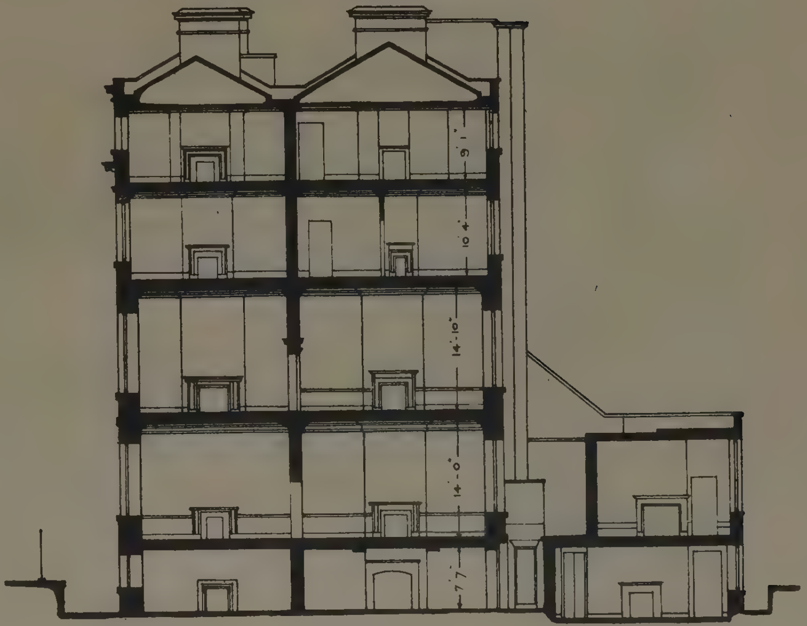
GWYDYR HOUSE. DETAIL OF ENTRANCE (*p.* 224)

GWYDYR HOUSE WHITEHALL

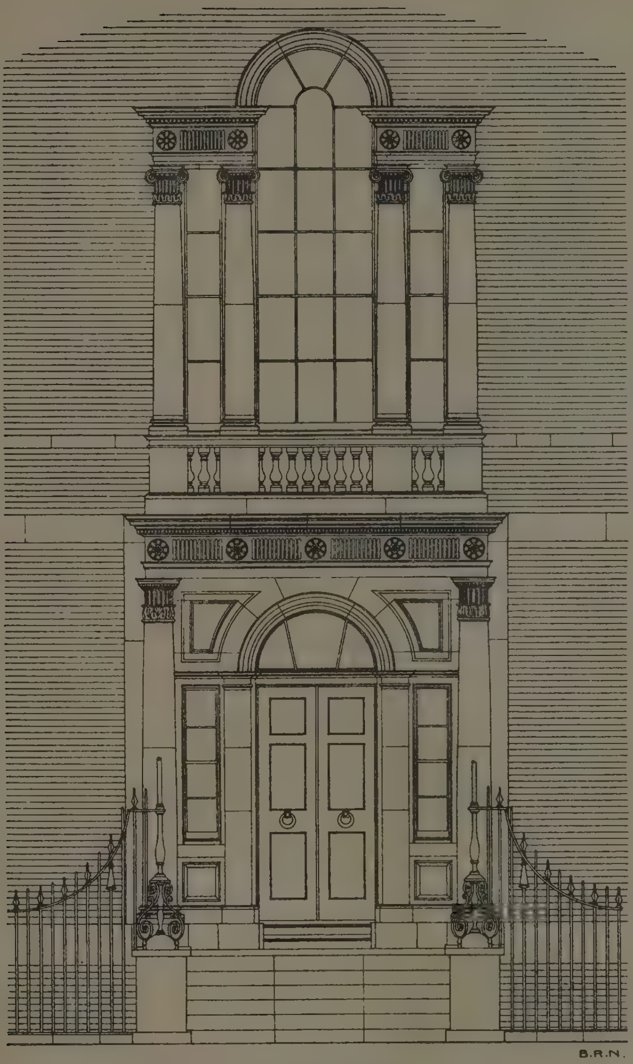
SCALE OF 10 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 FEET



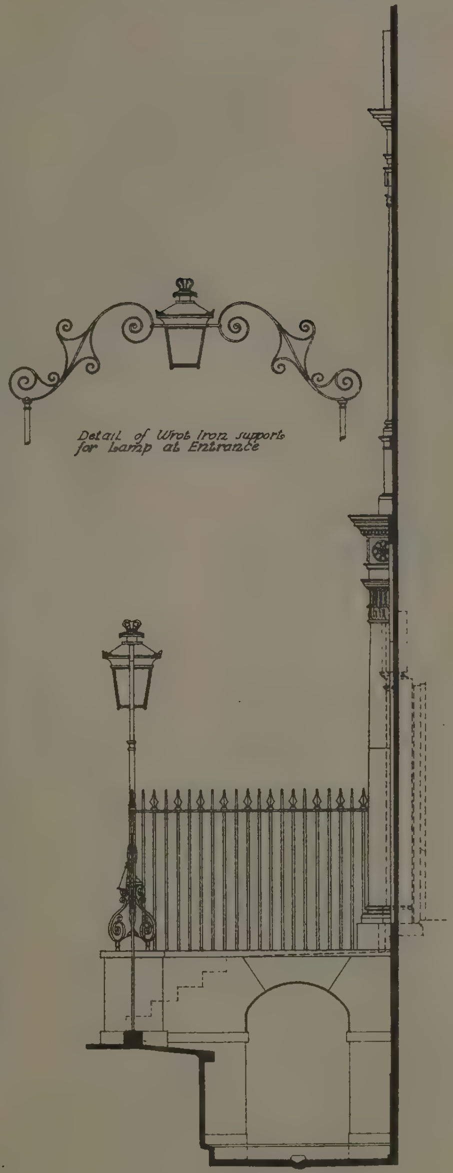
WEST ELEVATION


9' 1"
10' 4"
14' 10"
14' 0"
7' 7"

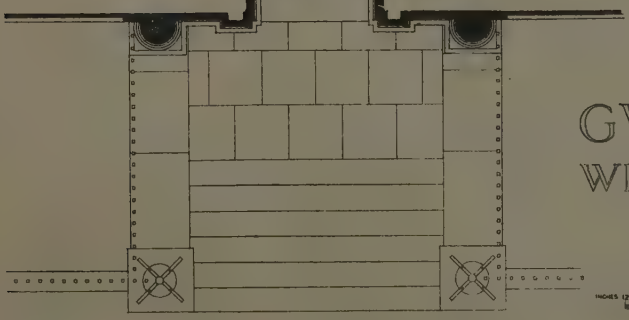
SECTION



ELEVATION


Detail of Wrot iron support for Lamp at Entrance

SIDE ELEVATION



PLAN

GWYDYR HOUSE
WHITEHALL

DETAIL OF ENTRANCE

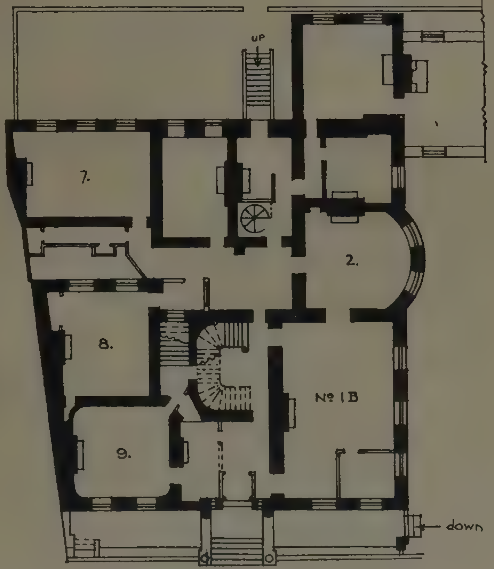
SCALE OF FEET

GWYDYR HOUSE WHITEHALL

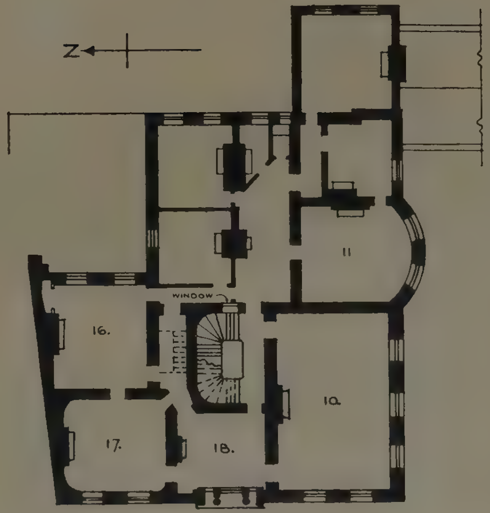
SCALE OF

10
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90

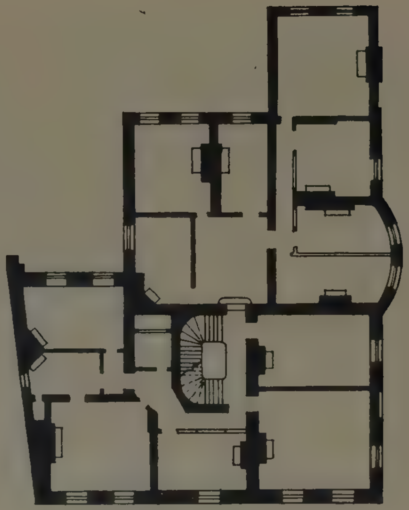
FEET


UP
7.
2.
8.
Nº 1 B
9.
down

GROUND FLOOR PLAN

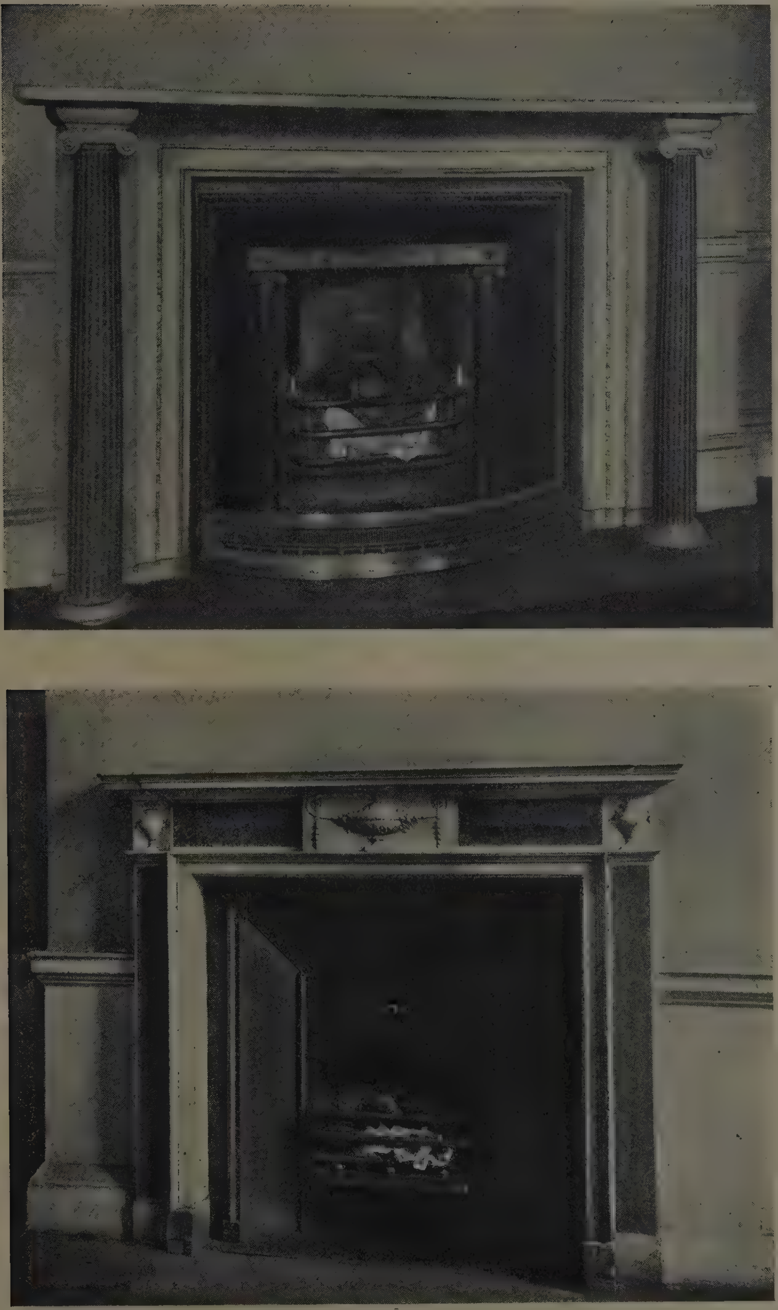

Z
11
WINDOW
16.
10.
17.
18.

FIRST FLOOR PLAN

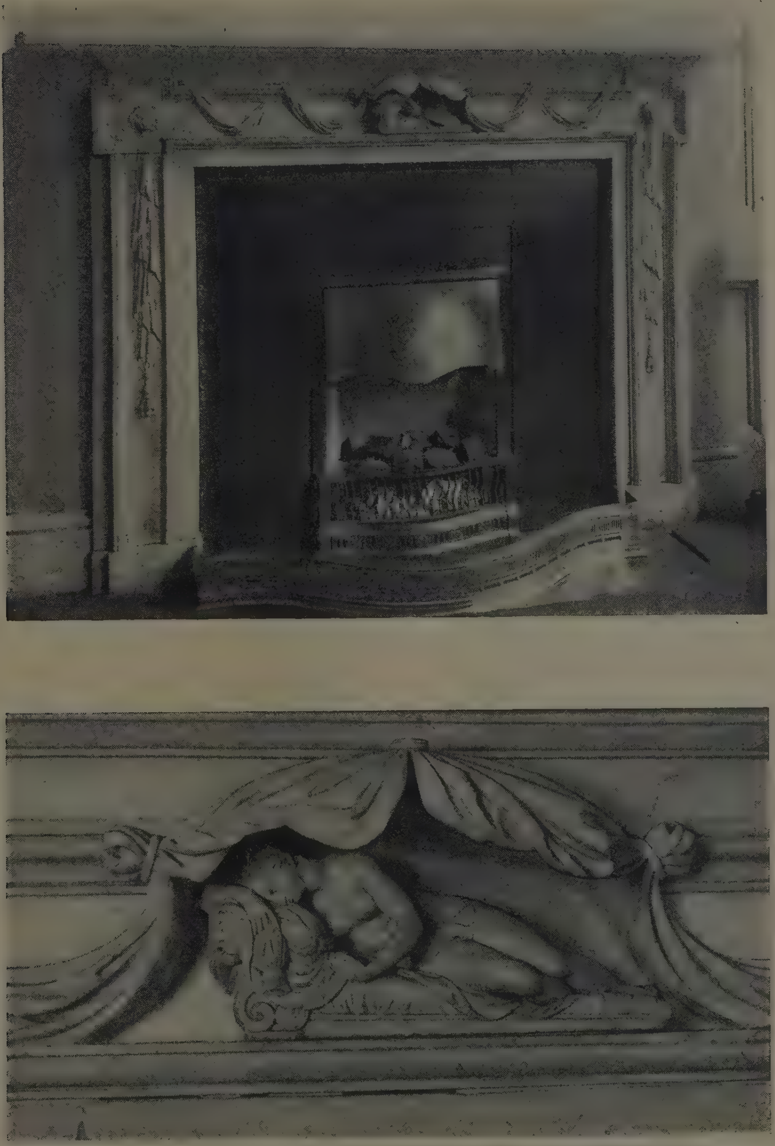


SECOND FLOOR PLAN

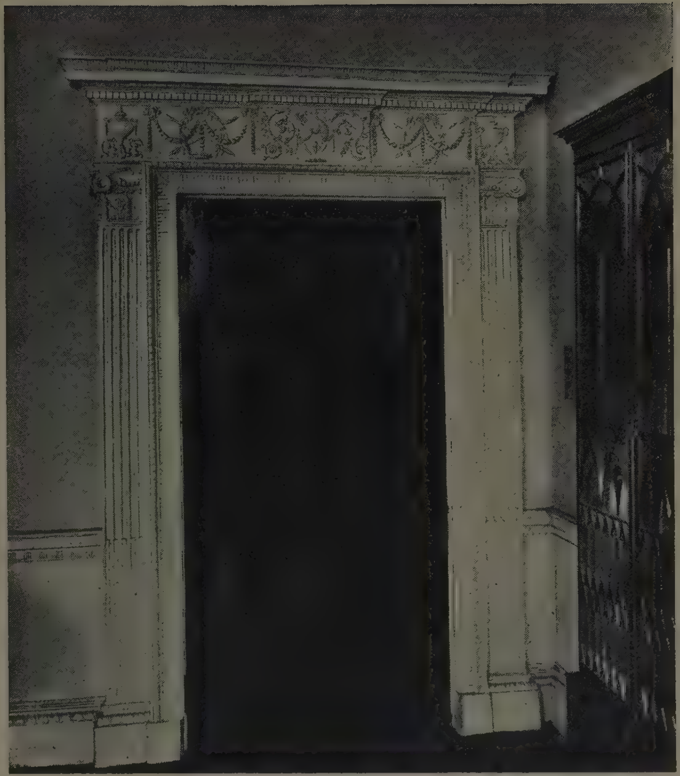
PLATE 110



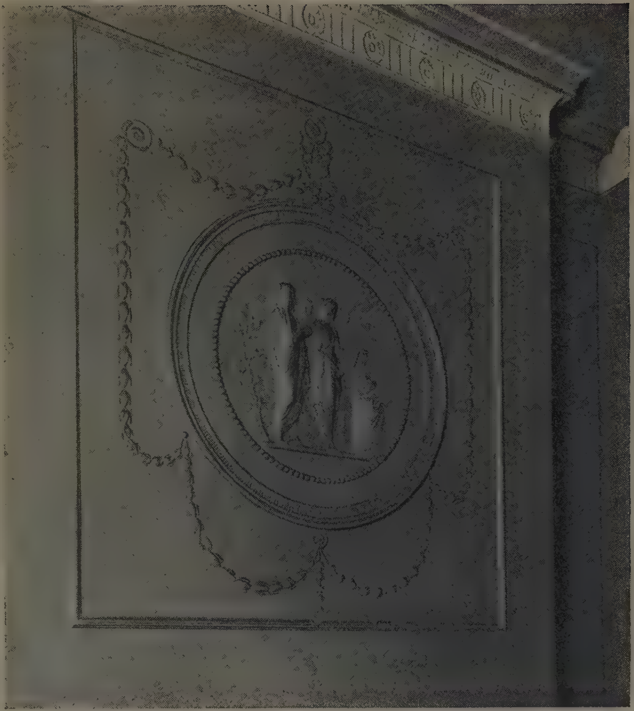
GWYDYR HOUSE (*p.* 225). MANTELPIECES IN (*a*) ROOM NO. 16. (*b*) ROOM NO. 10



GWYDYR HOUSE. ROOM NO. 7 (*p.* 225).
(*a*) MANTELPIECE. (*b*) DETAIL OF CENTRAL PORTION OF MANTELPIECE



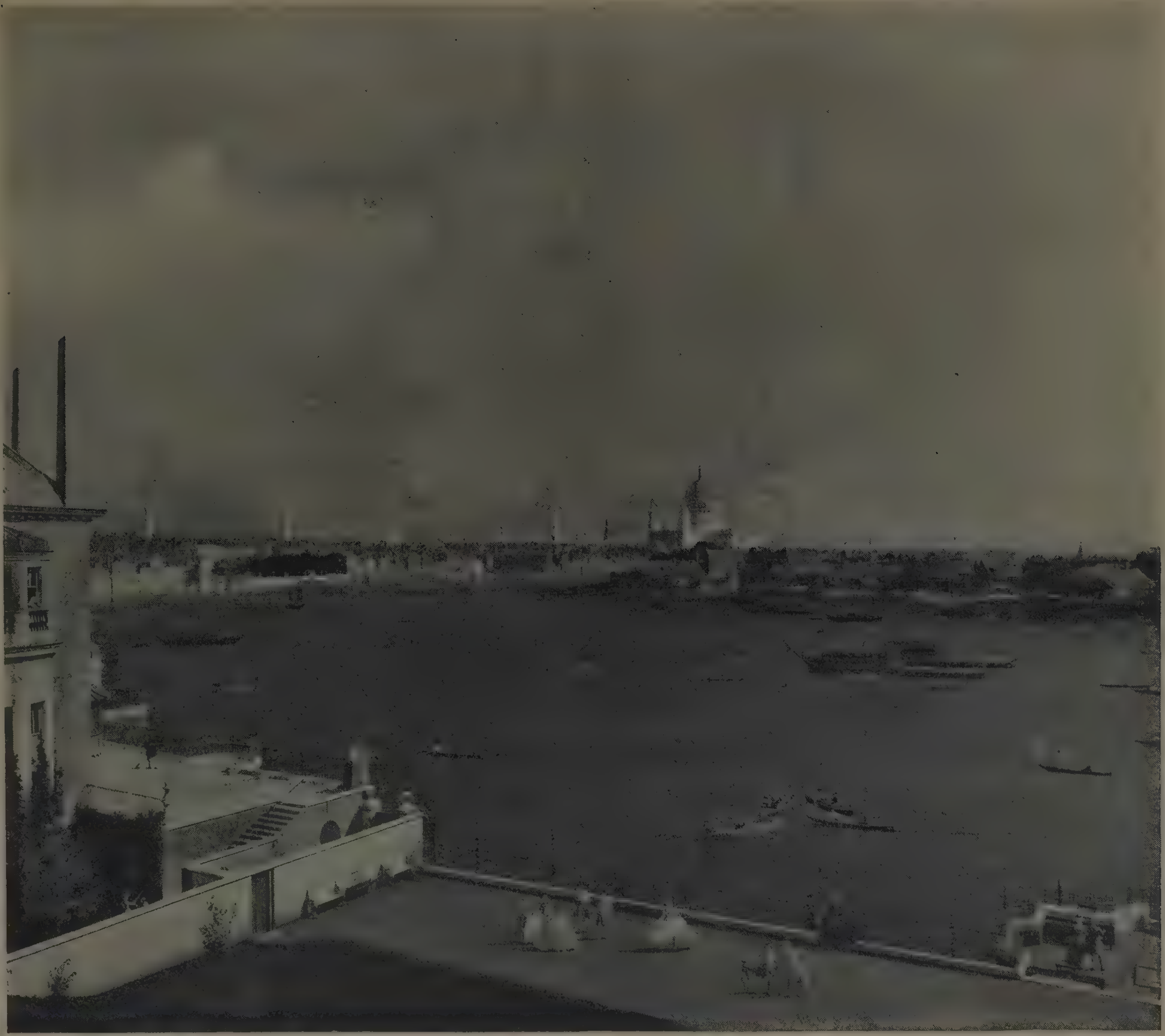
DOORCASE IN ROOM NO. 10



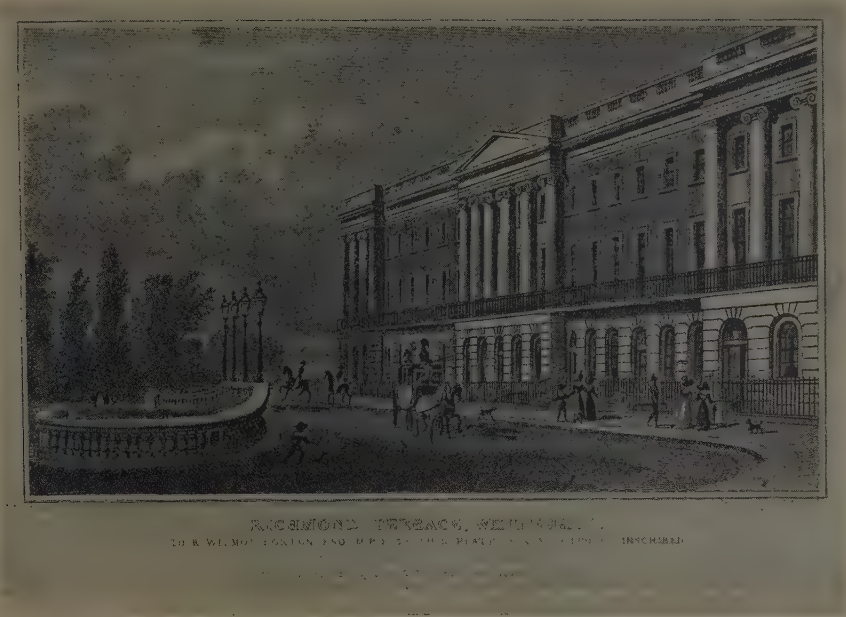
(*b*) PLASTER MEDALLION OVER MANTELPIECE IN ROOM NO. 1B, SECOND FLOOR

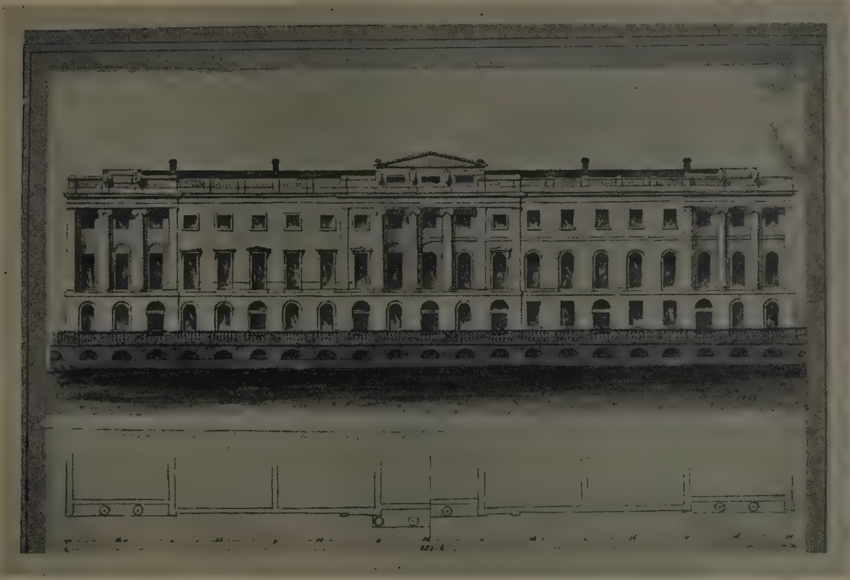
GWYDYR HOUSE (*pp.* 224–5)

PLATE 113



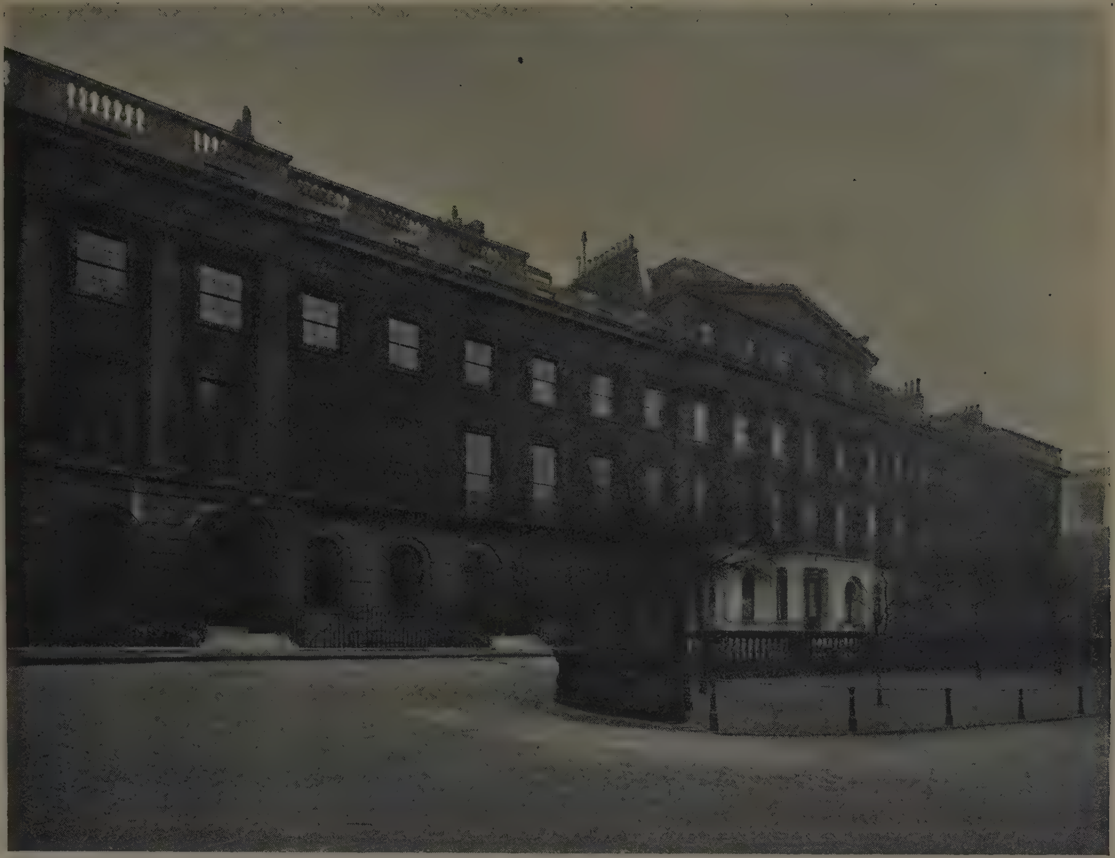
VIEW FROM THE TERRACE OF RICHMOND HOUSE IN 1746


RICHMOND TERRACE, WHITEHALL.



(*a*) RICHMOND TERRACE IN 1827. (*b*) DESIGN FOR ELEVATION OF RICHMOND TERRACE (*p.* 249)

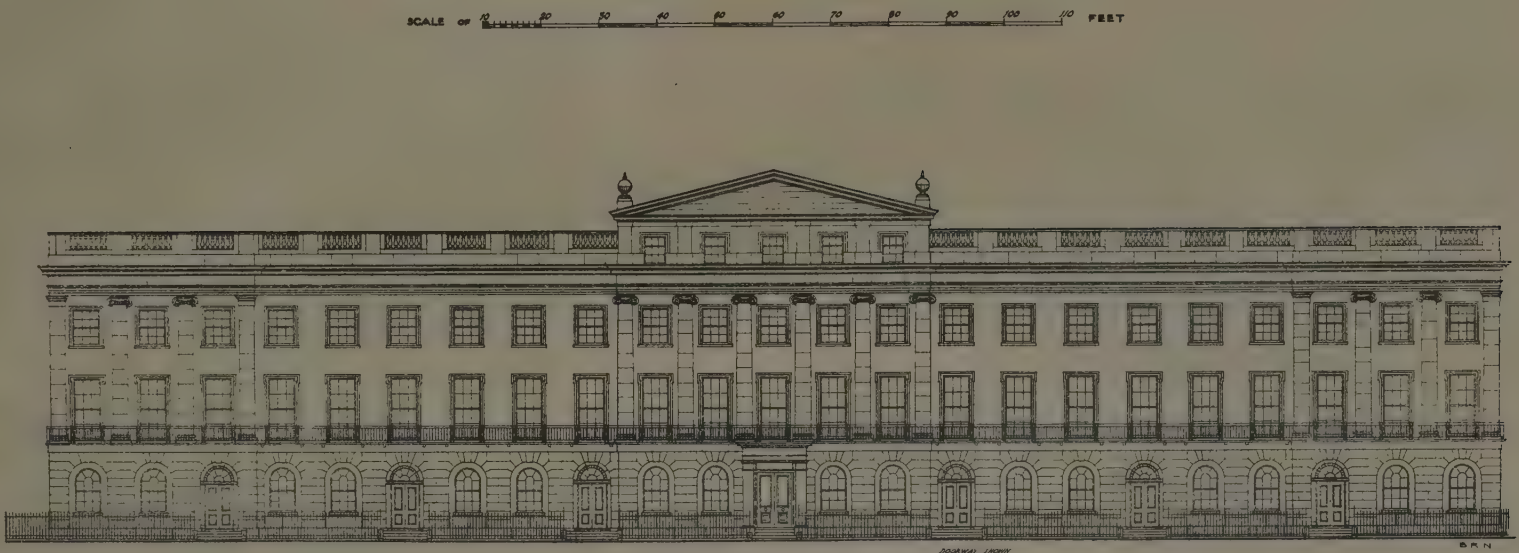
PLATE 115



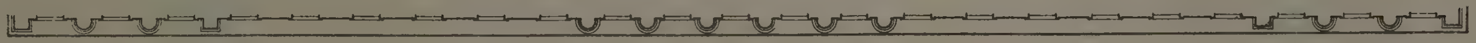
RICHMOND TERRACE. GENERAL VIEW (*p.* 249)

PLATE 116

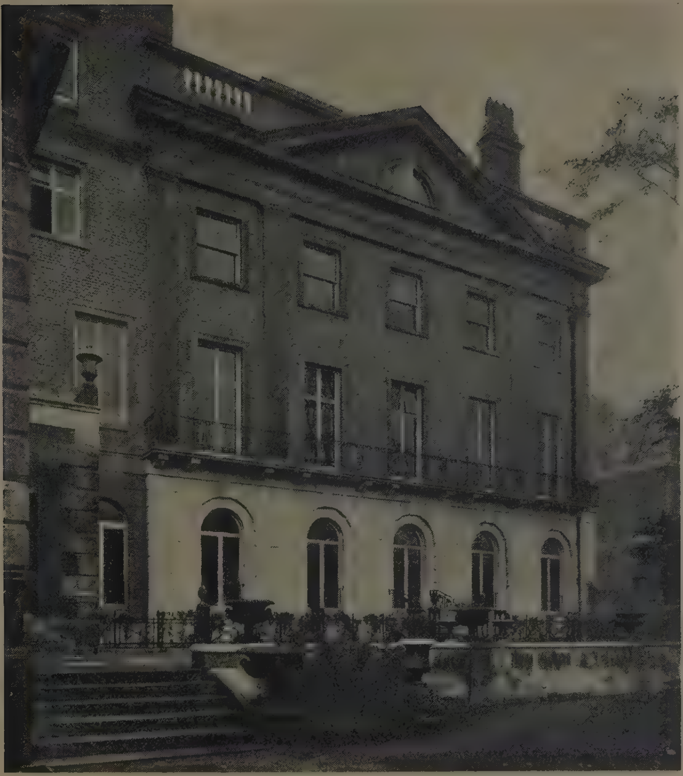
RICHMOND TERRACE WHITEHALL

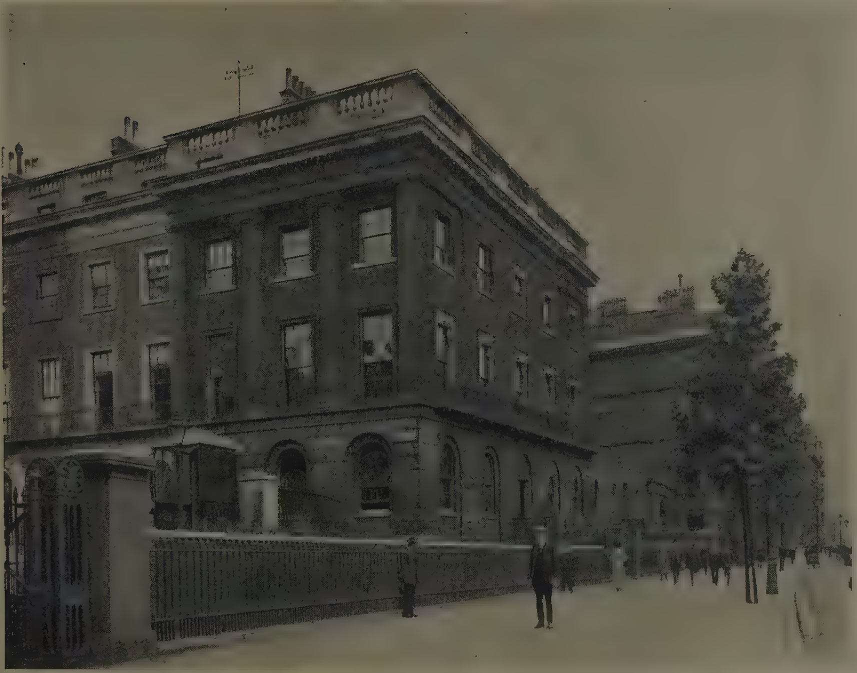

SCALE OF 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 FEET
DOORWAY SHOWN RESTORED TO ITS ORIGINAL USE
BRN

NORTH ELEVATION



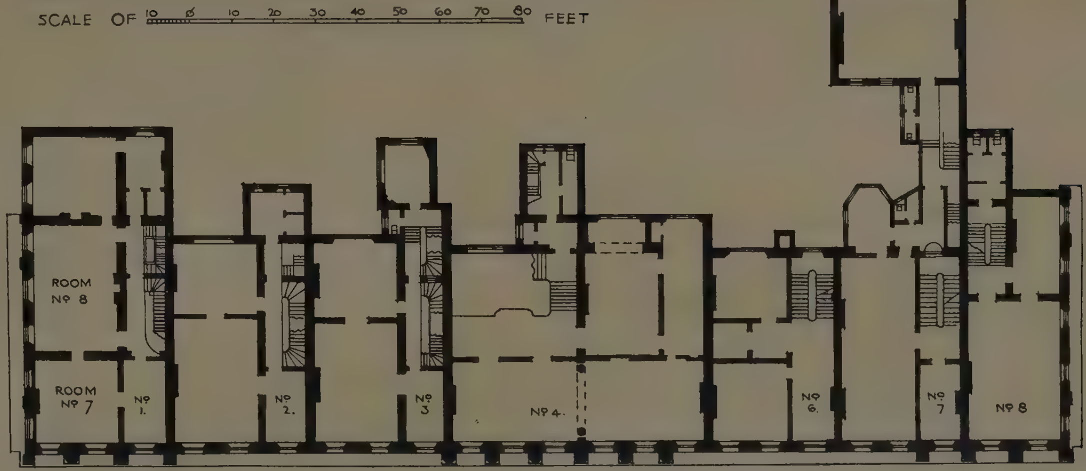
PLAN OF FRONT WALL AT FIRST FLOOR LEVEL



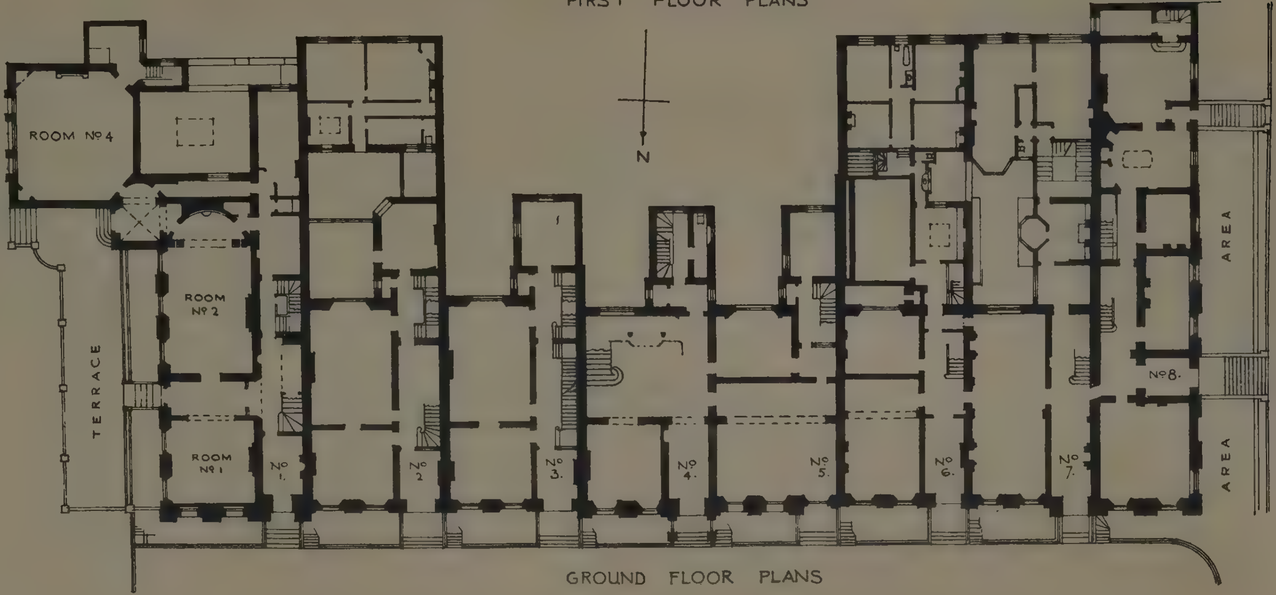


RICHMOND TERRACE (*p.* 250). (*a*) EAST FRONT.
(*b*) NORTH-WEST CORNER

RICHMOND TERRACE, WESTMINSTER.


SCALE OF 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 FEET
ROOM Nº 8
ROOM Nº 7
Nº 1.
Nº 2.
Nº 3
Nº 4.
Nº 6.
Nº 7
Nº 8

FIRST FLOOR PLANS


N
ROOM Nº 4
ROOM Nº 2
ROOM Nº 1
TERRACE
Nº 1.
Nº 2
Nº 3.
Nº 4.
Nº 5.
Nº 6.
Nº 7.
Nº 8.
AREA
AREA
WHITEHALL

GROUND FLOOR PLANS